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The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



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In This Issue

Family is the focus of this issue. The article section is bracketed by two essays specifically devoted to family and family history. Each of the research articles at the center of the issue employs the family as a key element in its analysis.

The Presidential Address by **David Herlihy**, a pioneer of European social and family history, is titled simply "Family" and traces the changing applications and meanings of the word "family," beginning with its original use by the Romans as a designation for a band of slaves. Herlihy then goes on to summarize his reflections on the history of the Western family from antiquity to modern times.

The closing essay, by **Tamara K. Hareven**, surveys the state of the field of family history since its inception in the late 1950s. Focusing on European and American history, with some comparisons to Japan, Hareven discusses the evolution of the major themes and approaches in the field, including household structure, life-course analysis, kinship networks, the family and the process of industrialization, and family strategies. The essay closes with consideration of the continuing research agenda for the field.

The first research article, by **David Nicholas**, offers a major revision of received views on the economic prosperity of medieval Flanders. Usually attributed to the Flemish export market for fine woolen textiles, this prosperity, writes Nicholas, is better explained by the heavy demand for food from this impoverished frontier principality and its geographical situation as a "gateway" to markets elsewhere. An important element in the analysis is early changes in Flemish family law, which facilitated the alienability of property and established favorable conditions for the mobilization of capital.

R. B. Goheen criticizes most current treatments of medieval English history for assuming the political indifference of the peasantry. Goheen sees the peasants as playing a significant role in the political life of the medieval state through their participation in provincial juries. By tracing the actions of these juries, he finds peasants defining and defending their family and village interests, and he argues that this peasant practice, when placed within a long chronological perspective, can be seen to have defeated the crown's efforts to impose a radically new definition of political responsibility on the English countryside.

Peter N. Stearns and **Timothy Haggerty** examine childhood fear as a social construct. The approach to fear in American families of the Victorian era was very different from that of more recent times. Mastering fear was an important goal for Victorian boys in theory and in practice. (Girls were allowed to be fearful, and protection of frightened females could be part of the test of manhood.) The change in our century to reassurance by parents and insulation of children from fear-inducing environments suggests a major reorientation of middle-class family values. The new understanding of childhood fear also brings the experiences of boys and girls closer together. The study of fear expands existing research in the new field of emotional change and adds to the established studies in family history on the private life of the domestic group.

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University and has published in a number of areas of social history. His recent work has concentrated on the history of emotion and of gender, resulting in several publications, including *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (1989), and *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society* (2d edition, 1990). Concern with changes in the treatment of childhood fears follows from a larger interest in a substantial reorientation of emotional standards in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

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Family

DAVID HERLIHY

THE WORD "FAMILY" IN MODERN LANGUAGES carries many resonances, not all of them harmonious. In the view of some, the family is an instrument of social oppression; it imprisons adults and ruins children. "Families, I hate you," French novelist André Gide exclaimed in 1897 and reiterated in 1933.[1] American social critic Paul Goodman declared that "the family is the ultimate American fascism."[2] British poet Philip Larkin had this to say concerning family life:

> Get out as early as you can
> And don't have any kids yourself.[3]

But to others the family is a haven in a hostile world. To be treated "like family" in common parlance means to be loved and supported. A justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court, in upholding an ordinance against domestic picketing in January 1990, described the home as "the one retreat to which men and women can repair to escape from the tribulations of their daily pursuits." It was, in his estimation, "the last citadel of the tired, the weary and the sick."[4]

Here, I want to explore the distant origins of this double vision: of the family as loving and of the outer world as loveless. Put another way, I want to examine the emergence of the family in the West as a moral unit and a moral universe: a unit in the sense that it is sharply differentiated from the larger associations of kin and community, and a universe in the sense that human relations within it are very different from human relations outside its limits. The epoch of our interest, late antiquity and the Middle Ages, is admittedly remote, but it is also a formative period in the history of Western domestic culture. The writings we shall explore are legal, philosophical, and theological texts. Historians of law have systematically analyzed the legal codes of antiquity and the Middle Ages bearing on the family, but their goals have been much different from my own.[5] Philosophical and theological tracts have been, in contrast, rarely scrutinized for purposes of social

[1] André Gide, *Nourritures terrestres*, 4: 1, cited in *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, Paul Robert, ed. (Paris, 1966), 10: 830. He later explained: "Sans doute, j'écrivais un jour: 'Familles, je vous hais,' mais il s'agit d'institutions, non de personnes, et ce n'est pas du tout la même chose"; *Journal*, 1168, cited in *Trésor de la langue française* (Paris, 1980), 8: 635. See also *A History of Private Life*, Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, gen. eds., Vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, Michelle Perrot, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 241.

[2] Paul Goodman, cited in Jon Winokur, *The Portable Curmudgeon* (New York, 1987), 98.

[3] From Philip Larkin, "This Be the Verse," in *High Windows* (New York, 1974), 30.

[4] Cited in *The Providence Journal* (January 24, 1990): 1. The author of the decision was Justice Thomas F. Kelleher.

[5] See most recently the remarkable survey of medieval canon law bearing on sexual and marital issues by James A. Brundage, *Love, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987).

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history; the materials in them seemed too speculative and abstract, too far removed from quotidian experience.

We must first attempt brief definitions of crucial terms. What did the ancient and medieval writers call the family? Curiously, the ancients had no exact equivalent to our modern word "family." This fault of terminology suggests that they came only slowly to conceive of the domestic community as sharply separated from the larger society.

The English word "family" is a direct borrowing from the Latin *familia*, which also supplies a common word for family to most other modern European languages, including German and Polish. It appeared very early in the Romance languages, from at least the twelfth century; it entered English by the fifteenth and German only in the sixteenth.[6] In classical Latin, *familia* carried several meanings.[7] As the ancients themselves noted, the word could refer to both persons and property.[8] Both ancient and medieval grammarians believed, correctly it seems, that the Romans had borrowed the word from a neighboring people, the Oscans. The Oscan root, *famel*, meant slave, and the word also supplied Latin with a common name for slave, *famulus*.[9] *Familia* thus originally meant a band of slaves. "Fifteen freemen make a people," wrote the second-century novelist Apuleius, "fifteen slaves make a family, and fifteen prisoners make a jail."[10] The word in its original sense thus implied an authoritarian structure and hierarchical order, founded on but not limited to relations of marriage and parenthood. In a related way, the Latin word for father, *pater*, designated in its original sense not a biological parent but the holder of authority. The biological male parent was *genitor*. Authority, in sum, and not consanguinity, not even marriage, was at the core of the ancient concept of family. Even an unmarried male could be a *paterfamilias*. Moreover, in early Roman law, the father's authority, the *patria potestas*, was absolute, including even the *ius necis*, the right to put to death members of his family.

Familia long held this meaning of a band of slaves. "We are accustomed to call staffs of slaves families," the jurist Ulpian observed in the second century A.D.[11] Even when slavery waned in late antiquity and the Middle Ages, the term family

[6] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1989), 5: 707, cites its use in *circa* 1400 in the sense of servants. Compare its use in Scottish dialect as a community of consumers in *Bernardus de cura rei famuliaris with Some Early Scottish Prophecies, etc.*, J. Rawson Lumby, ed. (London, 1870), 4: "Fede nocht thi famel with costly victuale." The translation is of the fifteenth century. *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, A. Tobler and E. Lormatzsch, eds. (Berlin, 1925-), 3.2 (1952), col. 1622, cites its appearance in the poems of Gilles li Muisis and in Statutes of Lille from the fourteenth century. *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1940), 2: 289, notes an appearance (in the form *Familien*) in 1564, but it does not become common until at least a century later.

[7] On the word's origins, see R. Henrion, "Des origines du mot *Familia*," *L'Antiquité classique*, 10 (1941): 37–69; 11 (1942): 253–90. M. R. Leonhard, "Familia," *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Georg Wissowa, ed. (Stuttgart, 1909), 6: cols. 1980–85.

[8] See the comment by Ulpian, *Digest*, 50.16.195. *The Digest of Justinian: Latin Text Edited by Theodor Mommsen with the Aid of Paul Krueger*, trans. and ed. by Thomas Watson (Philadelphia, 1985), 4: 949: "Familiae appellatio . . . varie accepta est: nam et in res et in personas deducitur." The Codex Justinianus (6.38.5) states "we discern that the name of family has the following force: parents and children and all relatives and property, freedmen also and their patrons and likewise slaves are identified by this word"; *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Paul Krüger, Theodor Mommsen, Rudolf Schoell, and Wilhelm Kroll, eds., 3 vols. (Berlin, 1928), 2: 571.

[9] Sexti Pompei Festi, *De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome*, W. M. Lindsay, ed. (Leipzig, 1933), 77, ll. 11–12: "Famuli origo ab Oscis dependet, apud quos servus famel nominabatur, unde et familia nostra."

[10] Apuleius, *Pro se de magia liber (apologia)*, Rudolf Helm, ed. (Leipzig, 1959), 47.437: "XV liberi homines populus est, totidem serui familia, totidem uincti ergastulum."

[11] Ulpian, *Digest*, 50.16.195: "servitium quoque solemus appellere familias."

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continued to be used to designate servants or serfs. Pope Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century compared the human mind to a family. Our separate thoughts are like numerous servant girls, who gossip and neglect their chores, until their mistress, reason, shushes them and sets them to their tasks, imposing order on our mental *familia*.[12] Elsewhere, Gregory applied the word to the *coloni*, or peasants, who worked on the papal estates.[13] The staffs of both lay and ecclesiastical officials in the Middle Ages were routinely referred to as "families." Still, in the nineteenth century, the entire papal bureaucracy, including hundreds of functionaries from clerks to cardinals, was known as the *famiglia pontificia*, the pontifical family.[14]

From slaves subject to a master, the word was easily extended to all persons—wives and children, natural or adopted—who were under the *patria potestas*. "In strict law," explained Ulpian, "we call a family the several persons who by nature or law are placed under the authority of a single person."[15] Even the clients or retainers of a powerful person, though not fully subject to the *patria potestas*, were reckoned to be part of the great man's family. The ancient family in this sense could reach colossal size. Julius Caesar, in his *Gallic War*, related how the Helvetian chief Orgetorix, when put on trial by his tribe, "gathered from every quarter to the place of judgment all his family, to the number of some ten thousand men."[16]

By further extension, the word applied to groups of people possessing some organization, or at least some similarity, in their styles of life. In classical Latin literature under the name of "family," there appear prostitutes in a brothel; publicans or tax collectors, moneyers; military units; schools of philosophers; and, in Christian usage, demons, monks, and the clergy generally.[17] St. Augustine of Hippo referred to the entire Christian church as the "family of Christ" or the "family of God."[18] The Christian author Lactantius, in his diatribe *On the Death of Persecutors*, gave the word an even larger sweep. Lactantius was condemning the cruelty of the pagan emperor Galerius. The wicked Galerius, wrote Lactantius, like the Persian kings before him, treated the entire empire *tamquam familia*, "like a family," that is, a limitless aggregation of sullen slaves all suffering under his tyrannous power.[19] This use of the word family to designate a huge community of

[12] *S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Job Libri I–X*, Marcus Adrizen, ed. (Turnhout, 1979), 1.3: "Multam nimis familiam possidemus cum cogitationes innumeras sub mentis dominatione restringimus, ne ipsa sui multitudine animum superent."

[13] *Gregorii I Papae Registrum epistolarum*, 1.42 (Munich, 1978), 1: 64: "si quis ex familia [colonis] culpam fecerit."

[14] *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Gaetano Moroni, ed. (Venice, 1843), 23: 27 and following, entry under "Famiglia pontificia."

[15] Ulpian, *Digest*, 50.16.195: "iure proprio familiam dicimus plures personas, quae sunt sub unius potestate aut natura aut iure subiectae."

[16] Julius Caesar, *De bello Gallico* i.4, *The Gallic War*, H. J. Edwards, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 9: "Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia X, undique coegit et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos . . . eodem conduxit." Edwards translates "familiam" as "retainers."

[17] See numerous examples in the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1892–1926), cols. 234–46. For the "familia ecclesiastica," see Gregory the Great, *Regestum epistolarum*, 1.42 (May 591) (1.67): "Si vero ex familia ecclesiastica sacerdotes vel levitae vel monachi vel clerici vel quilibet alii lapsi fuerint." For the sense of descent group, compare Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 1.7, *Opera historica*, J. E. King, trans. (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 1: 38: "Cuius, inquit, familiae vel generis es?"

[18] St. Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, i.29, *The City of God against the Pagans*, George E. McCracken, trans. (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 1: 122: "Quid familia Christi respondere debent infidelibus . . . Habet itaque omnis familia summi et veri Dei."

[19] Lucii Caecilii De mortibus persecutorum Liber vulgo Lactantio tributus, *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti Opera omnia*, Samuel Brandt and Georgius Laubmann, eds. (Prague, Vienna, and Leipzig, 1897), cap. 21 (p. 196): "nam post deuictos Persas, quorum hic ritus, hic mos est, ut regibus suis in seruitium se

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the cowed rings strange to modern ears, but it is consistent with the term's core meaning, as an aggregation of slaves.

Did the ancients even recognize the domestic unit to be a distinct social entity separate from the outside world? They certainly had a developed sense of what was public and what was private. In the second century A.D., the moralist Aulus Gellius posed the question whether a father was obligated to give up his seat of honor to a magistrate son.[20] He replied that "in public places and functions," magisterial authority prevailed over paternal authority, and the father must defer to his magistrate son. Within the domestic sphere, however, "public honors cease and the natural honors conferred by birth are recognized." Here, the magistrate son must yield place of honor to the father. The ancients did draw a firm line between the *res publica* and the *res domestica*. In the public realm, the state commanded; in the domestic, the father. On the other hand, the father's authority could extend well beyond the co-residential unit, to slaves working elsewhere, to freedmen likely to be living elsewhere, to absent but unemancipated sons, such as those serving in the army. The ancient *familia* was therefore not coterminous with the household.

As Ulpian noted, the second principal meaning of *familia* was property. This usage seems to have represented an extension from its original meaning of "vocal" property—that is, slaves—to the master's other possessions. In the word's earliest attestation in the Roman Law of the Twelve Tables (fifth century B.C.), it carries the sense of "inheritance." The Justinian code in the sixth century A.D. affirms that in certain instances "the word family should be understood as property, because it designates slaves and other things in a person's patrimony."[21] This understanding also persisted in medieval usage. The Venerable Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in the early eighth century, used *familia* in the sense of peasant farm or peasant inheritance.[22] This meaning may have been reinforced with the revival of Roman legal studies in the West from the twelfth century. A fourteenth-century Italian author, Paolo da Certaldo, used the Italian word *famiglia* with the sense of patrimony. "In order that the *famiglia* may grow," he counseled his readers, "it is desirable to save and to put aside in just measure as much as you can."[23]

Among the master's possessions, the *domus*, house or domicile, held a special importance, and *domus*, too, is often used in classical Latin to identify the domestic unit.[24] A girl in marrying, wrote Aulus Gellius, leaves the *domus* of her parents in

addicant et reges populo suo tamquam familia utantur, hunc morem nefarius homo in Romanam terram uoluit inducere." There is an English translation of this work in Lactantius, *The Minor Works*, Sister Mary Francis McDonald O.P., trans. (Washington, 1965), 117–203.

[20] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 2.2.9, P. K. Marshall, ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1968), 1: 86: "sed cum extra rem publicam in domestica re atque uita sedeatur, ambuletur, in conuiuio quoque familiari discumbatur, tum inter filium magistratum et patrem priuatim publicos honores cessare, naturales et genuinos exepiri."

[21] *Corpus Justianum* 6.38.5.3, edn. Krüger, Mommsen, Schoell, and Kroll, 2: 571: "In aliis autem casibus nomen familiae pro substantia oportet intellegi, quia et servi et aliae res in patrimonio uniuscuiusque esse putantur."

[22] See, for example, Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.15, *Opera historica*, trans. King, 1: 106, in relation to the Isle of Thanet: "magnitudinis iuxta consuetudinem aestimationis Anglorum, familiarum sexcentarum"; compare *ibid.* 4.23, "locum unius familiae"; 2: 128.

[23] Paolo da Certaldo, *Libro di buoni customi*, no. 142, in *Mercanti scrittori: Ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Vittore Branca, ed., 2d edn. (Milan, 1986), 31–32: "E anche, perché la famiglia sempre cresce, però si vuole avanzare e mettere innanzi quanto puoi con giusto modo."

[24] For examples of the word's many meanings, see the entry "domus" in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latine* (Leipzig, 1909–34), 5: 1, cols. 1949–87.

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order to join the *familia* of her husband.[25] St. Augustine instructed in a sermon: "The residents of a house are called a house . . . [We here call] a house not walls and rooms, but the residents themselves."[26] But *domus*, like *familia*, had many derivative meanings and could be applied to much larger groups than the domestic unit. The seventh-century Spanish encyclopedist Isidore of Seville explained: "The house is a residence of a single family, just as the city is the residence of a single people, just as the world is the residence of the entire human race. 'House' is also the kindred, family or the union of man and wife. It begins from two persons, and is a Greek word."[27] It could be applied, in other words, to descent groups, tribes, and entire nations, such as the "house of Israel," that claimed to be based on blood relations. Later, in medieval usage, it would be equally applied to religious communities and to representative assemblies, such as the houses of parliament.

To identify the domestic unit, ancient and medieval writers usually combined *domus* and *familia*, as did Isidore. When, in the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas wished to identify the household, he used such terms as *familia domestica* or *domus vel familia*, "house or family."[28]

The laws and institutions governing the domestic community changed profoundly from early Roman times into the Middle Ages. The Roman father soon lost his powers of life and death over family members, if, indeed, he had ever really used them. In medieval law, the father could discipline for just cause his wards, including his wife, but not to the point of maiming them.[29] Even his authority over family property or its patrimony weakened. He could not consume that property arbitrarily but had to accept responsibility for the support of wife and children. We do not follow these diverse evolutions here. But, in one respect, the ancient understanding of the family survived. The family continued to be viewed as an organized and stable community, what the medieval doctors called a *multitudo ordinata*, set within another organized community, the state itself.[30]

And the family was in Aquinas's phrase a "communion of domestic persons" or a "domestic communion," that is, a community that acquired and shared the resources, especially food and shelter, needed to sustain the lives of its members.[31]

The progressive weakening of paternal authority allowed for, and perhaps even made necessary, the strengthening of another form of bonding that gave cohesion to the household: domestic affection. The ancient writers often mention, even if they are slow to emphasize, love within the household, the *amor* or *amicitia*, *caritas*

[25] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 13.10.3, edn. Marshall, 2: 393: "Soror," inquit, "appellata est, quod quasi seorsum nascitur separaturque ab ea domo in qua nata est et in aliam familiam transgreditur."

[26] Augustin Sermo 170.4, *Patrologia Latina*, J. P. Migne, ed. (Paris, 1861), 38: col. 920: "Quomodo dicitur domus habitatores domus . . . domum appellans non parietes et receptacula corporum, sed ipsos habitatores."

[27] *Isidori hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, W. M. Lindsay, ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), 9.4.3: "Domus unius familiae habitaculum est, sicut urbs unius populi, sicut orbis domicilium totius generis humani. Est enim domus genus, familia sive coniunctio viri et uxoris. Incipit a duobus, et est nomen Graecum."

[28] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (hereafter, *ST*) 2.2.2, *Opera omnia* (Rome, 1897), 9: 81, "Pater autem et dominus, qui praesunt familiae domesticae"; *ibid.*, 2.2.47, *Opera omnia* (Rome, 1895), 8: 359: "oeconomica, quae est de his quae pertinent ad bonum commune domus vel familiae."

[29] See, for example, Aquinas, *ST* 2.2.2, *Opera omnia*, 9: 81: "Pater autem et dominus, qui praesunt familiae domesticae, quae est imperfecta communitas, habent imperfectam potestatem coercendi secundum leviores poenas, quae non inferunt irreparabile nocumentum. Et huiusmodi est verberatio."

[30] Aquinas, *ST* 3.8.1 2d 2., *Opera omnia* (Rome, 1903), 11: 127: "aliqua multitudo ordinata, est pars alterius multitudinis. Et ideo paterfamilias qui est caput multitudinis domesticae, habet super se rectorem civitatis."

[31] Aquinas, *ST* 1.2.105, *Opera omnia* (Rome, 1892), 7: 271.

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or *dilectio* shared by family members. Cicero in the first century B.C. alluded to that special *caritas* joining parents and children, which cannot be destroyed except by heinous crime.[32] Emperor Caligula in the first century A.D. is said to have imposed a special oath on his soldiers and functionaries. Those taking the oath swore not to hold themselves and their children dearer than Caligula and his sisters.[33] Clearly, for Caligula, the love of parents for children was the supreme measure of devotion.

Even more than their pagan predecessors, Christian writers in the late imperial period commented extensively on love, in its social as well as religious dimensions. *Caritas* bonded together individuals and communities, marriages and households. In his Commentary on Genesis, Augustine raises the question why Adam obeyed Eve's bidding to eat the forbidden fruit.[34] He was not yet prompted by lust, which in the state of innocence did not rule his members; he was not maneuvering to seduce her. And he was much too intelligent to believe the Devil's ruse, that the shared and eaten fruit would change him and his mate into gods. He obeyed her simply because he loved her and wished to please her. He acted, in Augustine's phrase, out of loving good will. Many, Augustine reflected, like Adam, offend God in order to please their friend. *Amicitia* in marriage, in Augustine's view, was present from the Creation.

Even earlier, around 230 A.D., Tertullian detected in families a "common spirit," although he was limiting his observations exclusively to his fellow Christians.[35] These families share emotional experiences; they feel, in his words, "common hope, fear, joy, pain and suffering." Emotional communion linked together, in his phrase, "brothers and fellow slaves," by which he seems to have meant family members who served one another. In a discourse written for his wife, he stated that between him and her there was "no difference of soul or body."

In more general terms, "love," Augustine affirmed, "ties men together in a knot of unity."[36] "Many souls," he wrote elsewhere, "are made one soul through loving."[37] In a famous passage out of the *City of God*, he stated that "two loves have made two cities," the one Jerusalem, the other Babylon, the one oriented toward

[32] Cicero, Laelius de amicitia, 8.27, *De senectute, De amicitia, De divinatione*, William A. Falconer, trans. (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 138: "Quod in homine multo est evidentius, primum ex ea caritate quae est inter natos et parentes, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere non potest."

[33] Suetonius, Caligula, *De vita Caesarum*, 4.15.3, *Suetonius*, J. C. Rolfe, trans. (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 1: 424: "He caused the names of his sisters to be included in all oaths: 'And I will not hold myself and my children dearer than I do Gaius and his sisters.'"

[34] Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram*, 11.42, Joseph Zucha, ed. (Prague, Vienna, and Leipzig, 1894), 378: "[Adam] noluit eam contristare . . . non quidem carnis uictus concupiscentia, quam nondum senserat in resistente lege membrorum legi mentis suae, sed amicali quadam beniuolentia, qua plerumque fit, ut offenditur deus, ne homo ex amico fiat inimicus." See also *De civitate Dei*, 14.11, *The City of God against the Pagans*, Philip Levine, trans. (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 4: 330. Adam obeyed for reason of friendship, "sociale necessitudine." There is an English translation, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, John Hammond Taylor, S.J., trans. (New York, 1982).

[35] Tertullian, *De paenitentia*, 10.4, J. G. Ph. Borleffs, ed. (Turnhout, 1954), 1: 237: "Inter fratres atque conservos, ubi communis spes, metus, gaudium, dolor, passio, quia communis spiritus de communi domino et patre, quid tu hos aliud quam te opinaris." Elsewhere, Tertulian used "fratres et conservos" to refer to himself and his wife; *Ad uxorem* 2.7, A. Kroymann, ed. (Turnhout, 1954), 2: 393: "quale iugum fidelium duorum unius spei, unius uoti, unius disciplinae, eiusdem servitutis! Ambo fratres, ambo conserui, nulla spiritus carnisue discretio."

[36] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, Prooemium, 6, Joseph Martin, ed., in *Aurelii Augustini opera*, 4.1 (Turnhout, 1962), 4: "Deinde ipsa caritas, quae sibi homines inuicem nodo unitatis adstringit, non haberet aditum refundendorum et quasi miscendorum sibimet animorum, si homines per homines nihil discerent."

[37] Augustine, *In Iohannis . . . evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, R. Willems, O.S.B., ed. (Turnhout, 1984), 348: "multae animae per charitatem una anima est et multa corda unum cor." There is an English translation, *Lectures or Tractates on the Gospel according to John*, Marcus Dods, D.D., trans., 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1873).

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Heaven, the other toward Earth, the both embracing all humanity and active throughout history.[38] In patristic thought, *caritas* in the community functions as an essential cohesive force, much as *potestas* or power had served in pagan conceptions of society.

But *caritas* could work mischief, too, as Adam's fall confirmed. Christians were supposed to love everyone, but were they required to love everyone equally? Could they love some persons more, others less? The theologian who launched a tradition of speculation on degrees of affection was Origen of Alexandria, active in the early third century, one of the most original minds of the early church. Origen wrote extensive commentaries on the books of the Old and New Testaments and made fundamental contributions to the methods of biblical exegesis. Our interests here are in a commentary and two homilies he devoted to the Old Testament Canticle of Canticles, or Song of Songs. This erotic text perplexed ascetically minded Christian exegetes as it had Jewish commentators before them. Origen's commentary and homilies do not survive in the original Greek, but they are extant in Latin translations, by Jerome and by Rufinus, respectively.[39] Authors of the high Middle Ages commonly attributed these works to Ambrose of Milan, and this association with one of the four Latin fathers gave them added authority.

The crucial passage was Canticle 2.4, in which the maiden says of her king-lover, "he has ordered me in love." Inspired by this statement, Origen affirms that "saints" or the "perfect" would not love everyone equally but in ordered degrees. Love was, to be sure, a universal human experience. "Without doubt," he stated, "all men love something, and there is no one who arrives at an age when he can love who does not love."[40] But we do not and should not love all equally. First and foremost, we are to love God. After God, we love in order our parents, our children, and our "domestics," by which Origen seems to mean both co-residential relatives and servants. Finally, we love our neighbors—those outside our homes.[41] Origen assigned no formal place to love of self, and he did not in this ranking mention love of spouse or siblings. In another passage, however, he proposed a parallel order of affection in regard to women: we should love first our mothers, who also deserve the highest reverence; then our sisters but not with the same honor; then wives in a special fashion; and then all other women, both relatives and neighbors, according to their merit, but always chastely.[42] Origen, in sum, was not rigid or rigidly consistent in the order or orders he proposed. But, quite clearly, in the force

[38] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 14.28, *The City of God*, trans. Levine, 4: "Fecerunt itaque civitates duas amores duo." See also in his Commentary on the Psalms 64.2, *Patrologia Latina*, edn. Migne, 36: col. 223: "Duas istas civitates faciunt duo amores: Jerusalem facit amor Dei; Babyloniam facit amor seculi."

[39] The standard edition of the commentary and the two homilies is Origen, *Homilien zu Samuel I zum Hohelied und an den Propheten: Kommentar zu Hohelied in Rufins und Hieronymus Uebersetzungen*, W. A. Baehrens, ed. (Leipzig, 1925). The two homilies, which seem to have circulated more widely than the commentary, are printed in Latin with a French translation in Origen, *Homélies sur le Cantique des Cantiques: Introduction, traduction et notes* by Dom Olivier Rousseau, O.S.B., 2d edn. (Paris, 1966). There is an English translation of these works in Origen, *The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies*, R. P. Lawson, trans. (Westminister, Md., and London, 1957).

[40] Cant. Cantic. Liber 3, *Homilien*, edn. Baehrens, 186: "Omnes homines amant sine dubio aliquid et nullus est, qui ad id aetatis venerit, ut amare iam possit, et non aliquid amet."

[41] Origenes in Cant. Cantic. Homilia 2.8, *Homilien*, edn. Baehrens, 52: "Ut autem post Deum etiam inter nos ordo ponatur, primum mandatum, ut 'diligamus' parentes, secundum ut filios, tertium ut domesticos nostros."

[42] *Ibid.*, 188–89: "Et maiore quidem cum honorificentia matri deferenda dilectio est, sequenti vero gradu cum quadam nihilominus reverentia etiam sororibus. Proprio vero quodam et sequestrato ab his more caritas coniugibus exhibenda. Post has vero personas pro meritis etiam et causis uniquique in omni, ut supradiximus, castitate deferenda dilectio est. Secundum haec vero etiam de patre vel fratre atque aliis propinquis observabimus."

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field of affection, the persons presumably living with us—parents, children, and domestics—were at the center. Fondness, on the other hand, fades with distance.

Biblical commentators and theologians of late antiquity received Origen's notion of an *ordo caritatis* with enthusiasm.[43] Augustine provided a dynamic version of the same model.[44] Love, Augustine explained, is like a fire that first consumes the objects close to it, then those more distant. Your brother is closest to you, and he is first to be warmed by your love. Then love should be extended to neighbors, and then to strangers who do not wish you ill. "Go beyond even these," he urged his readers, "reach the point that you love even enemies."[45] Love for those closest to us is thus a school of sentiment, from which all other loves are learned.

Moreover, this notion of an *ordo caritatis* explained several discomfiting passages in the New Testament, in which the founder of Christianity apparently condemns familial affections. In Matthew 10.37, Jesus asserted, "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me."[46] Still stronger are his words in Luke 14.26: "If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."[47] These passages, concluded the commentators, were not a condemnation of familial love or of self-love but rather of disordered love. The good person should love parents, wife, and children, and even himself, but only after God.

The ancient sages, in sum, both pagan and Christian, recognized in the household a community of especially strong affection. Moreover, they saw within it a place of psychological solace or refreshment. Cicero contrasted the relaxation and enjoyment deriving from domestic activities with the vexing labors of public life.[48] Augustine went so far as to compare the *requies temporalis*, "which you find when you enter your home," with the *requies sempiterna*, the "eternal rest," to be expected in the house of God.[49] He seems to make of the home a terrestrial analog to Heaven.

Much has been written in recent years about the loving or affective family as a modern, even a recent formation, about the coldness, indifference, or insensitivity that allegedly characterized domestic ties in the distant past.[50] But what, then, are

[43] See Hélène Pétré, *Caritas: Etude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne* (Louvain, 1948).

[44] Most particularly in Augustine, *In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus decem* 8.10, translated as *Commentaire de la première épître de S. Jean*, Paul Agaësse, S.J., trans. (Paris, 1961), 346. See Jacques Gallay, *La Charité fraternelle selon les "Tractatus in Primam Johannis" de St. Augustin* (Lyon, 1953).

[45] Augustine, *In epistolam Iohannis* 8.10: "Transcende et ipsos; perveni, ut diligas inimicos." Earlier, he stated, "Qui usque ad inimicos pervenit, non transilit fratres" (Who reaches enemies does not skip over brothers).

[46] The Vulgate text of Matth. 10.37 is: "Qui amat patrem et matrem super me, non est me dignus; qui amat filium aut filiam super me, non est me dignus."

[47] Luc. 14.26: "Si quis venit ad me, et non odit patrem et matrem et uxorem et filios et fratres et sorores adhuc autem et animam suam non potest meus esse discipulus."

[48] *M. Tulli Ciceronis epistulae*, Vol. 2: *Epistulae ad Atticum*, L. C. Pursen, ed. (Oxford, 1958), 9.10.3: "et, ut verum loquar, aetas iam a diuturnis laboribus devexa ad otium domesticarum me rerum delectatione mollivit."

[49] Augustine, *In epistolam Iohannis tractatus decem* 10.9: "Domum tuam intras propter requiem temporalem, domum Dei intras propter requiem sempiternam. Si ergo in domo tua, ne quid peruersum satagis, in domo Dei ubi salus proposita est et requies sine fine, debes pati quantum in te est, si quid forte peruersum videris?"

[50] On the alleged "sentimentalizing," see Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York, 1975). On the "affective" family, see also Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York, 1977). A recent statement of this view may be found in Philippe Ariès, "Introduction," *A History of Private Life*, Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, gen. eds., Vol. 3: *The Passions of the Renaissance*, Roger Chartier, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 8: "Ultimately [in the eighteenth century] the family became the focus of private life . . . It became something it had never been: a refuge,

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we to make of these sentimental passages, of many others that could be cited, from ancient authors? Unmistakably, these authors assume that persons who live together will normally love together, and that this love is the first to be learned and the last to be relinquished.

I ought not to imply that a modern set of familial sentiments emerged fully formed out of ancient Mediterranean waters. As suggested by the lack of a single name to identify it, the co-residential unit still did not show clear boundaries with or against the larger society. Augustine, for example, in his Commentary on John, was very vague in distinguishing the circles of *fratres*, *proximi*, *ignoti*, and *inimici*; in this instance, he made no mention at all of the family or domestic unit. There is little sense of polarity, still less of hostility, between the domestic and the public realms. Only the intensity, not the nature of affection, changes as one moves beyond the domestic circle. Neighbors and strangers are not viewed as heartless and menacing, only as persons whom we are justified in loving less.

Medieval commentators and theologians were equally attracted by Origen's seminal concept of the *ordo caritatis*.[51] In the twelfth century, in one of the earliest systematic works of medieval theology, Hugh of St. Victor proposed a simple ranking: one loved God above all, then one's self, then "others."[52] This would be a standard ordering. If the high ranking given one's self seems odd to us, it was because the salvation of one's soul outranked every other value; one could not sin, for example, to aid a neighbor. Hugh's student Richard of St. Victor, writing some time between 1152 and 1173, distinguished four degrees of what he called "violent," meaning passionate, love. His chief interest was in the psychological states of love and not its objects. He did, however, affirm that, in the domain of human relationships, conjugal love dominates all other affective ties. It unites the married couple in "chains of peace" and makes their union "pleasing and joyous."[53]

For our purposes, the most influential of all twelfth-century commentators on love and its objects was Master Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris. Probably between 1155 and 1160, he published the *Four Books of Sentences*, which was destined to become the standard textbook of medieval Christian theology.[54] Subsequently, too, it attracted numerous commentaries.[55] The *Sentences* include an entire chapter

to which people fled in order to escape the scrutiny of outsiders; an emotional center; and a place where, for better or for worse, children were the focus of attention." For the most recent of many criticisms of Ariès's thesis on the supposed failure in the past to recognize children as children, see Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990).

[51] Pierre Rousselot, *Pour l'histoire du problème de l'amour au Moyen Age* (Münster, 1908). Rousselot found a distinction in the medieval authors between "physical" (that is, natural) and "ecstatic" (mystical) love. His chief interest was in the latter.

[52] Hugh of St. Victor, Summa Sententiarum Tract. 4.2., cap. 7, *Patrologia Latina*, J. C. Migne, ed. (Paris, 1880), 176, col. 126: "Et in hoc etiam potest ordo charitatis considerari; quia Deum prae omnibus diligere debemus . . . post ipsum nos ipsos, tertio loco alios." This tract is traditionally attributed to Hugh.

[53] Richard of St. Victor, *Epître à Severin sur la charité, par Ives; Les Quatre degrés de la violente charité: Texte critique avec introduction, traduction et notes*, Gervais Dumeige, ed. (Paris, 1955), 145: "Mutuus namque intimi amoris affectus inter fedeatos pacis vincula adstringit, et indissolubilem illam perpetuandam que societate gratam et jocundam reddit." This passage is from the "De IV gradibus violentae caritatis." According to Gervais, Bernard of Clairvaux is more likely than Richard to have been the author of the letter to Severinus. Other twelfth-century theologians who commented extensively on love were William of St.-Thierry and Peter of Blois, but their interests tended to be again in the psychological stages of love and not its different objects. See also Gervais Dumeige, *Richard de Saint-Victor et l'idée chrétienne de l'amour* (Paris, 1952).

[54] *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV Libris distinctae* (Rome, 1981).

[55] For an inventory, see F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1947).

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entitled "The Order of Loving, What Should Come before and What After."[56] Peter first examined the opinion of the ancients as to the proper ranking. His own conclusion is the following: "From the foregoing it is clearly to be concluded that a distinction is to be made in loving, so that we love different persons with a differing, not equal, affection; above all we love God, ourselves in second place, in third our parents, then our children and siblings, then domestics, finally enemies."[57] The Master's dependence on pseudo-Ambrose, really Origen, is clear, but he also departed from him in one striking way. Origin had made clear distinctions between neighbors, whom we must love "with our whole heart," and enemies, whom we only have to love and not hate.[58] Master Peter, on the other hand, called all those beyond the domestic circle *inimici*, "enemies." We must still love these unfriendly outsiders, but his words strongly imply that they do not love us.

Lombard's assumption, that all beyond the domestic circle were enemies, bothered his commentators. For example, in 1245, Albert the Great argued, "Between the domestic and the enemy, there are many degrees of love, as for in-laws, fellow citizens, godparents, and the like."[59] In his view, Master Peter must have been using the term "domestics" in a metaphorical sense to signify the entire church. By this strained interpretation, the *inimici* become not all those outside our households but all those outside the church. But was this really the Master's intent?

Thomas Aquinas, in his own Commentary on the Sentences and in his *Summa Theologica*, seems not to discuss the question whether all persons outside the household can be called enemies.[60] But he did have much to say about the "order of loving" and devoted to it an entire "Questio" of his *Summa Theologica*.[61] He developed several distinctions between the love owed to one's closest relatives and the love owed to neighbors. Like many commentators before him, Thomas affirmed that domestic love is marked by greater intensity, while *caritas* cools with distance, like heat emanating from a fire.[62] Thomas further affirmed, as his predecessors seemingly had not, that love of those close to us differed in its origins from love for outsiders. Origen wrote about love among the "saints," that is, those moved by grace. Aquinas, in a manner typical of thirteenth-century scholasticism, stressed instead nature and the natural wellsprings of human behavior. In his view, our love for those joined to us by blood relationships was founded on nature and was therefore stable and durable; in contrast, our love for those unrelated to us was

[56] "De ordine diligendi, quid prius, quid posterius": *Sententiae*, 2.174.

[57] *Ibid.*: "Ecce ex praemissis aperte insinuatur quae in affectu charitatis distinctio sit habenda; ut differenti affectu, non pari, homines diligamus, et ante omnia Deum; secundo nosipsos, tertio parentes, inde filios et fratres, post domesticos, demum inimicos diligamus. Sed inquunt illi, quae de ordine dilectionis supra dicuntur, esse referenda ad operum exhibitionem, quae differenter proximis exhibenda sunt. Primo parentibus, inde filiis, post domesticos, demum inimicos."

[58] Origen, *Homélies*, trans. Rousseau, 94: "nec dicit 'diligite inimicos vestros' ut vosmetipsos, sed tantum: 'diligite inimicos vestros.' Sufficit eis quod eos 'diligimus' et odio non habemus."

[59] *B. Alberti Magni . . . Opera omnia*, St. C. A. Borgnet, ed. (Paris, 1894), 28: 547: "Inter domesticum et inimicum sunt multi gradus, scilicet affinis, concivis, compaternalis, et hujusmodi." Albert further observed that the circle of loved ones up to domestics constituted a *societas ex convictu*, a community of those eating together, a *domus* or household.

[60] See *S Thomae Aquinatis Scriptum super Sententiis*, M. F. Moos, O.P., ed. (Paris, 1956), 3: 918–49, for his comment on Book 3, question 39 of the Sentences. For comment on Thomas's views, see Louis Bertrand Geiger, *Le Problème de l'amour chez saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Montreal, 1952).

[61] Aquinas, *ST* 2.2.q.26, *Opera omnia* (Rome, 1895), 8: 209–23.

[62] Aquinas, *ST* 2.2.q.27, a.7, *Opera omnia*, 8: 230: "Ergo diligere amicum est magis meritorium quam diligere inimicum . . . Sed sicut idem ignis in propinquiora fortius agit quam in remotiora, ita etiam caritas ferventius diligit coniunctos quam remotos."

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based on convention and was unstable and shifting.[63] Finally, the love that joins us to our closest relatives has many modes. We may count, as Thomas did not explicitly do, the ways of loving: these are the *amicitia* due to friends regarded as other selves, the sympathy from shared experiences that Tertullian noted, parental commitment to children, conjugal love, filial respect for parents, and so on. The love for neighbors, simple *amor caritatis* in Thomas's phrase, is single stranded and necessarily weak.

Thomas did not here draw explicit distinctions between co-residential and non-residential kin, but elsewhere he showed a clear picture of the *domus* as the constituent element of society. "It is manifest," he wrote, "that the *domus* holds an intermediate position between the individual and the city or the kingdom; for just as a single person is part of the *domus*, so each *domus* is part of the city of kingdom."[64] The *domus* is in turn based on three sets of relationships: lord to servant, husband to wife, father to child, all of which Thomas explored.[65]

Thomas further attempted to determine the order of loving among household members, although his efforts sometimes seem exercises in futility. Do parents love their children more or less than children love their parents? Parents love their children more, he concluded, for two reasons. Parents have greater certainty of who their children are than children have of who their parents are. And parents are conscious of their children for a longer time than children are conscious of their parents, and time strengthens love.

Are parents or spouses loved the more? By "reason of the good" they have wrought, parents merit greater affection, as we owe them our being. But, "by reason of the tie," spouses are more loved, as the conjugal pair are two in one flesh; to love one's spouse is therefore equivalent to loving one's self. Parents, however, deserve the greater honor. Is the father or the mother to be loved more? Thomas seems uncertain here, as personal qualities enter so strongly. However, other things being equal, fathers are to be loved more, since, in the ancient and scholastic view of procreation, fathers supplied the active element in conception. Quaint though his arguments may be, Thomas clearly thought of the household as a community of affection. Moreover, the love within it is intense, natural, complex, and lasting.

If Thomas presented a rather static and detached model of society and family, his approach may mirror the relatively stable state of medieval society in the placid thirteenth century. In contrast, over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, plagues, famines, wars, and social unrest shook the equilibrium of the medieval world and undermined the serene outlook of its thinkers. The greatest sages in that disturbed epoch tried not so much to construct abstract models of the natural order as to offer moral guidance to perplexed individuals living amid tumultuous surroundings. One theologian sensitive to moral issues was Antoninus, archbishop of Florence in the middle fifteenth century, shepherd to a large, rich, and troubled flock of merchants, bankers, and artisans. In his own *Summa Theologica*, Antoninus included a chapter called "De amore" (On love). In it, he examined love of God,

[63] *Ibid.*, a.8, 8: 218: "Si autem comparemus coniunctionem ad coniunctionem, constat quod coniunctio naturalis originis est prior et immobilior: quia est secundum id quod pertinet ad substantiam; aliae autem coniunctiones sunt supervenientes, et removeri possunt . . . Et ideo amicitia consanguineorum est stabilior. . . . Amicitia tamen consanguineorum est in his quae ad naturam spectant."

[64] Aquinas, *ST* 2.2.50.3, *Opera omnia*, 8: 376: "Manifestum est autem quod domus medio modo se habet inter unam singularem personam et civitatem vel regnum: nam sicut una singularis persona est pars domus, ita una domus est pars civitatis vel regni."

[65] Aquinas, *ST* 1.2.105.4, *Opera omnia*, 7: 271: "Sic igitur in domestica communione sunt tres combinationes: scilicet domini ad servum, viri ad uxorem, patris ad filium."

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love of self, love of children, and love of wife. Antoninus saw no need to exhort his readers to love children or spouse. Rather, he warned them repeatedly against excessive attachment to offspring, husband, or wife. Here is his denunciation of parents:

> Oh how many are the parents, who because of disordered love for their children, earn damnation! Oh how many are they, who serve their children like idols! . . . [Making] idols of their children, they accumulate wealth by fair means or foul in order to leave them wealthy, and they are unconcerned about going to hell.[66]

Antoninus also condemned the tyranny of parents who prevent their children from entering the religious life. He gave expression to a longstanding ecclesiastical suspicion of parental power.

There was danger, too, in conjugal love; it was not that spouses lacked affection but, in Antoninus's view, they often loved not wisely but too well. He cited from Augustine the salutary example of Adam who, at Eve's request, ate the forbidden fruit "lest he displease and sadden his companion."[67] The church gave no blanket endorsement to familial sentiments.

Did these speculations of schoolmen reflect deeper changes in late medieval society? We can look for evidence of shifting attitudes toward the family to movements of popular piety. A cult of paramount interest here is that of St. Joseph, the foster father of Christ. Late ancient and early medieval piety had largely ignored Joseph. In contrast, in the late Middle Ages, he attracted considerable attention, even in lay and vernacular poetry. In the fourteenth century, French poet Eustache Deschamps composed a ballad in praise of Joseph. The poem observes that Joseph had guarded his wife and child "in great fear" and "never in this world had a holiday."[68] Eustache says to fathers everywhere

> You who serve wife and infants
> Ever have Joseph in your remembrance.[69]

Closely related to the veneration of Joseph is the cult of the Holy Family. The words *Sancta Familia* seem totally absent in the voluminous devotional literature antedating the fourteenth century. Artistic representations of the Holy Family also seem to date only from the fourteenth century. Eustache Deschamps reported that he had seen in many churches representations of the flight into Egypt.[70]

How can we explain the growing veneration of these domestic images, of the solicitous father and the small family forced to flee into a foreign land? Could it have been that many small families in the late Middle Ages felt themselves isolated

[66] Aquinas, *ST* tit. 5, cap. 2, "De amore" (1: 432): "O quot sunt parentes, qui propter inordinatum amorem ad filios, damnationem incurrunt! O quot sunt, qui eis quasi idolis inserviunt! Et nota, quod idololatria habuit initium ab inordinato amore parentum in filios, et e converso. Nam Ninus, qui aedificavit Ninivem, mortuo Bello patre suo, . . . Sic multi faciunt de filiis idola. Nam, ut dimittant eos divites, congregant per fas et nefas, nec curant ire ad infernum."

[67] *Ibid.*: "non quia credidit se per hoc similem Deo futurum, sed ne displiceret et contristaret sociam, ductus non amore concupiscentiae, quae adhuc non erat in eo, sed amore sociali, quo timet quia non offendet amicum suum, ut dicit Augustinus."

[68] *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, ed. (Paris, 1878), 1: 277–78 (no. 150): "Mere et enfant garda en grant doubtance . . . Et si n'ot oncq feste en ce monde ci." The allusion to a holiday may reflect the efforts of such prominent churchmen as Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, to have Joseph honored by a major feast day in the church calendar.

[69] *Ibid.*: "Vous qui servez a femme et a enfans/Aiez Joseph toudis en remembrance."

[70] *Ibid.*: "En pluseurs lieux est figuré ainsi, Lez un mulet, pour leur fair plaisance."

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The Virgin reading on donkey, *Book of Hours*, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, Brussels, MS IV 315, vol. 105v. The author would like to note for the record that he first saw a reproduction of this miniature in the study by Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, eds. Judith M. Bennett, Elizabeth A. Clark, Jean F. O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen, and Sarah Westphal-Wihl (Chicago, 1989), 135–61.

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and harassed, beleaguered by plague, famines, wars, and social uncertainties? The Holy Family according to its legend survived amid hostile and dangerous surroundings. For families facing similar uncertainties, perhaps its image offered a model of behavior and a promise of help.

In the late Middle Ages, this sense of an order in loving found expression in secular as well as religious writings. Lay people are, to be sure, slow to acquire voices in medieval cultural history. One place where they precociously learned to speak was Florence, capital of a new lay learning that was to culminate in humanism. In both domestic memoirs and formal treatises, Florentine writers commented extensively on the family and the sentiments associated with it. About 1360, a layman named Paolo da Certaldo included in his "Book of Good Customs" a passage on the four "greatest loves" in life. The greatest of all was love of one's own soul, followed by love for one's children, then for one's wife, and finally for one's friend. He did not mention love of God, but his ranking seems an expression in secular terms of the order proclaimed by theologians since Origen's time.[71] About 1393, an unnamed townsman of Paris instructed his wife on how she should order her affections: "you ought to be very loving and privy towards your husband above all other living creatures, moderately loving and privy towards your good and near kinsfolk in the flesh and your husband's kinfolk, and very distant with all other men."[72] The ancient concept of degrees of loving extended beyond the ranks of the erudite.

The abundant domestic literature of late medieval Florence further indicates a sharpening division between the family's inner circle and the surrounding society. Giovanni Morelli, a Florentine writing in the years from 1393 to 1403, instructed his descendants on how to counter the dangers of the world. One such danger was plague. The defensive perimeter he drew up encircles the family. The family also was to be taken to a safe locale and given the proper food. The family also had to be treated to the proper cultural diversions to maintain morale, even if they were costly. "Hold your family," Morelli recommended, "in pleasure and delight, and seek together with them the good and healthy life."[73]

Although the menace of plague threatened the family from the outer world, there were other dangers, too. The government's insatiable appetite for taxes and the machinations of dishonest neighbors could rain ruin on the family, if these intrusions were not countered by appropriate measures. In describing those methods, Morelli warned against trust in anyone outside the household, even seeming friends, even close relatives. "Strangers I call them," he pronounced, "since where money is involved or any property, there can be found neither relative nor friend who loves you more than he does himself."[74] He continued: "A relative or friend will remain for as long as your property and status shall last, whence he thinks to gain some profit."[75] Morelli would have agreed with Peter Lombard's blunt assessment that, beyond the domestic circle, there are only enemies.

[71] Paolo da Certaldo, *Libro di buoni costumi*, cap. 156, edn. Branca, 37: "I maggiori amori che sieno si sono quattro: il primo si è quello de l'anima tua, il secondo si è quello de' tuoi figli, il terzo si è quello de la tua donna, cioè della buona moglie, lo quarto si è da l'uno amico a l'altro."

[72] *The Goodman of Paris (Le Ménagier de Paris): A Treatise on the Moral and Domestic Economy by a Citizen of Paris (c. 1393)*, Eileen Power, trans. (London, 1928), 107.

[73] Giovani Morelli, *Ricordi*, V. Branca, ed. (Florence, 1969), 213–14: "tieni in diletto e in piacere la tua famiglia e fa con loro insieme buona e sana vita."

[74] Morelli, *Ricordi*, 173: "Istrani gli chiamo, perché dove giuoca pecunia o alcuno bene proprio, né parente né amico si truova che voglia meglio a te che a sé, disposta la buona coscienza da parte."

[75] *Ibid.*: "Peró che tanto basta il parente e l'amico quanto ti basterà l'avere e lo stato dove e' penserà trarre utilità."

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But, if the Florentine family felt threatened by disease, taxes, and pervasive dishonesty, its members seem to have developed a stronger sense of internal cohesion and seem to have found, or hoped to find, in their companionship essential rest and refreshment. Giannozzo Alberti, the sage who dominates the third book of Leon Battista Alberti's *Four Books on the Family*, urged the young Alberti males to eschew public office and government honors. "My children," he advised, "let us remain happy with our little family."[76] He uses here the diminutive form, *famigliola*, clearly implying affection. This seems a novel usage. The Latin equivalent of the word, *familiola*, meant in classical times only a small band of slaves. Alberti means by it a dear and loving group of parents and children, clearly separated from the outer world and emotionally independent of it.

What explains the new and wide division between household and society evident in these Florentine texts? The real change, as I see it, was less in the family itself—always thought to be a community of affection—than in the apprehension of external society as hostile and demanding. Governments were becoming better organized, more powerful, and, through their taxes and policies, more intrusive than ever into the domestic realm. The family itself was coming to rely more and more for its support on cash transactions. Contractual obligations and cash connections now linked households within the larger society. But loan oft loses friend, and so might every other type of monetary transaction.

The unnamed citizen of Paris told of a couple who drew up a nuptial agreement, stipulating their separate rights and duties.[77] One day, the husband fell into a river and called upon his wife to save him from drowning. The wife consulted the agreement and found no clause obligating her to rescue a drowning spouse. She let him sink, though others finally saved him. The moral here seems clear: contract and cash, which govern relationships in the outer world, should not do so within the family. By the end of the Middle Ages, at least in certain areas and certain classes of European society, the family had become a moral unity and a moral universe, in the sense I have defined.

Of course, the evolution of family structures and cultures continued after the Middle Ages ended. Styles of domesticity, the set of values and expectations associated with it, have changed across modern times even as lifestyles change. The tension between the family and the greater society has also waxed and waned, according to shifting patterns of politics and modes of private behavior. Many of these fluctuations in modern family history have been studied in what is now a vast literature.[78]

Nonetheless, the ancient and medieval origins of many contemporary attitudes toward the family need to be recognized. Still today, the family seems to some a prison. For them, it preserves its ancient meaning as a band of slaves; it continues

[76] Leon Battista Alberti, *Opera omnia*, Cecil Grayson, ed. (Bari, 1960), 1: 1982, 182: "Figliuoli miei, stiamoci in sul piano, e diamo opera d'essere buoni e giusti massai. Stiànci lieti colla famigliuola nostra, dodiànci quelli beni ci largisce la fortuna faccendone parte alli amici nostri, ché assai si trouva onorato chi vive senza vizio e senza disonestà."

[77] *The Goodman of Paris*, trans. Power, 138.

[78] The recent, collaborative *History of Private Life*, Vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, is devoted almost entirely to the family, especially in France. Also see Michael Mitterauer and Reinhold Sieder, *The European Family*, Karla Osterveen and Manfred Hörzinger, trans. (Oxford, 1982); and *Histoire de la famille*, André Burgière, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Martine Segalen, and Françoise Zonabend, eds., Vol. 1: *Mondes lointains, mondes anciens*; Vol. 2: *Le Choc des modernités* (Paris, 1986). For relations of the family with kin and community, see Peter Laslett, "Family, Kinship and Collectivity as Systems of Support in Pre-Industrial Europe: A Consideration of the 'Nuclear-Hardship' Hypothesis," *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988): 153–75.

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to reflect the emphasis on authority written into its distant past. To others, it seems a haven, a refuge in which the furious pace of getting and spending is slackened, the burden of affairs is lightened, tensions are eased, enmities forgotten. For these, as for Augustine long ago, the family is *requies*. Still others argue that the traditional family, based on monogamy and child rearing, does not meet their own emotional needs, that other forms of domestic partnerships should be accepted. They question only the universal applicability of one definition of the family, not the value of the supportive and recreative functions the small domestic community has long provided. The cult and culture of the modern family, its problems, too, have traces running deep into ancient and medieval history, which here in part I have tried to follow.

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Of Poverty and Primacy: Demand, Liquidity, and the Flemish Economic Miracle, 1050–1200

DAVID NICHOLAS

No observer at the turn of the millennium, on the eve of the great economic revival of the central Middle Ages, would have been likely to predict that the county of Flanders would become the commercial and industrial center of northwestern Europe. The original nuclei of Flanders were Frankish frontier districts (*pagi*) around Bruges and Ghent. The tenth-century counts conquered substantial territories farther south, where the majority of the population was Romance, but they never established a firm organization of castellanies and bailiwicks there.[1] Most of their southern territory was lost to the French crown in the late twelfth century, but Lille, Douai, Orchies, and their castellanies remained part of Flanders except between 1305 and 1369. In the 1030s, the counts annexed "imperial" Flanders, the area between a canal built in the late tenth century from Ghent to the sea on the west and the Scheldt and Dender rivers on the east. Eleventh-century Flanders was thus a hybrid creation, with a firm frontier on the east but a fluctuating southern border.[2]

Before this critical period, Flanders was anything but an economic leader; rather, contemporaries considered it backward. As late as 1015, the incorrigible propagandist Dudo of Saint-Quentin expected his readers to believe his claim that King Charles "the Simple" had first offered Flanders to the Scandinavians but they rejected it because it was too swampy and received Normandy instead.[3] Yet, rather suddenly, in the late eleventh century, Flanders became the hub of a northwestern economic region. The reasons for Flanders' rapid rise to economic preeminence

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[1] A. C. F. Koch, *De rechterlijke organisatie van het graafschap Vlaanderen tot in de 13e eeuw* (Antwerp, 1951).

[2] See in general Jan Dhondt, *Les Origines de la Flandre et de l'Artois* (Arras, 1944); and F. L. Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes* (Brussels, 1943). On the incorporation of "imperial" Flanders, see K. G. van Acker, "De 'libertas castrensis operis' van Antwerpen en de Ottogracht te Gent," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n.s. 41 (1987): 1–9; A. C. F. Koch, "Het land tussen Schelde en Dender vóór de inlijving bij Vlaanderen (met een opmerking over het ontstaan van Oudenaarde)," *Handelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Oudenaarde* (Feestnummer 1956): 56–73.

[3] Jules Lair, ed., *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae Ducum auctore Dudone Sancti Quintini* (Caen, 1865), 168. There is no independent confirmation of this tale, which was probably inspired by the rivalry between Normandy and Flanders in Dudo's time, but there may be a kernel of truth in it. It is hard to believe that Charles would not have longed to dispose of two irritations simultaneously by using the Northmen against Count Baldwin II of Flanders (879–918), who had supported first Odo of Paris and then Zwentibold against him.

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have not been explained satisfactorily, and the problem is crucial for our understanding of the dynamics of the larger European economic expansion.

An understandable tendency exists to think of Flanders in terms of its cities, but they were not especially large by eleventh-century standards. We have no population figures until much later, yet it is most unlikely that any Flemish town had more than five thousand inhabitants in 1100. Apart from princely castles, only Bruges, Ghent, Lille, Douai, and St. Omer are thought, on the basis of extremely ambiguous evidence, to have had defenses that early.[4] Although the claim continues to be made that Anglo-Saxon England was an economic backwater awaiting its ruthless Norman saviors,[5] Domesday Book and other texts show that late eleventh-century England had at least sixteen towns with populations above two thousand.[6] Fluctuations in the boundaries of Flanders make comparisons suspect, but the urban density of Walloon Flanders was probably close to this. "Flemish" or Germanic Flanders contained the largest towns, Ghent and Bruges, but lagged behind the south in overall urbanization.

Even then, Flanders was unable to support these cities without substantial imports of food and industrial raw materials, and it could not have paid for them by drawing on reserves of precious metals. In fact, an increase in the money supply could have played little role in the economic upsurge of Flanders. Flanders did gain some specie from the money fief paid intermittently to its counts by the English kings,[7] but the ingenious argument that metal seized from the Muslims during the Crusades fueled the European economic revival cannot work for Flanders.[8] Count Robert II returned to Flanders from the first crusade less wealthy than when he left. The Flemish princes then absented themselves from the blessed bloodshed until the 1130s, by which time most of the Muslim treasure had already been stolen.[9] Increased supplies of silver only became conspicuous in Flanders during the second half of the twelfth century. The fact that foreign coins were legal tender in Flanders, and that the counts imitated them, suggests the wealth of Flanders was not in specie but rather in people, goods, and services.[10]

Massive Flemish imports thus created patterns of consumption with a significant impact on the economy of the entire region. This notion is a truism for the cities of the Mediterranean basin, but it has only been admitted generally for those of

[4] Edith Ennen, *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt* (Bonn, 1953), 162, 310–11; F. L. Ganshof, *Over Stadsontwikkeling tusschen Loire en Rijn gedurende de Middeleeuwen*, 2d edn. (Antwerp, 1944), 40–41.

[5] R. Allen Brown, *The Normans and the Norman Conquest* (New York, 1968), 51–52, 99–100; Carl Stephenson, *Borough and Town* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), decisively refuted by James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936), and in numerous subsequent studies of individual English cities. As one example, see Gillian Keir's extremely imaginative use of ward and parish dedications and boundaries to suggest that the eleventh century, particularly its first half, was an age of great expansion in London; Christopher N. L. Brooke assisted by Gillian Keir, *London 800–1216: The Shaping of a City* (Los Angeles, 1975), 129–77.

[6] H. C. Darby, "Domesday England," in H. C. Darby, ed., *A New Historical Geography of England before 1600* (Cambridge, 1976), 66–71, summarizing Darby's monumental *The Domesday Geography of England*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1952–77).

[7] J. A. Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries, 800–1800* (New York, 1977), 50, has argued that this was a significant source of revenue. While it would have been a major stimulus in the early twelfth century had it been paid regularly, it was not. By the mid-thirteenth century, the money fief was accounting for only about 2.75 percent of the countess of Flanders' ordinary revenue; see Theo Luykx, *De grafelijke financiële instellingen en het grafelijke patrimonium in Vlaanderen tijdens de regering van Margareta van Constantinopel (1244–1278)* (Brussels, 1961), 205–12.

[8] Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1985), 46–58 and literature cited.

[9] Theo Luykx, *De Graven van Vlaanderen en de Kruisvaarten*, 2d edn. (Hasselt, 1967), 71–72.

[10] Peter Spufford, "Coinage and Currency," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 2d edn., Vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1987), esp. 809, 813.

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medieval northern Europe since World War II.[11] Virtually every part of Europe north of the Seine produced something that was sold in Flanders. Flanders' industrial capacity and the ability of its merchants to transcend local differences to some extent and cooperate meant that Italians were drawn into the Flemish economic network, both at the cycle of Flemish fairs and at those of Champagne. The only thing the Flemings had to sell—and it was extremely important—was woolen cloth. Yet the Flemings never completely monopolized the export market for textiles, which in itself was not large enough to serve as a total explanation for Flanders' domination of the trade of northwestern Europe. Flanders also fulfilled significant service functions, providing an enormous internal market and eventually functioning as a gateway to the eastern Low Countries and Germany for English and French raw materials.[12] As institutions of government became more sophisticated in the late Middle Ages, tolls, customs, and the fees and monopolies of local shipping and brokerage guilds generated a huge income for Flanders from goods in transit through the principality. This in turn helped pay for the large amounts of food and industrial raw materials that were being imported.[13]

I shall suggest therefore, that, contrary to previous explanations advanced for the economic preeminence of Flanders, its sway owed more to its role as a consumer and transmitter than to its production of goods and services. The underdeveloped state of the early Flemish economy quickly created patterns of demand that made Flanders the touchstone of a broadly based economic region in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. At precisely this time, a change in Flemish property law caused preeminence within Flanders to gravitate decisively away from the Walloon areas and toward Germanic Flanders, with the growth of Ghent and Bruges and the phenomenal expansion of Ypres. Flanders grew economically by spending beyond its means in order to import both grain to feed its urban and even rural population and industrial raw materials to provide them with jobs.

THE ARGUMENT THAT THE SOPHISTICATION of Flemish governing institutions was a catalyst to economic development is utterly groundless. Jan Dhondt, following Henri Pirenne, considered the eleventh and twelfth-century counts exceptionally perspicacious administrators who founded new towns, built castles, promoted canal

[11] For the older view, see especially the works of Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, 5th edn. (Brussels, 1929), 1: 177–209; and Pirenne's works available in English: *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York, 1957), 44–57; *Medieval Cities* (Princeton, N.J., 1925); and *Early Democracies in the Low Countries: Urban Society and Political Conflict in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York, 1963), 1–26. Pirenne's views were challenged first by Frans Blockmans, *Het Gentsche Stadspatriciaat tot omstreeks 1302* (Antwerp, 1938); then more comprehensively by Jean Lestocquoy, *Les Dynasties bourgeoises d'Arras du XI^e^ au XV^e^ siècle* (Arras, 1945); and Lestocquoy's more synthetic comparative study, *Aux origines de la bourgeoisie: Les Villes de Flandre et d'Italie sous le gouvernement des patriciens (XI^e^–XV^e^ siècles)* (Paris, 1952). Among more recent works, see Guy Fourquin, *Les Campagnes de la région parisienne à la fin du Moyen Age, du milieu du XIII^e^ siècle au début du XVI^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1964); André Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes (XI^e^–XIII^e^) siècles* (Paris, 1973); and D. Nicholas, *Town and Countryside: Social, Economic, and Political Tensions in Fourteenth-Century Flanders* (Bruges, 1971), to cite only a few examples.

[12] On Flanders as a gateway for English trade, see Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 58–64.

[13] Flemish market mechanisms of the period after 1200 clearly transcend my topic. For the Bruges market, see J. A. van Houtte, *Bruges: Essai d'histoire urbaine* (Brussels, 1967), 51–76, and his summary of the enormous literature, 132–34; and D. Nicholas, "The English Trade at Bruges in the Last Years of Edward III," *Journal of Medieval History*, 5 (1979): 23–61. On the riverine trade in French goods destined for eastern markets, see D. Nicholas, *The Metamorphosis of a Medieval City: Ghent in the Age of the Arteveldes, 1302–1390* (Lincoln, Neb., 1987), 178–97, 224–67; and D. Nicholas, "The Scheldt Trade and the 'Ghent War' of 1379–1385," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 144 (1978): 189–359.

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building, and established the "five fairs" of Flanders, thus providing an environment in which trade and industry would flourish.[14] More recently, Geoffrey Koziol has emphasized the impact of the Peace of God, which was proclaimed in the archbishopric of Reims in 1024 and periodically renewed.[15]

Yet, although the counts' financial and judicial administration was certainly sophisticated by the late twelfth century, no evidence supports this claim for the period before Count Baldwin VII (1111–1119).[16] Furthermore, even by the standards of the time, eleventh-century Flanders was an extraordinarily violent region. The edifying tales of revival repentance in the saints' lives may suggest a different story, but the monks who preached the peace of God in Flanders found the place appalling. Conditions were most tumultuous in the coastal areas where, perhaps paradoxically but perhaps not, the counts' most important domains were located.[17] Archbishop Fulk of Reims, who was killed on order of Count Baldwin II of Flanders in 900, was only half right in describing the people of the diocese of Thérouanne, which included western Flanders, as "of barbarous . . . savagery and language." The Norman count William Longsword was assassinated by the Flemish count Arnulf I at a peace conference in 942.[18] Peter the Hermit's Low Country followers, called "Tafurs," gained an unsavory reputation for cannibalism of Turkish corpses on the first crusade.[19] The Life of Arnulf, which was finished in 1121 about a saint who died in 1087, reports that "at that time . . . throughout Flanders, daily homicides and incessant spilling of human blood had troubled the peace and quiet of the entire area. Thus a great number of nobles, through the

[14] Jan Dhondt, "Développement urbain et initiative comtale en Flandre au XI[e] siècle," *Revue du Nord*, 30 (1948): 133–56; Alain Derville, "Les Origines de Gravelines et de Calais," *Revue du Nord*, 66 (1984): 1051–69. For a recent study showing the initiative of the counts in the eleventh century in diverting the Satis, which made possible the development of Douai, see Dietrich Lohrmann, "Entre Arras et Douai: Les Moulins de la Scarpe au XI[e] siècle et les détournements de la Satis," *Revue du Nord*, 66 (1984): 1023–49.

[15] Geoffrey G. Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders," *Historical Reflections*, 14 (1987): 531–49.

[16] A study of Flemish government and law after the early twelfth century is outside our subject. Of many relevant works, see A. Verhulst and M. Gysseling, eds., *Le Compte Général de 1187, connu sous le nom de "Gros Brief," et les institutions financières du comté de Flandre au XII[e] siècle* (Brussels, 1962); Bryce Lyon and A. E. Verhulst, *Medieval Finance: A Comparison of Financial Institutions in Northwestern Europe* (Providence, R.I., 1967). Of the many works of R. C. van Caenegem, English readers should see especially "Criminal Law in England and Flanders under King Henry II and Count Philip of Alsace," *Actes du Congrès de Naples de la Société Italienne d'Histoire du Droit* (1980): 231–54. Much has been made of the provost of the church of St. Donatian of Bruges being chancellor of Flanders and receiver of the count's domains from 1089. In fact, the office was domanial, and the chancery as a comital writing office only took form in the last decade of the largely absentee Count Thierry of Alsace (1128–65), who undertook four crusades to Palestine. On this point, see A. Verhulst and Th. de Hemptinne, "Le Chancelier de Flandre sous les comtes de la maison d'Alsace (1128–1191)," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 141 (1975): 267–311.

[17] For a different view, compare Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace," 531–49. Koziol followed the author of the Miracles of St. Ursmar in attributing the severity of the eleventh-century disorders to the emperor Henry III's recent war against Count Baldwin V. But his use of events at Oostburg, northeast of Bruges and now in the Netherlands, and at Bergues, which was then isolated in the coastal marshes and barely habitable, to prove that the disorders were worst in the area around Lille is rather curious; 535.

[18] Of the many accounts of this episode, see A. C. F. Koch, "Het graafschap Vlaanderen van de 9de eeuw tot 1070," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 2d edn. (Utrecht, 1981), 1: 368–69. Despite its unprepossessing title, this work contains articles of the highest standards of scholarship. See also Dhondt, *Origines de la Flandre et de l'Artois*, 43–44.

[19] L. A. M. Sumberg, "The 'Tafurs' and the First Crusade," *Mediaeval Studies*, 21 (1959): 225–26. In identifying the Tafurs as "Flemish," however, Sumberg made the common error of equating Flanders with the entire southern Low Countries. The Tafur king was born in the Ardennes and spent time in the episcopal palace at Liège. His followers included not only people from Bruges, Ghent, and Lille but also from Liège, Namur, Hainault, Brabant, Arras, and Valenciennes.

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force of their prayers, convinced the bishop of the lord to visit the places where this atrocious cruelty especially raged and to instruct the indocile and bloody spirit of the Flemings a bit in the interest of peace and concord." The author especially condemned the inhabitants of Gistel, twenty kilometers southwest of Bruges and a place hard to reach because of the swamps, a problem in travel and thus communications at the turn of the twelfth century that is extremely important in any consideration of the efficacy of the counts' governance. The description by Galbert of Bruges of the violence and private warfare in 1127–1128 shows that little had changed in the interim.[20] The practical consequences of the Peace and Truce of God were thus minimal in Flanders, as in its neighbor Normandy, until around 1100[21] and probably considerably later: the level, extent, and intricacy of family violence in rural Flanders suggests the opposite of strong central authority even as late as the fourteenth century.[22]

The theses of Henri Pirenne, as nuanced by his students and disciples, constitute the basic point of departure for the traditional economic explanation of Flanders' growth.[23] Northwestern Gaul had been famed for its textiles in the Roman period, probably the result of local sheep farming, and this tradition persisted into the early Middle Ages. Pirenne argued that cloth exported from "Frisia" was actually made in Flanders and that Flemish textile makers of the central Middle Ages built on this strong foundation.[24] Pirenne also argued the importance of the reclamation of maritime Flanders, seeing it as the catalyst of a population growth so intense that it not only established the population basis of the cities but also forced many Flemings to emigrate to places as diverse and distant as England and Transylvania.[25] A classic study by Bryce Lyon uses maritime Flanders to develop a typology of connection between agrarian clearance and the ending of serfdom. To get labor, the founders of towns offered charters of liberties to attract colonists to new villages, some of which evolved into genuine towns. As a result, although maritime Flanders began its economic development late, it prospered quickly as an area of relatively small, independent communities.[26] Other scholars, some in the tradition of Pirenne, have emphasized the advanced state of Flemish agricultural

[20] Henri Platelle, "La Violence et ses remèdes en Flandre au XI[e] siècle," *Sacris Erudiri*, 20 (1971): 101–73; the passage from the Life of St. Arnulf appears on 109. I cannot accept the unrealistic interpretation of Koziol, "Making of Peace," who cited Platelle's work but did not come to grips with its thesis. Even the saints' lives, including the Miracles of St. Ursmar that forms the basis of his study, show that there was massive resistance to the peace movements, for people wanted vengeance. Koziol's claim that conversions made under the impulse of mass hysteria must have entailed permanent modification of behavior is unsubstantiated idealism, not history.

[21] R. Bonnaud-Delamare, "La Paix en Flandre pendant la première Croisade," *Revue du Nord*, 39 (1957): 147–52. For Normandy, see David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), 163–64, and literature cited.

[22] See Andrée Holsters, "Moord en politiek tijdens de Gentse opstand 1379–1385," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n.s. 37 (1983): 89–111; D. Nicholas, *The van Arteveldes of Ghent: The Varieties of Vendetta and the Hero in History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), particularly chap. 4; and Nicholas, "The Marriage and the Meat Hall: Ghent/Eeklo 1373–75," *Medieval Prosopography*, 10 (1989): 22–52.

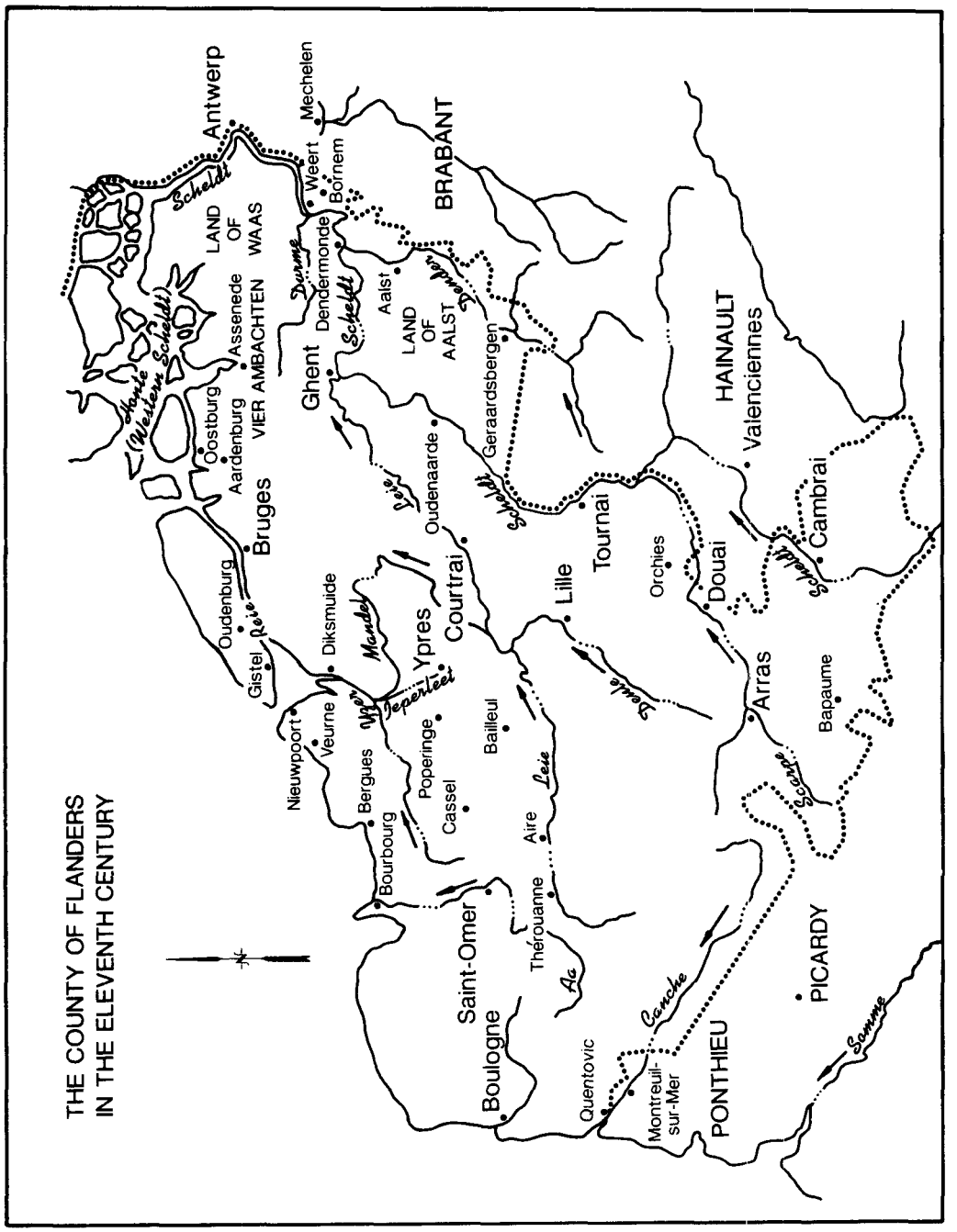
[23] See Pirenne's major works cited above, n. 11.

[24] For a recent statement of Pirenne's position, see Charles Verlinden, "Marchands ou tisserands? A propos des origines urbaines," *Annales: E. S. C.*, 27 (1972): 398.

[25] A. Verhulst, "Occupatiegeschiedenis en landbouweconomie in het Zuiden, circa 1000–1300," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 2: 94.

[26] Bryce Lyon, "Medieval Real Estate Developments and Freedom," *AHR*, 63 (October 1957): 47–61.

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technology, as strong demand in the cities and the early reclamation of maritime Flanders promoted high per capita productivity on small plots of land.[27]

Recent studies have modified the views of the Pirenne school but have been much kinder to them than to the political-institutional explanation. Archaeological evidence from Hamwih/Southampton confirms Pirenne's argument that at least some "Frisian" cloth was made in Flanders and northern France.[28] But the trade of the Frisian port of Dorestad on the Lek, southeast of Utrecht, was directed toward the Carolingian court and seems to have bypassed Flanders. Dorestad's prosperity contributed to the development of the towns of the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta and the Meuse Valley. They far surpassed those of the western Low Countries until after 850, when the decline of Dorestad and its royal patrons caused commerce to gravitate southwestward toward the Scheldt, which bisects southern Flanders. Although the eventual towns of the Scheldt Valley had been settled even in the Merovingian period, none is mentioned as a *portus*, a term implying a commercial function, until the second half of the ninth century.[29]

The Viking age was clearly critical in the commercial and urban development of the areas near the North Sea. A comparison of the establishment of mints by Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious shows a pronounced movement of coinage away from the eastern Low Countries and toward the south and west even in the early ninth century, a tendency exaggerated under Charles the Bald.[30] Although commerce was shifting away from the Meuse and other areas bearing the brunt of Scandinavian attacks, the only mints in equally exposed "Flemish" Flanders were at Ghent, Courtrai, and Bruges. The other Low Country mints were concentrated in what later became the county of Hainault, the most purely agricultural part of the region. Even though Flanders may have suffered less from the Viking attacks than was once thought, and recovery was clear by the early tenth century,[31] it is hard to claim on the basis of this evidence that the shift of traffic toward the Scheldt in the ninth century had much impact there except perhaps at Ghent. Furthermore, the Low Country mints were not particularly active, produc-

[27] See, for example, F. L. Ganshof and A. Verhulst, "Medieval Agrarian Society in Its Prime: 1. France, The Low Countries, and Western Germany," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1966), 1: 290–339; Hohenberg and Lees, *Making of Urban Europe*, 71–72; Norman J. G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe, 450 B.C.–A.D. 1330* (Cambridge, 1973), 267–68; D. Nicholas, "Economic Reorientation and Social Change in Fourteenth-Century Flanders," *Past and Present*, 70 (1976): 7; Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York, 1937), 66–68; H. Van der Wee and Eddy Van Cauwenberghe, *Productivity of Land and Agricultural Innovation in the Low Countries (1250–1800)* (Louvain, 1978), 2–3.

[28] Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne, and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 101.

[29] Stéphane Lebecq, "Dans l'Europe du Nord des VII^{e}–IX^{e} siècles: Commerce frison ou commerce franco-frison?" *Annales: E. S. C.*, 41 (1986): 361–77; Adriaan Verhulst, "The Origins of Towns in the Low Countries and the Pirenne Thesis," *Past and Present*, 122 (1989): 21. On Frisian trade, and particularly the question of the provenance of "Frisian" cloth in England, see Adriaan Verhulst, "Der frühmittelalterliche Handel der Niederlande und der Friesenhandel," *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, Vol. 3: *Der Handel des frühen Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1985), 381–91. On the importance of the Meuse in the Merovingian period, see Jan Dhondt, "L'Essor urbain entre Meuse et Mer du Nord à l'Epoque mérovingienne," *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, 1 (Milan, 1957): 55–78.

[30] My interpretation of data presented by David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, 1981), maps 208–11, 124–25.

[31] See in general Albert d'Haenens, *Les Invasions normandes en Belgique au IX^{e} siècle: Le Phénomène et sa répercussion dans l'historiographie médiévale* (Louvain, 1967).

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ing perhaps as little as 3 percent of the royal coins of Charles the Bald and circulating them only locally.[32]

Indeed, the evidence of mints suggests more concentration in the south and west than along the Scheldt, and the earliest Scheldt towns showing substantial growth were far inland: Cambrai, Tournai, and Valenciennes. Although Ghent was definitely a commercial settlement by the mid-ninth century, the growth of Antwerp, which was nearer the sea and thus exposed, seems to have been slower.[33] The Scandinavians destroyed the major ports, the already declining Dorestad and Quentovic, at the mouth of the Canche, and they were not rebuilt. Quentovic, which had been the major port for Seine commerce with England and for cloth destined for Hamwih, disappeared at the end of the ninth century, but its real successor was not the nameless Flemish *portus Yserae* mentioned in the early tenth century but Montreuil-sur-Mer. In 938, Count Arnulf I of Flanders gave King Louis IV d'Outremer the idea of rebuilding Quentovic to rival Montreuil, but the project miscarried when Arnulf himself seized Montreuil. The town was held by the Flemish counts until the 990s, when it was lost to the Capetians.[34] We know nothing else of Flemish harbors until the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle shows Bruges as a port of call for English exiles in the 1030s.

On balance, the significance of Flanders in the North Sea trade of Carolingian Europe appears minimal. It certainly cannot explain the rapid economic growth of the late eleventh century. Let us turn to the several hypotheses that see rural Flanders as the catalyst of sudden change.

We cannot explain the agricultural history of Flanders without considering its climate and topography. Flanders was notoriously swampy throughout the Middle Ages, and this cannot have helped farm production. The aborting of the French king's campaign in Flanders in 1315 by heavy rains is famous, and the battle of Westrozebeke in 1382 was lost when the French trapped the Flemings in a bog. Severe flooding in 1404 inundated some places and forced the counts to revise their tax assessment.[35]

Unfortunately, there is no modern historical atlas of the region. Changes in the Flemish coastline probably caused trade to gravitate somewhat northward between 900 and 1100. Cassel and even Thérouanne were on the edge of deep bays as late as 900. The sites that would eventually become Bourbourg and Veurne were islands, while Bruges was inland but at the last navigable point of the Reie, which explains why Bruges's topographical development initially occurred along inland roads leading to the interior.[36] The reclamation of the eleventh century was as

[32] D. M. Metcalf, "A Sketch of the Currency at the Time of Charles the Bald," in Margaret Gibson and Janet Nelson, eds., *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Oxford, 1981), 77.

[33] Adriaan Verhulst, "An Aspect of the Question of Continuity between Antiquity and Middle Ages: The Origin of the Flemish Cities between North Sea and the Scheldt," *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977): 175–206; A. Verhulst and R. Doehaerd, "Nijverheid en handel," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 1: 208–09.

[34] Hubert de Bourdellès, "Les Problemes linguistiques de Montreuil-sur-Mer: Les Origines de la ville à travers ses noms successifs," *Revue du Nord*, 63 (1981): 954–58; Koch, "Vlaanderen tot 1070," 370–71.

[35] Henry S. Lucas, "The Great European Famine of 1315–1317," *Speculum*, 5 (1930): 343–77; Nicholas, *The van Arteveldes*, 185; W. Buntinx, "De enquête van Oudenburg: Hervorming van de repartitie van de beden in het graafschap Vlaanderen (1408)," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 134 (1968): 75–134.

[36] D. Nicholas, "Structures du peuplement, fonctions urbaines et formation du capital dans la Flandre médiévale," *Annales: E. S. C.*, 33 (1978): 509.

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much a response to severe flooding and a rise in sea level, particularly in 1014 and 1042, as to sudden population growth. Many English exiles used Bruges as their refuge before 1066 because of the presence of a favored comital residence and because, for the first time in at least a century and a half, it was a harbor.[37]

By 1100, much of the southern coast had been reclaimed. This region had dispersed settlements of the "street village" type and isolated farmsteads, built on waterways that had been silted over and separated by marshes, meadows, and peat bogs.[38] But what had been a single block of land, the Carolingian *pagus Flandrensis* at the heart of the counts' domains, was now bisected, and the Reie at Bruges was linked to the Yzer, which proceeded southwestward beyond Diksmuide and was joined to the Ieperleet canal. This waterway was navigable as far as Ypres, whose rapid rise is owed to its geographical situation as a terminal point.[39] In 1100, the configuration of the coast at the Yzer estuary could have caused an observer to predict that Ypres, rather than Bruges, would become the great Flemish harbor. It was better situated than Bruges for English trade, and it is not surprising that Ypres' foreign trade was directed more toward England than that of any of the other Flemish communities. The silting of the Ieperleet and Yzer was always a problem for Ypres, and even in the twelfth century it had to maintain its preeminence by digging canals and controlling Nieuwpoort, which Count Philip of Alsace founded in 1163, but Bruges had to do the same with Damme and later Sluis.

While the southern coast was habitable, much of interior Flanders and even substantial areas in northern maritime Flanders were still forest or waste in spite of the great clearances.[40] The southeast, between the Leie and Scheldt rivers, had probably been occupied since the Neolithic period, but the area between the Yzer and the Leie northeastward to the Durme River and into Waas was barely inhabited. The Franks were much more interested in animal husbandry than in agriculture, although they did expand some of the clearances begun by the Gallo-Romans. The east, along the Dender River, was densely forested before the eleventh century, and the interior was crisscrossed north-south by marshes, heath, and woods, particularly in the south. Most of Flanders northeast of Ghent was unsuited for agriculture; by the twelfth century, most of it was heath given over to grazing. Waas, on the extreme northeast, had a "royal forest." The entire Ypres area was forested, and an infertile area known as the "Scheldt field" south of Ghent had uninhabited areas as late as the thirteenth century. Beginning in the eleventh century, much of the east was converted to fields, which may have contributed to the rise of Ghent as a farm market. Thus, before 1000, the only significant areas of agriculture in the east were around Ghent, the Leie and Scheldt valleys, and Lille.[41] Except on the marshy coasts, Flanders was more densely forested in the early Middle Ages than were its eastern neighbors.[42]

[37] See M. J. Ryckaert, "Brugse havens in de Middeleeuwen," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 109 (1972): 14.

[38] Ganshof and Verhulst, "Medieval Agrarian Society," 295.

[39] A. Verhulst, "De vroegste geschiedenis van het Sint-Maartenskapittel en het ontstaan van de stad Ieper," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n.s. 11 (1957): 31–48.

[40] Geert Berings, "Het oude land van de rand van het vroeg-middeleeuwse overstromingsgebied van de Noordzee: Landname en grondbezit tijdens de Middeleeuwen," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n.s. 39 (1985): 39–41.

[41] Adriaan Verhulst, "Het Landschap," in *Flandria Nostra: Ons Land en Ons Volk, zijn standen en beroepen door de Tijden heen*, 5 vols. (Antwerp, 1957–60), 1: 17–27.

[42] A. Verhulst and D. P. Blok, "Het Natuurlandschap," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 1:

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The chronology of the clearances is a crucial element of the problem. Early settlement in Flanders had been concentrated in the maritime region, mainly the Bruges vicinity, and in the Leie, Scheldt, and Mandel river valleys in the interior. No dikes were built in maritime Flanders until shortly after 1000, evidently because population density was so low that they were not needed.[43] Most habitation was in the south and east, which were always densely populated and agriculturally productive. "Imperial Flanders," between the Scheldt and the Dender, had manors and numerous serfs, even in the late Middle Ages. The area around Ghent in particular had a dense population that seems to have farmed only part-time. The reserve of the abbey of St. Pieter was exploited by an unusually large population of serfs without tenures, while no farm labor on the reserve was exacted from tenants of manses. They were, however, required to render money rents and industrial services: making posts and planks and weaving linen. St. Pieter's domain was small for the time in relation to the tenures, which may mean that the population had grown since the eighth century and suggests that, even this early, the abbey found it more profitable to rent the land than to work it directly.[44]

Evidence from place names, which appears later than that from archaeology but can be applied more consistently, shows that settlement before 900 existed in 180 communes, whose modern borders encompass nearly one-third of the area of Flanders and just over one-third of the eventual number of parishes. Growth was very slow in the tenth century, during which only twenty-two new communities are mentioned (4.1 percent of the total). In the eleventh century, roughly one-fifth of the Flemish parishes and land area appear for the first time in the written record, particularly east of Ghent and around Ypres. Predictably, the greatest age of colonization was the first half of the twelfth century, when 102 new settlements (just under one-fifth of the eventual total) are first mentioned, including large polder lands around Veurne and Bruges and northeast of Ghent. Thereafter, expansion slowed *except* in the older settled districts. They continued to grow, often by subdivisions of parishes, which suggests that only after 1150 was rural Flanders becoming "saturated."[45] But, while clearance began earlier in Flanders than in the eastern Low Countries, it was settled less rapidly than its southern neighbors. Robert Fossier has concluded that in Picardy, from which Flanders imported considerable grain, three-quarters of the places ever mentioned had been settled by 1000. Yet this statement is only true of Flanders from the third quarter of the twelfth century.[46]

The fact that substantial reclamation began late in Flanders prompts a reassessment of the social and economic impact of the clearances. Lyon's position that the peasants of maritime Flanders were both free and relatively prosperous in the twelfth century cannot be challenged. But there is little evidence of serfdom ever

124–25; A. Verhulst, "Le Paysage rural en Flandre intérieure: Son Evolution entre le IX^{ème} et le XIII^{ème} siècle," *Revue du Nord*, 62 (1980): 11–30.

[43] Verhulst and Blok, "Natuurlandschap," 126.

[44] F. L. Ganshof, "Le Domaine Gantois de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin à l'époque carolingienne," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 26 (1948): 1038–39.

[45] Nicholas, "Structures du peuplement," 502–07.

[46] Robert Fossier, *La Terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIII^{e} siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris and Louvain, 1968), 1: 163; Nicholas, "Structures du peuplement," 506. See also A. Derville, "La Réduction des jachères au moyen âge dans la Flandre wallonne," *Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales et Dialectales de l'Université de Lille III*, no. 1 (1978): 1–10, and comment by A. Verhulst, "L'Intensification et la commercialisation de l'agriculture dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux au XIII^{e} siècle," *La Belgique rurale du moyen-âge à nos jours: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Jacques Hoebanx* (Brussels, 1985), esp. 99.

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being significant in Flanders, before or after the great clearances, except in the southeast, which had a traditional three-field structure and dense population. In the pastoral and later-developing north and west, most remaining labor services were ended during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The charters offering liberty may have enticed unfree persons from the adjacent regions of northern France, but, for most Flemings, they simply confirmed the status quo.[47] Furthermore, neither clearance nor peasant emancipation was peculiar to Flanders. Many of the developments associated with the rural economic changes of the central Middle Ages in Flanders were also found in Holland, where they began in the early eleventh century, somewhat earlier than in Flanders. Yet these changes in Holland did not give rise to a precocious commercial prosperity.[48]

It is important also to note that only western maritime Flanders underwent significant reclamation before 1150. Settlement remained sparse, and villages were separated by forests, in the sandy area north of a line running through Diksmuide, Ghent, and Mechelen. Clearance in northern and northeastern Flanders was more often the result of the interest of abbeys or even individual initiative than of princely inspiration, and it usually came on the edge of previously existing settlements, not requiring much labor or capital. Only from the 1230s did the counts participate actively here. The result was a more spontaneous movement of clearance, with fewer privileged villages than in the west and south and in France. As areas of western Flanders originally used as pasture were converted to arable in the thirteenth century, a clear pattern developed of an agricultural, densely populated, and relatively prosperous south and west and a pastoral, sparsely populated, and poor north and northeast.[49]

Most important, legal freedom and economic prosperity do not necessarily go together. Small plots of land on poor soil tended by a large population, whether chiefly free or serf, is not a situation customarily associated with economic prosperity, let alone hegemony. Furthermore, newly reclaimed land does not become profitable immediately. Most of it was used initially for animals and small fowl, but the Flemish towns were large long before much pasture was converted to arable. Technological innovations once attributed to Flanders actually originated in Wallonia, Artois, and Picardy, from which places Flanders imported much of its grain, but this technology had little impact in Germanic Flanders until the fourteenth century. Few seed yield figures have been published for Flanders, but those that survive do not suggest high productivity. On the polder estate of St. Bavo's abbey of Ghent at Weert, only oats were grown in significant quantity in the fourteenth century, and tithe figures suggest that a 1:3 ratio was the norm.[50] In the Franc (castellany) of Bruges, rye averaged 1:5.75 at Briele and 1:7.54 at Donk

[47] Philippe Godding, *Le Droit privé dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux du 12e au 18e siècle* (Brussels, 1987), 164.

[48] William H. TeBrake, *Medieval Frontier: Culture and Ecology in Rijnland* (College Station, Tex., 1985), 194–200, 225–32.

[49] On this important point, see W. Blockmans, "Vers une société urbanisée," in Els Witte, ed., *Histoire de Flandre, des origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Brussels, 1983), 46; and Nicholas, "Structures," 505–07. The locations of comital *spicaria* for grain and *lardaria* for animal products as shown in the account of 1187 confirms this division; see Verhulst and Gysseling, *Gros Brief*, 100–01 compared to map. Note also the frequently cited charter of 1120, according to which Everwacker, burgess of Ghent, would pay St. Pieter's abbey a rent of 50 weights of cheese, 8 of wool, and 200 lambs on 450 measures of land at Assenede, north of Ghent; F. Vercauteren, ed., *Actes des comtes de Flandre 1071–1128* (Brussels, 1938), 213–16.

[50] D. Nicholas, "Weert: A Scheldt Polder Village in the Fourteenth Century," *Journal of Medieval History*, 2 (1976): 262.

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between 1359 and 1368, but the figure for Donk is distorted by two atypically high years at the end of the cycle. Wheat at Scueringhe averaged 1:4.45 and at Trente 1:4.38.[51]

By contrast, about 1300, yields on wheat around Lille and St.-Omer were the highest in northwestern Europe, quadruple the norm on recently reclaimed land in the Franc of Bruges, where yields were even lower than in Picardy during the second half of the twelfth century. Deducting what was needed to feed local populations, this part of northern France could have theoretically furnished three-quarters of the grain needed for the 680,000 people living in Flanders in 1469. Not surprisingly, the entire agrarian economy of northwestern France became geared to supplying the large Flemish market.[52]

Picardy, Walloon Flanders, and northern Artois did not develop sizable cities until rather late. Lille was apparently near a Carolingian domain, but it is first mentioned as a town in 1066. With a population reaching only 15,000 in the fifteenth century, Lille remained much smaller than the cities of Flemish Flanders until the modern period. Douai was an artificial creation made possible by the diversion of a stream and eventually became more important as a farm market than as a textile center. The contrasting histories of these adjacent regions suggest the very opposite of a link between early agrarian clearance and urbanization. As often happens in regions of high agricultural productivity, the towns remained small, while cities grew to much larger sizes in such regions as northern Italy and Flemish Flanders, which could not feed themselves.

THE POVERTY OF THE FLEMISH RURAL ECONOMY places into perspective the notion, based chiefly on substantial emigration from Flanders, that large cities developed because the farming population of Flanders was unusually dense at an early stage and was being forced off the land. The cities were quite large by the thirteenth century, and—in view of the power that they wielded in 1127—perhaps by the early twelfth. But the evidence already presented casts serious doubt on the notion that rural Flanders was overpopulated by the standards of the day. Rather, its soil was so poor except in the southeast that it was unable to feed normal populations for the time.

Many sources refer to the problem. The German chronicler Lambert of Hersfeld declared that Count Robert the Frisian was able to assemble a numerous entourage in his youth, during the 1050s and 1060s, because the population of Flanders was so large. The common perception of Flanders at this time, rightly or wrongly, was

[51] My calculations from data in J. Mertens, *De laat-middeleeuwse landbouweconomie in enkele gemeenten van het Brugse platteland* (Brussels, 1970), 153, 155, 159–60, 161–62, and Mertens's commentary, 75–82. In the case of Trente, I omit the clearly unrepresentative figure of 1:0.16 for 1385–1386. See also J. Mertens and A. E. Verhulst, "Yield Ratios in Flanders in the Fourteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, ser. 2, 19 (1966): 175–82.

[52] Alain Derville, "Le Grenier des Pays-Bas médiévaux," *Revue du Nord*, 69 (1987): 270, 276–77; Derville, "Dîmes, rendements du blé et 'révolution agricole' dans le nord de le France au Moyen-Age," *Annales: E. S. C.*, 42 (1987): 1411–32; Verhulst, "Occupatiegeschiedenis," 99. Derville also emphasized the canal network of Flanders making possible the import of large amounts of grain, which would have been much more difficult had the traffic been overland. Ghent had to get most of its grain from northern France, the point of origin of its streams, but it is utterly inconceivable that Bruges would have imported as much as it did through Lille, Prussia, and even its rival Ghent if supplies in the Franc had been adequate to meet its needs (on this point, see Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, 249–50).

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evidently of a densely peopled land full of warriors.[53] Flemish mercenaries were used by English princes and were settled in large numbers in northern England. Twenty-one Flemings are mentioned by name in Domesday Book, most of them from the Walloon areas. But most were knights and, accordingly, persons of substance in Flanders. William of Ypres, who nearly became count of Flanders in 1127–1128, was leading King Stephen's army in England within a decade. The Flemish counts, who were themselves remarkably bellicose even by the standards of the day, encouraged their knights to take service in England, whether to reduce their numbers or just because it was good business. Some later returned to Flanders; an Alardus Flandrensis who had settled in England returned to Flanders to raise troops for King Henry II, which certainly shows that he maintained contacts on both sides of the Channel.[54]

Genealogies of noble families at Bourbourg and Wattrelos, in Walloon Flanders, suggest a rise in the birth rate in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, but, because a high proportion of both males and females entered holy orders and families limited numbers by controlling marriages, no long-term growth in the Flemish noble population can be posited. Even this sketchy evidence is lacking for the middle and lower social orders.[55] David Herlihy's model, which suggests a correlation between fertility and wealth, with prosperous households having more children than the poor, can help explain why the prosperous Flanders of the thirteenth century was densely populated, but it does not address the question of why the impoverished Flanders of 1050 suddenly underwent economic growth.[56]

Thus the fact that the Flemings were notorious fighters may mean that Flanders was not supporting them in the style to which they wished to become accustomed, but it is absurd to assume that the expatriation of hired paladins resulted from land hunger, even if non-Flemish contemporaries were evidently under that impression. It is true that there was also peaceful Flemish emigration, but some of this seems to have been owing to the enticements of foreign princes who hoped to attract artisans and dike-making specialists, rather than to overpopulation. The poverty of swampy western Flanders forced some peasants to leave, and there was some traffic in Flemish slaves in Britain.[57]

Indeed, early medieval Flanders was very much a frontier territory. The area along the linguistic border was a fertile loess region that had always had a dense population, but elsewhere there was little population growth between the fourth and eleventh centuries. The Carolingian "manse" organization, based on family farms, was still in its infancy this far north. The Ghent area was densely populated. We have noted what seems to have been a pocket of intense occupation there in the tenth century. The oldest surviving list of property of St. Bavo's abbey of Ghent,

[53] It should be noted, however, that Lambert confused Robert the Frisian with Robert Guiscard. See Charles Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison, comte de Flandre: Etude d'histoire politique* (Antwerp, 1935), 17, 27.

[54] Robert H. George, "The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England, 1065–1086," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 5 (1926): 81–97; Gaston G. Dept, *Les Influences anglaise et française dans le comté de Flandre au début du XIIIe siècle* (Ghent, 1928), 16–21, 31.

[55] Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (New York, 1983), 269; Georges Duby, "The Structure of Kinship and Nobility in Northern France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980), 142–46; Murray, *Reason and Society*, 344–45.

[56] David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 142–49. This section summarizes David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), 282–90. See also Herlihy, "Three Patterns of Social Mobility in Medieval History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (1973): esp. 627–33.

[57] N. N. Huyghebaert, "De Meier van Zwevezele in de 'Miracula S. Winnoci,'" *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 108 (1971): 213–16.

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comprising territories mainly in imperial Flanders and Brabant, lists many half-manses, which probably were new clearances on the edge of previously settled tenements.[58]

The register (polyptyque) of the abbey of Saint-Bertin (844–859) lists the abbey's tenants at Poperinge, west of Ypres, which later became an important secondary textile center of Flanders. Hans van Werveke extrapolated a figure of 34 inhabitants per square kilometer, but he failed to distinguish resident from non-resident dependents. His conclusions would have given this border region a population density as high as the polyptyque of Irminon shows for the Paris basin in the early ninth century, which is most improbable. A recent study by C. M. Schwarz may have gone too far in the other direction in lowering van Werveke's figure to some 20 inhabitants per square kilometer.[59] The entire exercise shows the danger of using early evidence for population density. Not only do we lack a reliable multiplier for the household, but it is likely that Poperinge, the site of intensive agriculture under the aegis of a powerful abbey, had more inhabitants than neighboring villages. Nothing else, indeed, suggests that this part of Flanders was densely inhabited before the late eleventh century.

The only census at our disposal dates from 1469, long after Flanders' greatest period. The most recent of many attempts to derive comprehensive population figures from it arrives at about 680,000, or 78 per square kilometer.[60] Unfortunately, the returns are incomplete. They are usable for Walloon Flanders, the most fertile part of the county, where population densities were predictably highest. The areas of Aalst and Dendermonde, in the southeast, also have relatively complete figures that suggest dense populations and a large number of poor hearths.[61] The figures for some villages, but by no means all, include statistics on poverty. We do not know the basis by which such judgments were made, and it seems probable that the references to poor hearths in some jurisdictions were simply an effort to keep the tax assessment low. Underreporting took place, and ecclesiastical seigneuries (but not secular lordships) were evidently omitted from the survey.[62] The extreme variations between neighboring localities make the entire picture suspect. The only information about the Franc of Bruges is from the seigneuries, for the parishes are not enumerated. The pockets of poverty are in the extreme southwest in isolated parishes and more generally in the southeast and northeast: two areas that were bisected by the Scheldt and contained some of the richest and the poorest farmland in Flanders.[63]

[58] D. P. Blok, "Hoofdlijnen van de bewoningsgeschiedenis," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 1: 149–51; compare André Joris, "On the Edge of Two Worlds in the Heart of the New Empire: The Romance Regions of Northern Gaul during the Merovingian Period," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3 (1966): 9–21; A. Verhulst, "Das Besitzverzeichnis der Genter Sankt-Bavo-Abtei von ca. 800 (Clm 6333)," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 5 (1971): esp. 225.

[59] C. M. Schwarz, "Village Populations according to the Polyptyque of St. Bertin," *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985): 31–41, based on F. L. Ganshof, ed., *Le Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin (844–859): Edition critique et commentaire* (Paris, 1975), in criticizing Hans van Werveke, "De bevolkingsdichtheid in de IX^{e} eeuw: Poging tot schatting," *20^{e} Congres van het Oudheid- en Geschiedkundige verbond van België, Brussel, 1935, Jaarboek* (Brussels, 1936), 107–16. I cannot follow Schwarz's logic in arguing that prebendaries were heads of households while disputing van Werveke's contention that mancipia were.

[60] Walter Prevenier and Wim Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1985), 29, based on W. Blockmans, G. Pieters, W. Prevenier, and R. W. Van Schalk, "Tussen crisis en welvaart: Sociale veranderingen, 1300–1500," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 4 (Haarlem, 1980): 43–51.

[61] Joseph de Smet, ed., "Le Dénombrement des foyers en Flandre en 1469," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 99 (1935): 118–40.

[62] Nicholas, "Structures," 508.

[63] On the poverty question, which is only tangential to our concern here, see W. P. Blockmans and

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In view of the irregularities in reporting, I am reluctant to extrapolate a total population figure even for 1469 from these data, let alone for the twelfth century. Yet other sources make it clear that rural Flanders was very densely populated by the fourteenth century. In impoverished and pastoral northeastern Flanders, in the 1350s and 1360s, the village of Bornem had a population of some 180 per square kilometer and its neighbor Weert had 52.[64] Records of confiscations in southern and southwestern Flanders after the civil wars of 1323–1328 and 1379–1385 show a preponderance of small properties.[65] While it is not surprising that confiscated properties were small, evidence of transactions in peacetime also shows small plots predominating.[66] Parcels of land appear to have been even smaller in eastern Flanders than in the west.[67] Granted that this evidence is much later, in view of the relative poverty of Flemish agriculture it is clear that even a slight population increase would be enough to trigger an effort to bring as much land as possible into cultivation.

The apparent conflict between scholars' findings about the chronology of early settlement in Flanders and contemporaries' perceptions of overpopulation can be resolved. In the settled areas, population was high, but extension of the arable, which requires a larger population than pastoral pursuits, was more difficult in swampy terrain than into forests. The case of Gistel noted above is a superb late eleventh-century example. Pockets of large population and intense demand coexisted in Flanders with immense areas of sparse habitation. And indirect indications, such as the clearances and the strength of the towns during the political crisis of 1127–1128, suggest a sudden surge of population after about 1050.

Galbert of Bruges's well-known account of the murder of Count Charles "the Good" in 1127 may help resolve part of this enigma. Galbert provides important information about food production and distribution in the early twelfth century in the vicinity of what would become the major port of Flanders. During a famine in 1124–1125, Count Charles ordered his officials to distribute alms in the towns, and they were soon feeding as many as one hundred poor in Bruges daily. He prohibited speculation in food and wine by the merchants, notably of Ghent and Bruges.[68] The normal sowing was evidently entirely in grain, for the count ordered

W. Prevenier, "Armoede in de Nederlanden van de 14e tot het midden van de 16e eeuw: Bronnen en Problemen," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 88 (1975): esp. 513–15.

[64] Nicholas, "Weert," 254–56.

[65] E. Sabbe, "Grondbezit en landbouw, economische en sociale toestanden in de kastelenij Kortrijk op het einde der XIVe eeuw," *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, n.s. 15 (1936): 394–458; Mertens, *Landbouweconomie*, 41–43; J. Mertens, "Les Confiscations dans la châtellenie du Franc de Bruges après la bataille de Cassel," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 134 (1968): 239–84; Mertens, "De economische en sociale toestand van de opstandelingen uit het Brugse Vrije, wier goederen na de slag bij Cassel (1328) verbeurd verklaard werden," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 47 (1969); Angeline van Oost, "Sociale stratifikatie van de Gentse Opstandelingen van 1379–1385: Een kritische benadering van konfiskatiedokumenten," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n.s. 29 (1975): 59–92; Joseph de Smet, "De Verbeurdverklaringen in het Brugse Vrije en in de smalle steden aldaar na de slag bij Westrozebeke (1382–1384)," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 95 (1958): 115–36.

[66] Mertens, *Landbouweconomie*, 42–43, 192; Eddy van Cauwenberghe, "Bijdrage tot de financieel-economische evolutië van een vorstelijk domein in Vlaanderen: Deinze-Drongen (XIVe–XVIIe eeuw)," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 107 (1970): 255 and following.

[67] Verhulst, "De Boeren," *Flandria Nostra*, 1: 96–97, 105–07.

[68] Henri Pirenne, ed., *Histoire du Meurtre de Charles le Bon comte de Flandre (1127–1128) par Galbert de Bruges* (Brussels, 1899), chaps. 2–3, pp. 3–7. A translation of the Pirenne edition with a superb introduction is given by James Bruce Ross, *The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, by Galbert of Bruges*, rev. edn. (New York, 1967), 85–89. See also commentary by Pounds, *Historical Geography of Europe*, 286.

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peas and beans to be added to the crop rotation. He ordered that bread be made of oats, which clearly indicates a change in practice, although oats were the principal crop grown on the recently reclaimed polders of southwestern Flanders. He prohibited beer brewing both in the town and the rural areas during the crisis, in order for grain to be released to the poor, an indication that beer was bringing a higher unit price than grain. If so, this in turn strongly suggests that Bruges was already importing grain, presumably barley for beer, and had sources of supply cheaper than those obtained in the Franc. The food trades in Bruges were powerful, but the town seemed oddly apart from conditions in its agrarian hinterland.

Another curiosity of Galbert's account of the famine is his claim that those living near Ghent and in the Leie and Scheldt river areas ate meat because there was no bread. He described farmers trying to get to the city to buy bread and starving to death before they could do so. The wealthy had stockpiled grain and refused to distribute it in alms, but this can hardly have been a significant source of normal supply for the urban market. It seems clear that Ghent had grain but that rural southeastern Flanders did not. Thus Ghent must have been importing it already from a more distant place, presumably northern France, as documents show it later did.[69] And, if the poor in the area had meat but no grain, this suggests a considerable pastoral element in the Flemish economy.

Flemish agriculture was based largely on oats, which are hardy and do well on newly reclaimed land and light soils. The comital account of 1187 (the *Gros Brief*) also contains implications for the Flemish agricultural routine.[70] A line running roughly along the Leie River forms the limit of the three-field regime in Flanders; southwestern Flanders had triennial rotation, while the north and northwest did not. Although wheat was produced on some of the counts' estates south of this line and seems to have dominated in the Leie and Scheldt valleys, oats were important almost everywhere, and in the north and northwest they were virtually the only crop. This was also true of the environs of Bruges, although there a substantial amount of wheat was also raised. If bread was normally not made of oats at Bruges in 1124–1125, the town must have been importing other grains from outside its immediate rural hinterland.

The chronology is crucial. The *Gros Brief* reveals that Flanders still had a poor and primitive agriculture in the late twelfth century, as in Galbert's time, but it had not hindered the development of the cities. Indeed, it probably promoted urban growth; for even by 1127 the cities were importing food from the south, where wheat was available, and Ghent at least was selling it to Flemish peasants who did not have enough. The urban merchants were evidently already able to obtain grain more cheaply by boat from northern France than in local Flemish markets. The commercial prosperity of Flanders was based on market considerations. The growth of cities was furthered by the poverty of Flanders and merchants' ability to control raw materials, even to the point of forcing hardship on the Flemish

[69] In 1095, shortly before these events, during a food shortage in the diocese of Tournai, just across the Scheldt from Flanders, the abbey of St. Martin exhausted its supplies of food for charity and even lacked enough to feed its own monks. The monastery then turned to citizens of Tournai, who provided it with wheat, rye, and beans but evidently not meat, in contrast to the Ghent case. The parallel is clear: the city, which could import food from areas not affected by the scarcity, was better provided with grain than the adjacent countryside and could profit from the situation. See Hans van Werveke, *De Middeleeuwse Hongersnood* (Brussels, 1967), 10.

[70] Verhulst and Gysseling, *Gros Brief*. Pounds, *Historical Geography of Europe*, 286, has graphed the estate and crop types suggested by the *Gros Brief*. The analysis of his graph's implications is my own.

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peasants by underselling them and depriving them of much of their natural market. As the consequences became critical in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Flemish cities turned to exporting cloth, but an important aspect of their growth was also importing grain and reselling it at a considerable profit to the poor in the cities and rural areas alike. This situation, which is so clear by the fourteenth century,[71] seems from Galbert's evidence to have been present in the twelfth century and may well explain the sudden burgeoning of the cities.

ELEVENTH-CENTURY FLANDERS was thus a poor and dangerous no man's land, unable to feed its burghers and unruly farmers except by massive imports. These imports had to be paid for, and Flanders had no precious metals. But Flanders did export certain goods and provide certain services that suddenly became important after 1050.

Flanders' location afforded access to the interior markets of the Low Countries, access attractive to Artesians and Picards wanting to get to Brabant, for instance. Much has been written about the alleged passivity of Flemish shipping after 1300, but into the thirteenth century Flemish boats dominated the carrying trade in the English Channel and to Gascony, only then yielding to English and Italian competition.[72] Eastern Flanders had good timber reserves at that time that could have been used for shipbuilding, although these were largely gone by the late thirteenth century.

The counts were certainly aware of the importance of shipping. They evidently promoted internal hydrography rather than overseas transport. The swampy terrain facilitated canal building, and by 1200 virtually all places with charters of urban law and most farm villages were linked through a water network. By the fourteenth century, the farmers were being forced to bring their goods to the city markets,[73] but the ubiquity of the canal network made this less of a hardship, except in the southeast, than might appear from a superficial examination. Galbert's account suggests that the network was in place by 1127. Historians have concentrated on the foreign trade of Flanders, but the canals made possible a strong system of local markets that facilitated the provisioning of large numbers of people. The expanding Flemish interior market is critically important for our problem. The same abundant rainfall and marshy terrain that made Flemish agriculture unproductive also made canals relatively simple to construct and imported goods easy to move. Foreign merchants needed to sell their goods to many people concentrated in a small place with easy access, and Flanders fulfilled these conditions admirably.

Recent scholarship, except that concerning the grain trade, has done little to alter the pattern traditionally given for the directions of Flemish trade in the Middle Ages. Political conditions in France may have played a role in Flanders' rapid rise. Count Thibaud II of Champagne, who had excellent relations with the Flemish count Thierry of Alsace, established a cycle of fairs in the second quarter of the twelfth century, by which time Flanders needed a convenient outlet for its cloth.

[71] Nicholas, "Economic Reorientation," 18–22.

[72] Jan Craeybeckx, *Un Grand commerce d'importation: Les Vins de France aux Anciens Pays-Bas (XIII^e–XVI^e siècle)* (Paris, 1958), 94–98.

[73] Nicholas, *Town and Countryside*, 122–25; Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, 241–45.

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This market doubtless facilitated Flemish cloth sales to the Italians, who were also found at the fair of Ypres in 1127.[74]

Little evidence is available of Flemish trade with Holland and Zeeland until the fourteenth century, and even then it consisted largely of German goods in transit. Flanders exported unfinished cloth to England, Germany, France, and Italy and imported wool from England. Grain was also imported from England, but this was less significant after the mid-thirteenth century.[75] Flemish customs records and confiscation documents suggest that cheese was the only English food being imported in substantial quantity to Flanders by the late fourteenth century. By the fifteenth century, little English grain was being brought to the Low Countries, and most of that went to Holland and Zeeland rather than Flanders.[76] In contrast, the trade in French grain was an important aspect of the hegemony of Ghent in eastern Flanders. While western Flanders served as a gateway for English and German goods through Bruges, eastern Flanders provided the gateway for French products coming down the Leie and Scheldt en route to Holland, Brabant, and the eastern Low Countries.[77]

The wool trade is important in any discussion of Flemish commerce. Fine English wools have generally been considered the cause of the sudden burgeoning of Flemish drapery. Before 1050, Flanders had a significant textile industry, but so did its neighbors. By 1200, cloth was its major export. Flemish trade with England undeniably intensified from the early eleventh century, but so did that of places that prospered much less spectacularly in the twelfth. While England most likely exported wool to Flanders before 1066, particularly in view of the region's long tradition of cloth making, the trade cannot be documented until the twelfth century. During that century, Flanders grew increasingly dependent on English wool, and until 1214 its counts were generally firm political allies of the English kings.[78]

Dynastic cooperation was thus clearly a factor, but the vicissitudes of the local wool supply in and near Flanders suggest part of the reason for the change. We have seen that much of Flanders was given over to animal raising throughout the Middle Ages.[79] Flanders produced fine wool, which supported native cloth making. More was produced in Walloon Flanders, notably the areas around Lille and St. Omer, than in the north, but the salt marshes of the Flemish North Sea coast and

[74] Pierre Desportes, *Reims et les Rémois aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1979), 103–10. Desportes argued that the obligation of Flemish traders to pass the toll of Bapaume, which can only be documented from 1202, actually originated much earlier as a gambit by Thibaud to force the Flemings to take a western detour from their normal routes south of Arras, thus bypassing Reims and coming directly to the count's fairs in southern Champagne. See also Pirenne, *Meurtre*, 26–29.

[75] T. H. Lloyd, *Alien Merchants in England in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 1982), 108–09.

[76] D. Nicholas, "English Trade at Bruges," 23–61. Marie-Rose Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre: Relations politiques et économiques entre les Pays-Bas Bourguignons et l'Angleterre, 1435–1467* (Brussels, 1967), 213–24.

[77] Nicholas, "Scheldt Trade," esp. 225–61; Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, 186–97, 236–50. Marie-Jeanne Tits-Dieuaide, *La Formation des prix céréaliers en Brabant et en Flandre au XV^e siècle* (Brussels, 1975), a work written before my studies of the French grain trade in Flanders, admits that Flanders was severely dependent on food imports but emphasizes German grain and tends to minimize the importance of the Ghent grain staple and emphasize the periodic prohibitions of exporting grain from Flanders, which were in effect only in years of scarcity and were never a continuous policy; see particularly 146, 192–96, 255–56.

[78] Philip Grierson, "The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 4, 23 (1941): 71–112.

[79] See in general A. Verhulst, "De evolutie en de betekenis van de veeteelt in de landbouweconomie van de 13^e eeuw in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden," in *Album Charles Verlinden* (Ghent, 1975), 467–76, reprinted by the Belgian Centre for Rural History, no. 46.

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Zeeland were also prime sheep-raising areas. From the early Middle Ages, Germanic Flanders imported wool from Tournai. The supply of wool from Flanders itself and neighboring Low Country principalities was initially adequate to meet demand, and there is no evidence that much wool was imported from more distant regions until the end of the eleventh century. Even after 1200, native Flemish wool continued to be held in high regard except at Ypres and to be used for the domestic market and at Bruges even for the export product.[80] The chief sheep-raising areas of Flanders in the late Middle Ages were along the Western Scheldt and the North Sea coast, as had been true before 1200, and, somewhat surprisingly in view of the density of population, in the barren areas between the Leie and Scheldt rivers south of Ghent. Fourteenth and fifteenth-century estate inventories show substantial herds of sheep but generally numbering in the hundreds rather than the thousands.[81]

It seems clear that the reclamation of maritime Flanders permitted sheep raising before large-scale human habitation was possible. This explains why the smaller towns in western Flanders, such as Diksmuide and Oudenburg, but not those in the east, had a precocious export textile industry that later declined as English wools were used for most export draperies. As the sheep runs were converted to arable, however, Flanders had to import increasing quantities of wool. This change caused the advantage to pass to the larger cities, whose merchants had the capital to go to the sources of the wool and control supply. Especially apparent at the turn of the thirteenth century, this development is one reason Flanders was more dependent on English wool during the thirteenth century than either before or after.[82]

English trade with Flanders grew substantially during the twelfth century, principally its second half, just as Flemish cloth making became concentrated in the largest cities and the smaller towns and villages declined. There seems to have been a sudden spurt of English exports of both wool and grain to Flanders in the late twelfth century, contributing incidentally to a fall in the price of silver in England.[83] Although significant grain exports ended quickly in the thirteenth century, the earlier rise doubtless reflected a sharp population growth in Flanders at the turn of the thirteenth century, a growth that caused an accompanying serious trade imbalance. Although Flanders' overall balance of trade was doubtless less unfavorable than that with England alone (it exported cloth to all corners of the known world), it clearly had a significant deficit. Grain prices in the Scheldt Valley rose sharply in the early thirteenth century, and the beginning of the price rise that eventually proved harmful to Flanders' competitive position in the foreign textile market was perceptible soon afterward.[84]

Thus Flemish draperies were founded on an abundant wool supply that became inadequate as the population grew so rapidly after 1050 (and particularly 1100) that sheep runs were being converted to grain fields. Hence Flanders imported wool from England to maintain and expand an industry already in place before

[80] A. Verhulst, "La Laine indigène dans les anciens Pays-Bas entre le XII^{e} et le XVII^{e} siècle: Mise en oeuvre industrielle, production et commerce," *Revue Historique*, 96 (1972): esp. 283–91.

[81] Mertens, *Landbouweconomie*, 106–09; Verhulst, "Laine," 304, 308–09; Verhulst, "Origins of Towns," 33.

[82] Verhulst, "Laine," 291–96, 302–03, where he noted that, as a result of the English wool embargoes after 1270, Flanders returned to local wools and eventually imported Castilian wool. The draperies of the small towns and villages also revived in the fourteenth century; see Nicholas, *Town and Countryside*, 76–116, 203–21.

[83] P. D. A. Harvey, "The English Inflation of 1180–1220," *Past and Present*, 61 (1973): 26–28.

[84] Gérard Sivéry, "Les Débuts de l'économie cyclique et de ses crises, dans les bassins scaldien et mosan, fin du XII^{e} et début du XIII^{e} siècle," *Revue du Nord*, 64 (1982): 673–79.

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such imports became necessary. But what caused the rapid growth of the Flemish textile industry in the late eleventh century? An ingenious and plausible explanation of the rise of the Flemish textile centers in the twelfth century was given by the late H. P. H. Jansen, building on suggestions of W. Endrei and P. Váczy.[85] While Pirenne saw the beginning of imports of wool from England as the decisive cause of the change in the twelfth century, Jansen advanced an explanation based on technology and demography; for the evidence of a substantial Flemish industry using the excellent native wools precedes that for English wool in Flanders. The *Conflictus ovis et lini*, written between 1068 and 1075 at Trier, notes Flanders' importance for dairy products. It also judges Flanders the most important area in its region for woolen cloth of a type it calls *panni*, while noting that excellent *panni* were also made in France.[86] Only at this time was wool coming to be regarded as a luxury material. Indeed, in the *Conflictus*, the king favored linen, while the monks preferred wool as a sign of their poverty.

While it is perhaps unwise to put too fine a distinction on Latin words not used contemporaneously, Frisian textiles had been called *pallia*, *sagi*, and *birri*, which meant small textiles usually of coarse manufacture and made on primitive vertical looms in which the woof threads were inserted through the warp with a nail or pin. The process was very time consuming and the size of the textile always determined by the size of the frame on which the threads were stretched. Weaving on these looms, used in antiquity and the early Middle Ages, was largely women's work.[87]

The woolen cloths made after about 1100 were called *panni*, the term used in the *Conflictus*. They were longer, folded, of uniform dimensions, and made on a treadle horizontal loom operated by either men or women. This device, which is first mentioned in a commentary on the Talmud by Rashi of Troyes in Champagne in the mid-eleventh century, was later supplanted by the heavy horizontal broadloom, which required two people and whose use was confined to the towns.[88] Yet, while the horizontal loom quickly came into general use during the late twelfth century, no source suggests that Flanders was more advanced than its neighbors in using it. Whether in imitation of Flanders or not, an urban weaving industry developed in the Meuse towns and in Cologne during the twelfth century. Henry I of England settled Flemings in Pembrokeshire, and, according to Gerald the Welshman, they were skilled in the wool trade.[89] And just when unfinished Flemish woolens were

[85] H. P. H. Jansen, "Handel en Nijverheid 1000–1300," in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 2: 148–86, particularly 156–58; W. Endrei, *L'Evolution des techniques du filage et du tissage, du Moyen Age à la révolution industrielle* (Paris, 1968), 39–46; P. Váczy, "La Transformation de la technique et de l'organisation de l'industrie textile en Flandre aux XI[e]–XIII[e] siècles," *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 48 (1960): 3–26.

[86] A. van de Vyver and Charles Verlinden, "L'Auteur et la portée du Conflictus ovis et lini," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 12 (1933): 59–81. I cannot accept the authors' interpretation (73–76) that lines 190–92 of this poem refer to Flanders rather than France. This would mean a sudden change of reference in mid-sentence; and, while it is quite true that no French or Flemish writer would refer to France as a *provincia*, a German writer would find nothing incongruous in it.

[87] See also David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (New York, 1990), 77–92.

[88] Herman Van der Wee, "Structural Change and Specialization in the Industry of the Southern Netherlands, 1100–1600," *Economic History Review*, ser. 2, 28 (1975): 203–04; Hans van Werveke, "Introduction historique," Guy de Poerck, *La Draperie Médiévale en Flandre et Artois: Technique et terminologie*, 3 vols. (Bruges, 1951), 1: 7–11.

[89] Jansen, "Handel," 158, following E. M. Carus-Wilson, "The Woollen Industry," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. 2: *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1987), 676, interpreted this to mean cloth making, but Gerald said nothing about the textile technology and added that the Flemings were skilled farmers and swordsmen, a picture confirmed by other sources used here.

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being touted as the best in Europe, Flanders was also known for its flocks of sheep and cattle.

Indeed, two recent studies have shown that the textiles of Germanic Flanders did not dominate Mediterranean markets in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Rather, numerous centers of Flanders and northern France exported large quantities of textiles of diverse grades. Although Ghent and particularly Ypres exported considerable cloth at that time, much of it of high quality, Bruges did not do so until later, and the total export of cloth from "Flemish" Flanders to the Mediterranean lagged considerably behind that of Walloon Flanders and northern France.[90] Whatever the basis of capital formation and the economic burgeoning of Germanic Flanders after 1050, it was not a stranglehold on foreign cloth markets.

BASIC TO ANY ECONOMY are the regulations by which it exchanges goods. A high degree of liquidity in the marketplace is essential for commercial preeminence. In this respect, more than any other, Germanic Flanders was extremely progressive, and there is strong evidence that the change to a property regime fostering easy alienability came in the mid-eleventh century, in a shift of marriage customs that contributed to a degree of economic equality between the sexes in Flanders exceptional for the time.

By its very nature, marriage involves the transfer of assets between lineages and the attempt to hinder the further alienation of property outside the newly constituted family.[91] "Flemish" Flanders, an area of strong Frankish settlement, had allowed widows full disposition over the dowries given by their husbands. French customs tended to restrict this practice from the twelfth century, transforming the dowry into a dower (life use for the widow of a portion of the husband's estate), but Flemish community property law continued to give widows exceptionally extensive rights over their husbands' estates.

Another peculiarity of Flemish Flanders was the ease and frequency of the alienation of marital assets, for property was divided not only among blood relations but also between the kindreds of the two spouses. If a marriage had been childless, the heirs of both sides divided chattels equally, whatever the origin of the goods had been; only land and fiefs reverted to the side of origin. Contrary to the situation in most of France, which had only the widow's dowry and/or dower, in Flanders the widow controlled a mixture of her own and her husband's property. Although there are regional variations within Flanders, a surviving spouse usually received a share of the joint marital assets, including those coming from the decedent's side, in an immediate division with the children or the other blood heirs at the spouse's death.[92]

[90] Patrick Chorley, "The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France during the Thirteenth Century: A Luxury Trade?" *Economic History Review*, ser. 2, 40 (1987): 349–79; Hilmar C. Krueger, "The Genoese Exportation of Northern Cloths to Mediterranean Ports, Twelfth Century," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 65 (1987): 722–50.

[91] There can be no doubt that among the revolutionary changes of the twelfth century was a restructuring of matrimonial regimes in most parts of Europe. See particularly Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, where complete references to his other works are given. The Herlihy thesis has already engendered a large controversial literature that is beyond the scope of this article. I have benefited from discussions with Professor Herlihy on this point, although Flanders seems to be an exception to patterns that he discerned in Tuscany and England. I hope in a separate study to discuss the implication of the Flemish legal regime for the internal structure of the family.

[92] For the legal principles and the comparisons between Flemish and Walloon Flanders, see Godding, *Droit privé*, 262–66, 272–75; countless examples of how the extreme alienability and divisibility of

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Most medieval law codes restricted the alienation of land by the individual. In Flanders by the thirteenth century, however, evidently because of the desires of town governments to secure the debts owed by nobles and peasants to their citizens, the concept of chattel included not only movable property in the modern sense but also anything on the land that was perishable, such as crops awaiting harvest, trees, and even buildings. Thus a house might be alienated freely or divided among co-heirs as chattel, while the land on which it rested would be immovable and thus subject to the constraints of the landlord or the other members of the family. The Flemish towns in the late Middle Ages were full of houses owned by people who did not own the land on which the house had been built and of subdivision of houses among heirs.[93]

Every time a married person died in Flanders, a great deal of property was ipso facto alienated from that person's kindred. It was thus very difficult for Flemings to build up estates to pass on undivided to their children, for all inheritances were absolutely partible without regard to sex or age. This inheritance regime doubtless forced many peasants off the land, since all sons and daughters divided their parents' property. It also forced many widows, deprived of a dowry, into the labor market. But these customs also fostered commercial development by forcing frequent changes of ownership, regroupings, and alienations of all assets except land. Some family businesses escaped total ruin because the wife's half of the common property was not liable for debts that her husband incurred without her participation.[94] Property changed hands extremely rapidly in Flanders, and this is the essence of the free market economy.

Literally thousands of cases survive in the archives showing this property regime in unchallenged use in Germanic Flanders after 1200. The earliest law code revealing it in force has been thought to be the *Keure* (constitution) given to the Franc of Bruges in the late twelfth century by Count Philip of Alsace. In homicide atonements, it separates the property of a wife and children who were innocent of the deed from that of the husband. When a wife died without children, it provides that the money (*pecunia*), but not the land, was to be divided into eight parts, five of which went to the husband's side and three to the wife's. The Keure of the Franc is an undated composite, but the first of these clauses is evidently from the original code of around 1190, while the second was added before 1224.[95]

The critical question is whether this property regime was new in the late twelfth century. It is more liberal than Frankish custom and thus may not have evolved gradually. Whenever it was introduced, the result would have been an increased liquidity that permitted Flanders, until then relatively backward economically, to establish its hegemony by fostering investment while at the same time causing people to beware of tying up assets in marriage portions, which could easily be lost. An earlier date of introduction can also help explain the shift of economic power from Walloon Flanders toward Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, in "Flemish" Flanders.[96]

property under Flemish law worked in practice are found in Nicholas, *Domestic Life*; and Nicholas, *Town and Countryside*. Flemish marriage portions were not actually "dowries," since they were not the wife's property to the exclusion of her husband unless they were in land.

[93] Godding, *Droit privé*, 142–44.

[94] Nicholas, *Domestic Life*, 70–106; James M. Murray, "Family, Marriage and Moneychanging in Medieval Bruges," *Journal of Medieval History*, 14 (1988): 117.

[95] L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, ed., *Coutume du Franc de Bruges*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1879), 2: 7, 12, 14, 43; E. Warlop, "De Keurbrief van het Brugse Vrije," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 99 (1962): 167.

[96] E. Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility before 1300*, 4 vols. (Courtrai, 1975), 1: 281–84, cited several cases of

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The Walloon region developed earlier than the north but (except for Douai) did not have this inheritance and property regime.

Two sources strongly suggest that universal community of marital assets entered Flemish law in the mid-eleventh century, just as the monumental economic changes were commencing. Chapter 71 of Galbert of Bruges's account of the murder of Count Charles the Good contains conclusive proof that these principles were customary in West Flanders by 1127, but it has not been noticed before in the context of this problem. The villain of Galbert's story, Erembald, was a vassal of Boldran, castellan of Bruges, and became the lover of Boldran's wife Duva. She is alleged to have promised Erembald her husband's office if Boldran died soon, and Erembald precipitated matters by pitching him overboard into the Scheldt during a naval expedition. Since no one else knew what had happened to Boldran, Erembald on returning to Bruges "married his mistress and bought the castellanship with his lord's resources." It is obvious from this passage that Erembald used Boldran's property to acquire his office after marrying the widow. It is thus clear that Duva inherited a share of Boldran's estate. Once she remarried, her new husband, as her legal guardian, had the right to use her movable property.[97] It is also significant that Boldran left at least two children, presumably by Duva, who could have contested any illegal use of their patrimony by Duva or her new husband.[98]

Galbert was writing in 1127 or early 1128 and obviously saw nothing out of the ordinary about this use of funds. It was already established custom, not innovation. The expedition on which Boldran was murdered probably took place in 1055 and in eastern Flanders.[99] Another source suggests that a similar custom existed by then in the southeast. Between 1067 and 1070, Count Baldwin VI gave a code to Geraardsbergen, on the border with Brabant. The earliest manuscript is a confirmation by Philip of Alsace, who noted that he was adding some clauses but did not indicate which ones. While most of Philip's many legal enactments were essentially criminal and procedural and broke no new ground in principles of private law, the Geraardsbergen code stands alone in the eleventh century and could as easily represent a legislative innovation as a codification of precedent. It provided that when a spouse died, the survivor received the entire estate if a living child had been born of the marriage; and, when children received property from their parents, it had to be brought back into the common nest for division when one parent died. Largely on grounds of their similarity with later *Keuren*, these clauses

nobles impoverishing themselves for dowries in the early twelfth century by giving their daughters money in order to reserve the land for their sons. But partibility of inheritance did not apply to fiefs, and virtually all of these cases are from Wallonia. The situation at Douai was similar to that in parts of the eastern Low Countries. In the late thirteenth century, the surviving spouse of a childless marriage divided the marital assets with the deceased partner's blood relations; if there were children, however, the surviving spouse received the entire estate. Douai then moved toward the dowry regime characteristic of France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Martha Howell, "Marriage, Family and Patriarchy in Douai, 1350–1600," in W. Prevenier, ed., *Marriage and Social Mobility in the Late Middle Ages* (Ghent, 1989), 15–16.

[97] See Pirenne, *Histoire du Meurtre*, 115; Ross, *Murder of Charles the Good*, 239. The key words are "adulteram suam duxit uxorem, et facultatibus operum domini sui emit vicecomitatum." Ross noted that Duva was probably the daughter of a previous castellan and definitely the widow of Erembald's immediate predecessor, and that the curious reference to "purchase" of the office probably means a relief. The fact remains that Erembald used his wife's resources, and the text states unambiguously that they came from her first husband, not her father.

[98] See genealogy in Warlop, *Flemish Nobility*, 3: 721.

[99] Ross, *Murder of Charles the Good*, 239.

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have been considered interpolations of Philip of Alsace or Count Baldwin IX (1194–1205).[100] Galbert's evidence, however, shows that there was nothing unusual about such a division of marital assets in the mid-eleventh century, and it is thus likely these passages were part of the original statute of Geraardsbergen.

Thus, in the mid-eleventh century—at the moment when there is the first significant evidence of population growth and the development of urban life in Flanders, the first indication that Flanders was importing large quantities of raw materials in exchange for cloth, and clear evidence of the export textile industry—this common property regime appears, unique to the area and pregnant with implications for flexibility in acquiring and alienating assets. Can the chronological dovetailing of all of these developments be purely coincidental?

HOHENBERG AND LEES'S model of a "network system," in which the leading city functions as a gateway with links both to its agrarian hinterland and adjacent economic regions, is extremely suggestive for the Flemish situation, although Flanders had no single city that functioned clearly as a leader. According to the model, changing internal relations within the network may cause some places that were small initially to surpass towns that had been more powerful previously.[101] Economic frontiers can shift, though usually not with the rapidity of political borders.

Just as dominant regions are often those that can fulfill a gateway function, so individual cities grow at economic frontiers. Although Flanders has no case of a single city surpassing another that had initially been larger, such a shift did occur at the regional level. For Flanders unquestionably gained within its economic region as a result of being comparatively underdeveloped at the time of the Viking attacks. It had less to lose. When the Carolingian monarchy gave way to regional successor states, economic relations became more localized. Commerce tended to develop around fortified strong points but even more noticeably at the points of linkage between producer and consumer areas. The best Flemish example is Ghent, located at the point where the fertile river valleys of southern Flanders yield to the sandy coastal plain.[102] There is little evidence of foreign trade in Flanders before the eleventh century, by which time Flanders had a large population of consumers that was well positioned geographically to attract foreign merchants and provide them with a large market within Flanders for their products. Although Max Weber distinguished the "consumer" cities of antiquity from the "commercial" cities of the Middle Ages,[103] and most historians have emphasized productive relationships in the larger medieval towns, the distinction is overdrawn. Cities do not produce their own food or industrial raw materials. To endure, Flemish cities had to develop mechanisms for importing both from rural Flanders and more distant areas. Demand was probably more important than supply in the economic preeminence of Flanders.

The "gateway" part of the Hohenberg-Lees formulation finds confirmation with

[100] Frans Blockmans, "De zoogenaamde stadskeure van Geeraardsbergen van tusschen 1067 en 1070," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 106 (1941): esp. 17, 36, 50.

[101] Hohenberg and Lees, *Making of Urban Europe*, esp. 58–64. Compare Josiah C. Russell, *Medieval Regions and Their Cities* (Bloomington, Ind., 1972): 23–30, 112–21.

[102] Nicholas, "Structures," 509.

[103] Max Weber, *The City*, trans. and ed. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (New York, 1958), 68–70, 223–26.

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Flanders in a way that probably did not occur to the authors. Through Bruges and Ypres, Flanders was obviously a point of entry for English trade. In the late Middle Ages, virtually all foreign nations had resident merchant colonies at Bruges. The fairs, all in western Flanders, attracted foreign visitors from the fairs of Champagne, for the same people often visited all the regional fairs of the north.[104] But the twelfth-century evidence also shows that Ghent already acted as a gateway for French goods destined not only for the large local market of Flanders' greatest city but also for the eastern Low Countries, occasionally for famine-plagued southeastern Flanders and chronically grain-poor northern Flanders. Although swamps and canals are not as often noted as is fine cloth,[105] they were just as important as drapery to Flanders' economic strength. The internal and external service functions of Flanders' carrying trade established an important source of wealth.

By the standards of the late eleventh century, Flanders was rough, violent, badly governed, with potentially troublesome foreign involvements and an unproductive agriculture. Its only assets were a long tradition of cloth making and a population both sufficiently large and concentrated—in the cities—to make it possible, with technological change, for the Flemings to export substantial quantities of fine textiles. By the late twelfth century, all the disadvantages of Flanders' position were still there, except that it was better governed than earlier. But out of weakness had come strength.

On March 27, 1473, when Flanders is generally conceded to have been the most densely populated part of the Burgundian Netherlands, the Four Members of Flanders, in a remonstrance to Duke Charles the Bold, declared that "Flanders is a sterile country, infertile in itself, completely founded on the fact and course of merchandise, densely populated with foreigners, merchants and others, and full of animals, which constitute the livelihood of the residents and laborers of the countryside, and unable to feed itself except by importing food, which means that all sorts of food are expensive there, and indeed more so than in any of his [the duke's] other countries."[106] Even as late as 1531, the chronicler Meyerus claimed that the pasture and prairies of Flanders exceeded the extent of the cultivated fields.[107]

Contemporaries clearly saw something that historians have refused to admit. This condition was not the result of the economic changes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was as true in 1100 as in 1473. The situation understandably perceived later as a weakness had been the essential basis of Flanders' rise to economic preeminence in the late eleventh century.

[104] On the practice of staggering dates of fairs to facilitate merchants' travels, see G. Des Marez, *La Lettre de foire à Ypres au XIII^e siècle: Contribution à l'étude des papiers de crédit* (Brussels, 1900), 69–86.

[105] But perhaps fashions are changing. See André E. Guillerme, *The Age of Water: The Urban Environment in the North of France, A.D. 300–1800* (College Station, Tex. 1988), a work that should stimulate more systematic analyses of the impact of regional hydrography on economic change.

[106] L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, ed., *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges*, section première, *Inventaire des chartes*, 7 vols. (Bruges, 1871–85), 6: 56.

[107] Cited by Váczy, "Transformation," 4.

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Peasant Politics? Village Community and the Crown in Fifteenth-Century England

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MEDIEVAL ENGLISH PEASANTS paid taxes to their king, fought in his armies, and probably devoted more time each year to his provincial administration than did any other group in society. Yet they scarcely figure in the political histories of their country, except as bearers of the interests of others. Eric Hobsbawm summed up the orthodox view approvingly when he wrote at the launch of *The Journal of Peasant Studies* that, prior to the eighteenth century, peasants "appear to belong in economic or social history, but rarely in political history [he proffers China as a possible exception], since rulers rarely have to bother for more than a moment about what happens in the villages."[1] In their revolts alone do peasants escape this judgment, and even here the reprieve is partial, the emphasis being on what peasants resist rather than on what they create, on their defeat and the disappearance of their moment of coherent, collective consciousness.[2] The routine political activities through which medieval English peasants regularly participated in the crown's provincial politics slip by unnoticed.[3]

My quarrel with this approach has two parts. First, medieval English peasants participated in the crown's provincial politics partly at least on their own terms and for their own ends, and in the process they influenced both the form and content of these politics. The grounds on which to make the case have already been

[1] E. J. Hobsbawm, "Peasants and Politics," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1 (1973): 16–17.

[2] *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, R. B. Dobson, ed. (London, 1970), 23 and following; R. H. Hilton, "Popular Movements in England at the End of the Fourteenth Century," reprinted in his *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism* (London, 1985), see esp. 155, 164. For an estimation of the achievements of peasant revolts, as well as their limitations, see John E. Martin, *Feudalism to Capitalism* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1983), 214 and *passim*. One of the best introductions to the problem of peasants as both oppositionists to and collaborators with the rulers of states remains Teodor Shanin, "Peasantry as a Political Factor," reprinted in *Peasants and Peasant Society*, Teodor Shanin, ed. (Harmondsworth, 1979). For a recent outstanding account of the popular politics of a particular time and place, which has implications for the treatment of the issue in general, see David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (Oxford, 1985).

[3] Among many others, see J. M. W. Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism* (New York, 1968), 201 and following, where the potential of the juries (on which peasants sat) in the inquisitions *post mortem* for frustrating the crown's policies is not even raised. Only the attitudes of the magnates and escheators (who were gentlemen) are considered. G. L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1975), vii, viii, 56, 85, 91, 94, considers the significance of the gentry's response to taxation, but that of the peasantry is ignored, although the text makes clear that they, too, were involved. Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), 233–66 and *passim*, likewise considers the interests of churchmen, magnates, and townsmen in the king's policies but ignores even the possibility of analogous peasant interests. Nor does it seem to have occurred to the team who compiled *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History*, Tony Pollard, ed. (Gloucester, 1984), that peasants might have been included among those with a politics. But see, *per contra*, Edward Powell, *Kingship, Law and Society* (Oxford, 1989), 272, 274 and *passim*; and *Twelve Good Men and True*, J. S. Cockburn and Thomas A. Green, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1988).

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prepared by historians of the peasant family and village in work that reveals the effectiveness of peasant politics within the more restricted scale of these communities.[4] There are good reasons for regarding the peasants' provincial politics as, in some respects, an extension of their family and village strategies. Second, medieval political historians have tended to ignore the peasants' role largely because of a notion about the nature of human consciousness and agency that epistemology and social philosophy have long since rejected.

Logically, the questions to be asked about peasants by those in pursuit of their politics are the same questions that have often been asked about non-peasants. What interests of their own did peasants serve in the course of their political cooperation with the crown? What was the balance between royal compulsion and peasant initiative in the making of this "partnership"? And what influence did their presence give to peasants within the institutions in which they served? I shall examine the politics of the peasant-crown relationship as they can be discovered within one institution, the crown's juries, that sat in Gloucestershire during the decades on either side of 1450.

A word of explanation about the terms "jury" and "peasant." The jury, or "recognition," can be briefly defined as a "body of sworn people [men] who give a formal answer to a question submitted to them concerning a fact, a right, or a person." It functioned in the Middle Ages "as an inquest, an administrative process to collect verdicts."[5] Molded into its familiar form and endowed with an expanding range of functions in the course of the Angevin reform of the institutions of Anglo-Norman kingship, the medieval jury grew into the political role the Angevins had sketched for it. By 1450, juries had become the political eyes and ears of the countryside. There was little to do with local affairs that the jury could not touch. In juries, the crown routinely met the country to assess and collect taxes, to clear roads, scour ditches, claim escheats, convict criminals, and protect property; through them, kings labored to maintain at strength the armed forces of the realm and even its ale.[6] Without juries, little that was done could have been done, but with them many things were possible. In a provincial governance that increasingly took the form of government-by-jury, jurors had an integral and essential political role to play.

[4] Examples include J. A. Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility* (Toronto, 1964); E. B. DeWindt, *Land and People in Holywell-cum-Needingworth* (Toronto, 1972); Marjorie K. McIntosh, *Autonomy and Community* (Cambridge, 1986); *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, eds. (Cambridge, 1976); Christopher Dyer, "A Redistribution of Incomes in Fifteenth Century England?" *Past and Present*, 39 (1968); Christopher Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society* (Cambridge, 1980), 277 and following; Barbara Harriss, "Landlords and Tenants in England in the Later Middle Ages: The Buckingham Estates," *Past and Present*, 43 (1969); *Carte Nativorum*, C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan, eds. (Northamptonshire Record Society, 20) (Oxford, 1960), xxxii and following. For further references, see note 27 below.

[5] *Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill*, R. C. van Caenegem, ed. (Selden Society [hereafter, SS], 77) (London, 1959), 51 n. 2; J. H. Baker, "Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1550–1800," in *Crime in England 1550–1800*, J. S. Cockburn, ed. (London, 1977), 37.

[6] For an extensive summary of jury activities, see A. B. White, *Self-Government at the King's Command* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1933). For the role of villagers in raising parliamentary taxes, see R. S. Schofield, *Parliamentary Lay Taxation 1485–1547* (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1963), 82; *Calendar of Fine Rolls, Henry VI, 1422–30* (London, 1935), 214–15; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 4: 318; *Taxation in Salford Hundred, 1542–1802*, James Tait, ed. (Chetham Society, new ser., 83) (Manchester, 1924), xxi. Hemmingford Abbots, in 1332, provided a memorable illustration of peasant "cooperation": "And they [villagers] say that the same Thomas arranged to represent his fellow villagers with the collectors of the fifteenth, and then revealed to the said tax collectors hidden things of his fellow villagers so that the whole vill was taxed for a greater amount . . . Therefore, for this transgression he is in mercy to twenty shillings"; cited in Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility*, 97.

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The word peasant has lost the innocence that still clung to it in 1957, when W. G. Hoskins and Joan Thirsk were able to take its meaning for granted in their now-classic studies of English peasant farming.[7] Historians today, influenced by the methods of sociology, prefer to start with definitions and work from the abstract to the concrete. The broad theoretical definition is now generally agreed on: peasants are small agricultural producers with rights of property in their land, which they work primarily with the labor of their own families. They consume much of what they produce, the surplus going largely in rent to their landlords (in medieval England, manorial lords), from whom they hold their land in relations of economic, social, and often political subordination. Finally, peasant families and their holdings generally form parts of larger wholes: the village, which expresses their communitarian norms, and, in medieval Europe, the manor, symbol of their subordination within a larger hierarchy.[8]

Much in late medieval Gloucestershire responds directly to the definitions of this model. The countryside, despite the differences between the river valley of the Severn and the uplands of the Cotswolds, was filled with villages, hamlets, and manors; villages were less characteristic of the Forest of Dean, the third, most westerly—but also least populous—region of the county. The men involved in agriculture habitually referred to themselves as yeomen, husbandmen, laborers, servants, or by the names of their various artisanal callings, these designations identifying in descending order the degrees of sufficiency of the family's landholding for the family's needs. Agricultural laborers, who might be landless, are classified as peasants on the grounds that the gulf between peasant employer and laborer was not "profound."[9] Manorial lordship, too, was everywhere, although the manorial lords themselves were, once again, remote from the productive processes of the manor, having reverted to the practice of leasing out their demesnes, the "home farms" of their manors, to resident local producers, often their own tenants.

The difficulties with the definition begin at the boundaries where the two main groups in the countryside touch and their identities blur. It is a problem intrinsic to definitions. English society had long been fluid, with families rising and falling in wealth and, inevitably, after the prescribed delay, in status, too. By 1450, the dynamic entrepreneurs in the little towns of the thriving woolen cloth industry were adding their own contribution to the age-old ambiguities. Precisely when a rising family ceased to belong to the peasantry and a falling one joined its ranks was always a nice judgment.

Contemporaries acknowledged this hybrid group with hybrid classifications: they might describe a man as a yeoman one day, a gentleman the next; or he might be both, and more, all at once—the yeoman alias merchant alias gentleman of the records; or a man's neighbors might move him gradually from the status of an artisan in early life to that of a gentleman in successful middle age.[10] Today, a

[7] W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant* (London, 1957); Joan Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming* (London, 1957).

[8] For a brief introduction to sociological definitions of the peasantry, see Teodor Shanin, "Introduction," in *Peasants and Peasant Societies*. For an influential historical restatement of much the same propositions, see R. H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), 3–36.

[9] Hilton, *English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages*, 53.

[10] John Briddok of Northleach was known at one stage of his career as a chapman (Court of Common Pleas, hereafter C.P., 40/802 m.404), at others as a husbandman and woolman (Chancery, hereafter C., 67/41 rot. 4). Another trader, Thomas Arnold of Cirencester, in earlier life a chapman, rose higher, to be called a gentleman; Eileen Power, "The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century," in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, Eileen Power and M. M. Postan, eds. (London, 1951), 53. As a husbandman, Briddok looks as if at one moment in his career he had a foot in the peasant world. For other examples

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simpler, more axiomatic approach is favored, with the definitions loaded toward peasant status for the entire group. R. H. Hilton, for instance, placed "the yeoman, franklin and demesne farmer" all among "the peasant upper stratum."[11]

Numerically, the decision on where to place these men makes little difference to the discussion of peasant jurors, most of whom stayed well clear of the disputed borderlands of status. The decision counts for more qualitatively, not least because it raises the issue of the criteria that determine status. Current definitions of the peasantry, including the one that opens this discussion, rely almost exclusively on economic criteria. The ambiguity of the economic evidence concerning the "borderers" challenges research to identify other criteria of status. Among the other criteria, the political proves to be both accessible and important.[12] It is true that in most instances where the economic evidence points overwhelmingly in a particular direction, the political evidence agrees with the economic. In such cases, the economic evidence will serve to identify status. But, even then, economic considerations alone will fail to explain status adequately.

Political activities, like economic, must be understood contextually. The setting for the provincial political life of fifteenth-century peasants was both their own village communities, from which they came, and the larger community of the shire, into which they went. The central issue in this essay will be the significance of the peasants' political consciousness, forged in the village, to their role in the royal politics of the shire.

Peasant status expresses attributes of political no less than economic rationality. What follows can be read as a gloss on this proposition, recognized long since by students of the medieval village, resisted still by students both of the medieval state and of medieval society.

TWO GENERAL QUALITIES MARK THE ROLE OF THE PEASANT JUROR in the institutions of provincial political life. Peasants participated on a most impressive scale, and they respected the hierarchy of dignity and function that characterized the

of hybrids, see notes 12 and 18. All primary materials cited here are in the Public Records Office, London, unless specified otherwise.

[11] Hilton, *English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages*, 27.

[12] Hilton's rule of thumb that franklins and demesne farmers were peasants breaks down in the borderlands of status. For example, John Twysyll of King's Stanley leased the manorial demesne at Minchinhampton (Special Collections, hereafter S.C., 6/858/4 m.1) and was known to contemporaries as a franklin (Exchequer, hereafter E., 137/132/4/9d.). But a look at his politics convinces us he was not a peasant. Political occasions, as I show below, were status specific. Twysyll's numerous appearances as a juror in escheators' inquisitions (C. 139/154 no. 29, C. 139/165 no. 20, C. 139/162 no. 29, C. 140/7 no. 3, C. 140/8 no. 18), his participation in the election of knights of the shire (C. 219/16/2 m.35), and his absence from sessions of the peace, taken together, define the political profile of a gentleman, not a peasant. His contemporaries did not dissent. In addition to denominating him a franklin, they called him a gentleman (C. 237/44 m.208) and gave his residence as London, as well as the village of King's Stanley. There were also franklins who were peasants—Thomas Stancombe of Bisley was one (C. 237/43 m.118). Again, the decisive criterion is not the general designation of socioeconomic status but the configuration of the political qualities that surround it. Stancombe did not help elect knights of the shire, attended only one escheator's inquest (C. 139/162 no. 29), was summoned, although he failed to appear, as a juror at the quarter sessions (E. 137/13/1 m.8). This is the political profile of a peasant, not a gentleman. The illustrations could be multiplied. In deciding who were peasants and who were not in this paper, the inhabitants of the borderlands of status have been examined individually, the political evidence being considered alongside the economic. The decisions, to repeat the point, are not of importance numerically to the group of peasant jurors. The issue is important because it confronts us with the need to recognize the political dimension to peasant status.

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institutional structures within which they worked. Together, these two characteristics offer the clues needed to discover the political significance of the peasant as juror.

The sheer numbers of peasants who sat on Gloucestershire juries around 1450 provide the starting point for any inquiry into the peasant jurors' political significance. Peasants filled the twice-yearly meetings of the "view of frankpledge," a court that combined the functions of a modern police and small-claims court, adjudicating quarrels among neighbors and hearing their pleas of debt when the sums were small. These courts had not yet lost all ties with higher justice. They continued to hand down indictments for felonies, as did one at Grumbalds Ash in April 1452 and another at Ebrington in October 1465. In such instances, a gentleman might make a rare appearance on the jury, as one did at Ebrington.[13] Reports of the demise of these little courts have been premature. Throughout the period, up and down the county, they drew peasants both as sworn men and suitors to their meetings, held either in the hundred (the administrative division intermediate between the township and the county) or in the manor, if the lord had the authority to hold court for his own tenants.

Peasants were conspicuous in the "juries of presentment" on which the gentlemen justices of the peace relied for the information they needed to maintain the king's peace and administration in the county. At times, peasants sat without a single gentleman among them: at the Easter 1457 sessions at Cirencester, peasants comprised the jury that indicted husbandmen and a laborer for riot, and at the 1454 summer sessions at Gloucester, they formed the jury that indicted a chapman for felony. On the other hand, husbandmen and a smith found themselves sitting alongside several esquires and gentlemen in March 1451, at Cirencester, on the jury that indicted five men, led by an esquire, for forcible entry into the archbishop of Canterbury's manor at Tytherington.[14] At the assizes, when justices from Westminster came down to preside over the graver cases arising in the county, peasants were likely to fall under the shadow of gentry jurors, as they did at Cirencester in 1465 when trying Edward Catesby's claim that a rich clothier of Chipping Campden was a villein belonging to his wife's manor of Northleach. In this case, all but four of the twelve jurors were esquires and gentlemen. And esquires headed the jury that Sir John Fastolf attempted to influence in his action of trespass against two husbandmen at the Gloucester assizes in 1453.[15]

On inquisitions *post mortem*, convened to discover for the crown the value of lands held by a deceased tenant in chief, where the deceased tenant had been a small landholder, peasants frequently outnumbered the gentry. They did so on the inquisition that met at Painswick on June 14, 1460, following the death of John Adams. The death of a great magnate produced a jury of a different order. Of the

[13] King's Bench, hereafter K.B., 9/287 m.28, K.B. 9/273 m.10, K.B. 9/270 m.9, K.B. 9/287 m.35, K.B. 9/265 m.151, K.B. 9/268 m.54, K.B. 9/288 m.27a; Duchy of Lancaster, hereafter D.L., 30/77/982, D.L. 30/77/985, S.C. 2/175/53, for lists of jurors in these courts. Only a handful of "parish" gentlemen have been identified among the roughly 40 percent of frankpledge jurors whose status has been discovered. One was John Aylworth (designated "gentleman" in K.B. 27/807 pleas m.6), who sat at the Ebrington view in October 1456, served on juries at quarter sessions, stood as a mainpernor (guarantor) for his neighbors, and held the office of chief constable of his hundred (K.B. 9/280 m.24, K.B. 9/281 m.44, C.P. 40/805 m.41, E. 137/132/4/9d. respectively). His official activities did not set him so very far apart from a yeoman like John Oldeland of Berkeley (denominated "yeoman" in C.P. 40/765 m.98d.), who served as a juror at the Berkeley view as well as on inquisitions *post mortem* (E. 149/170 file 9, C. 139/149 no. 23).

[14] K.B. 9/287 m.7, K.B. 9/277 m.29, K.B. 9/267 m.126 for the three juries.

[15] C. 260/151 file 4, mm.8, 10 for the 1465 jury. British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MS. 28206 for that of 1453.

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thirteen men who made up the jury at an inquisition following the death of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Beverston, seven were esquires and three gentlemen. But this was the exception, and the juries that met the escheator relied on yeomen, and even husbandmen, to shore up their numbers.[16] Peasants sat, too, on the coroner's juries,[17] as was to be expected, and reinforced the gentry on special juries like the one, ordered under an Act of Resumption, that met at Gloucester on January 10, 1452, to discover what crown lands within the county the king had granted away.[18] The jury system ran on peasant participation.

To understand the political impact of peasants serving on juries, we must look beyond mere quantities to qualities. If, instead of the anonymity of a generalized practice, we can discover patterned particularities in peasant responses, we shall have the clue we need to pursue questions of political motivation and impact. The most general pattern in the relationship between peasants and juries is one of exclusion. Laborers, cottagers, and poor husbandmen were systematically excluded from the county juries as they were also excluded from the commanding heights of village politics. Yeomen, prosperous husbandmen, and flourishing artisans comprised the peasant groups that served on these juries. The peasant politics of this article are therefore their politics. Humbler peasants also had politics, but they were not expressed through juries and will not be discussed here. From the perspective of their jury service, the Gloucestershire peasants of 1450 formed a divided community, the rules of exclusion that were forged in the politics of the village serving also as the rules of exclusion beyond it.

Juries expressed hierarchies of men, of institutions, and of occasions. The view of frankpledge, the least of the occasions on which jurors served, drew the least of

[16] Of the twelve jurors who sat on the inquisition *post mortem* on John Adams at Painswick on June 14, 1460 (C. 139/176 no. 25), seven can be identified as yeomen or husbandmen, one cannot be placed, one, Thomas Haresfield of Haresfield, was a "professional" gentleman-juror who sat on eighteen juries, and the remaining three, whose status has not been discovered, served frequently as jurors. The inquisition *post mortem* that met a few days earlier at Chipping Sodbury on the death of the local magnate, Sir Maurice Berkeley of Beverston (C. 139/179 no. 57), contained seven esquires, three gentlemen, a yeoman, and two whose status I have not discovered but who were unlikely to have been gentlemen. But this jury was as exceptional as the man whose death had occasioned it. The inquisition *post mortem* jury that met at Tetbury in 1456 (C. 139/165 no. 20) on the death of Sir Edward Ingaldesthorpe, with its "village" gentlemen like Richard Bassett of Tetbury, John Twysyll of King's Stanley (also styled "franklin"), and Thomas Berkeley of Berkeley sitting alongside yeomen-merchants like Thomas Tanner of Dursley and Thomas Burnell of Thornbury and a yeoman-cultivator like John Avenell of Minchinhampton, was more typical. (For the status identifications of these men, see K.B. 27/807 pleas m.64, C.P. 40/763 m.396d., C.P. 40/802 m.157, C.P. 40/803 m.26d., C. 237/44 m.209, C.P. 40/803 m.6, E. 159/228 "Recorda" Easter rot. 5d., K.B. 27/806 rex m.26d. respectively.) Of the eighteen jurors who gathered at King's Barton on May 21, 1457, for the inquisition *post mortem* on Sir William Beauchamp, Lord Saint Amand (C. 139/164 no. 18), all but two, John Joce of Clearwell and Thomas Hatheway of Minsterworth, appear to have been ungentle. But the social and political distance between Hatheway and his fellow juror, Thomas Wodeward of Great Dean, a yeoman, was not great. Wodeward helped elect knights of the shire (C. 219/16/6 m.10, C. 219/16/3 m.22); Hatheway served on other juries, including his local frankpledge jury (C. 139/150 no. 39, D.L. 30/77/985 rot. 1).

[17] K.B. 9/278 m.57. Only eight of the nineteen jurors who met at Northleach in May of 1455 have been identified, but none, including the lead juror, was a gentleman.

[18] The jury (E. 199/14/11 m.3) contained a husbandman, John Byford, of Slimbridge (C.P. 40/763 m.397), later to be called a yeoman (C. 251/20 m.42), a peasant in our terminology; and a yeoman, John ap Adam, of Dursley (C.P. 40/802 m.252d.), also called a gentleman of London (C.P. 40/802 m.160), whose many appearances on escheators' inquisitions combined with his absence from quarter sessions, alongside his identification as a gentleman of London, makes him no peasant here. The jury also contained at least one more husbandman (a peasant), and two others who were not peasants, one a collector of a parliamentary tax, the other (William Raymond) an elector of shire knights and frequent juror on escheators' inquisitions. Of the remaining eight jurors, two are indistinguishable from several of the same name, while another three, of whom nothing more is known, were likely to have been peasants.

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the peasant jurors, for many of whom this represented the extent of their political reach. None of the jurors who sat on the Kempsford view in November 1457 appears in the records as serving beyond his own community; and the jury impaneled at the Minsterworth view in April 1445 to give a verdict on a recent wrongful dispossession in an assize of fresh force contained only one man out of the twelve who is recorded as doing jury duty beyond the view. Typical of Minsterworth frankpledge jurors who sat in 1444 were Thomas Higges of Morecot, husbandman, otherwise mentioned only when a local gentleman sued him for trespass in the Court of Common Pleas, and Thomas Gruald, who sued for trespass in the same views but was not heard of beyond his village and its courts. Gruald was a customary tenant, that is, he held his land by an "unfree," or a "base," tenure. But, by 1450, the taint of servility had largely disappeared from these tenures, so that even gentlemen sometimes found it expedient to hold parcels of customary land. Richard Russell of Stoke, also a customary tenant, who sat often as a juror at the Hawkesbury view, farmed the tithes of a nearby church and helped oversee the division of local pastureland, but he was not recorded beyond the boundaries of his local view. There were, of course, a few exceptions, like John Oldeland, yeoman, son of John Oldeland, of Berkeley, juror and assessor of penalties at the Berkeley view in April 1444, himself presented at the same view for brawling with a neighbor but also a juror from time to time on inquisitions *post mortem*.[19]

The peasants of the quarter sessions juries and inquests *post mortem* covered by imperceptible stages the distance between the frankpledge juror and the local gentleman. Husbandmen like John Castleman of Bisley and John Lynet of Horsley sat at quarter sessions. Both were customary tenants, both were enterprising men, active in the local land market of their communities and participants in the administrative life of their villages. Castleman, whose fragmentary record of village activities suggests more aggressive behavior than does the equally fragmentary record of Lynet, also served on a number of inquisitions *post mortem*. Others were more prominent. William Huntley of Churcham, known variously as a yeoman, husbandman, and tailor, who served as chief constable of his hundred and as a juror at quarter sessions and inquisitions *post mortem*, was, despite his alias of a tailor, certainly engaged in agriculture in 1445 when he was presented at both the Minsterworth views for overstocking the common pasture. Agriculturalist blends with entrepreneur in husbandman John Ruggevale, of West Hanham, near Bristol, also a hundred constable and juror at both quarter sessions and inquisitions *post mortem*. As a husbandman, his primary occupation was agriculture, but he was also owed money by a Bristol weaver and was accused, though subsequently cleared, of trespass in company with another weaver and a yeoman, both from Cirencester. In his range of acquaintance, his jury service, and his economic activities, Ruggevale overstepped the confines of his village and calling.[20] The peasant world at its

[19] K.B. 9/288 m.27a for Kempsford view, D.L. 30/77/985 rot. 2 for the 1445 Minsterworth view, D.L. 30/77/985 rot. 1 for the 1444 Minsterworth view, S.C. 2/175/54 *passim* for Russell at the Hawkesbury views, D.L. 30/77/982 rot. 1 for the Berkeley view. For Higges in Common Pleas, C.P. 40/808 m.314; for Oldeland on inquisitions *post mortem*, C. 139/149 m.23, E. 149/170 file 9.

[20] Castleman: delivering the chattels of a Bisley felon who had been hanged to the receiver of Bisley, S.C. 6/850/28; granted, with his wife and daughter, a messuage and half a virgate in Bisley, to hold for their lives by the custom of the manor, S.C. 2/175/10; juror on an assize, BL, Add. MS. 28206; juror on inquests *post mortem*, C. 140/8 no. 22, C. 139/164 no. 16, C. 139/167 no. 5; absent, with the whole panel, from another jury, C.P. 40/807 m.107d.; juror before justices of the peace, K.B. 9/267 m.126. Lynet: husbandman, E. 101/108/12 m.74; customary tenant, S.C. 2/175/67 m.12; holder by copy of court roll of two virgates of land, S.C. 2/175/67 m.1; indictment juror at peace sessions, K.B. 9/286 m.19; failure to appear as juror at sessions, E. 137/13/1 m.8d.; attendance at manor court, S.C. 2/175/67 m.3, and

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maximum extension, at the boundaries where it met and blurred into the world beyond it in the conduct of the political life of the countryside, can be seen at Tetbury in 1456 in an escheator's jury that included two village gentlemen, Richard Bassett of Tetbury and John Twysyll of King's Stanley (also styled a franklin), a yeoman-merchant, Thomas Tanner of Dursley, and a yeoman-cultivator, John Avenell of Minchinhampton.[21]

The political significance of this coincidence of peasant and jury hierarchies rests largely on the respective roles of peasant choice and royal compulsion in effecting participation. To understand the role of the peasantry, the question of interest must be posed at the levels of the individual man, his family, and his community.

Asked first of the individual, it becomes clear that late medieval peasants offered no automatic obedience to the crown's summonses to serve on its juries. Thomas Heynys, a husbandman from Yate, sat on his village's view of frankpledge in 1448 and on the sheriff's larger view of the hundred in 1452, but he failed in the same year to respond to the summons to appear for his hundred at the quarter sessions; John Polynge, customary tenant at Hawkesbury, sat regularly on his local view of frankpledge but, like Heynys, missed the quarter sessions. Similarly, John Wymbolde, who often joined Polynge on the Hawkesbury view, missed the quarter sessions. But there were also those who chose to attend the greater and miss the lesser political occasions, men like William Baker, a yeoman, Nicholas Barbour, and Walter Hyckes, all from Kiftsgate hundred, who turned up for the special sessions held before the earl of Warwick in 1464 but failed to appear on lesser occasions, like the Michaelmas sessions of the peace in the same year. Then again, there were others whose choices had nothing to do with institutional status, men like John Naunton, a husbandman from Winchcombe, and John Wykewyk, a husbandman from the village of the same name, who sometimes appeared at sessions of the peace and sometimes did not. So, too, John Sneylham, a yeoman from Bitton, and William Hobbes, a husbandman from Tytherington, showed up for an inquest *post mortem* but failed to appear for sessions before the justices of the peace.[22] They represent scores of others. Although their reasons more often than not escape us,

failure to attend, S.C. 2/175/67 m.12. Huntley: various status designations, C. 67/41 rot. 16; chief constable, E. 137/132/14/9d.; presented at Minsterworth views, D.L. 30/77/985 rr. 1, 2; juror at peace sessions, K.B. 9/269 m.52; inquisitions *post mortem* juror, C. 139/148 nos. 11, 12. Ruggevale: husbandman, C.P. 40/803 m.106; plaintiff in plea of debt, C.P. 40/802 m.157d.; defendant in plea of trespass, C.P. 40/802 m.160, and found not guilty, C.P. 40/803 m.106; inquisitions *post mortem* juror, C. 139/161 no. 7, C. 140/42 no. 48; failure to appear as juror at peace sessions, E. 137/13/1 m.6; juror at peace sessions, K.B. 9/297 m.41; assize juror, C. 260/151 file 4 m.8.

[21] For the escheator's jury, C. 139/165 no. 20. Bassett: as gentleman from Tetbury, K.B. 27/807 pleas m.64; sued on statute of entry, K.B. 27/803 pleas m.49; inquisitions *post mortem* juror, other than above, C. 139/152 no. 2, C. 139/154 no. 29; elector of knights of the shire, C. 219/16/6 m.10; defaulted on attendance at Minchinhampton manor court, S.C. 2/175/88 m.2. Twysyll: as franklin and pledge for the fine of a local yeoman, E. 137/132/4/9d.; juror at other inquisitions *post mortem*, C. 139/154 no. 29, C. 139/162 no. 29, C. 140/7 no. 3. Tanner: merchant, C.P. 40/802 m.363; yeoman, and manucaptor of Twysyll, C. 237/44 m.209; sues in trespass, C.P. 40/803 m.26d., C.P. 40/803 m.373d.; C.P. 40/763 m.80; elector of shire knights, C. 219/161/3 m.22, C. 219/16/6 m.10; on other inquisition *post mortem* juries, C. 139/149 no. 23, C. 139/162 no. 29, and as chief juror, C. 140/7 no. 3. Avenell: status, K.B. 9/27/806 rex m.26d.; peace sessions juror, K.B. 9/280 m.24. The evidence for Avenell's agricultural activities is indirect.

[22] Heynys: S.C. 2/175/53 m.1, K.B. 9/268 m.54, E. 137/13/1 m.6d. Polynge: S.C. 2/175/54 m.6d., S.C. 2/175/54 m.7, S.C. 2/175/55 m.2d., E. 137/13/1 m.8. Wymbolde: S.C. 2/175/53 mm.2, 3, 5; E. 137/13/1 m.6. Baker, Barbour, and Hyckes: K.B. 9/33 m.30, E. 137/13/1 m.9d. Naunton: K.B. 9/287 m.7, K.B. 9/281 m.44, E. 137/13/1 m.9d. Wykewyk: C.P. 40/763 m.583, K.B. 9/267 m.126, K.B. 9/286 m.21. Sneylham: C.P. 40/763 m.396d., C. 139/153 no. 17, K.B. 9/286 m.21. Hobbes: C. 139/161 no. 7, E. 137/13/1 m.6d.

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it is still difficult to doubt that behind many such examples of selective service are peasants whose choices were, in part at least, their own to make.

The strong hint of peasant choice that lurks in the patterns of peasant participation is reinforced by the history of the crown's diminishing powers to compel jury service. By 1450, the crown had forfeited, by design and accident, most of the powers it had once employed to coerce men to serve on juries. These powers were in part a casualty of the crown's success after 1294 in substituting parliamentary taxation for prerogative revenues as a means of financing its increasingly expensive warfare. Among other such revenues thus sacrificed was the "judicial taxation" of the crown's itinerant (eyre) justices, including the large penalties (mulcts) the justices imposed on hundreds and their townships for failing to appear and be sworn before them. The eyre courts effectively ceased in 1294 when the regular levying of lay subsidies began.[23] The significance of the growth of parliamentary taxation for the political history of the gentry has long been recognized. The question of its significance for the political history of the peasantry has scarcely been raised.[24] Not, at least, since crown and peasantry raised and settled it at the time. As the instructions for levying the parliamentary grants make clear, the cooperation of the peasantry was vital to the success of the exercise—valuations for taxation relied on the testimony of neighbors, the reeve, and several sworn men in each township; collection, too, relied on their support. And, as the crown's instructions to the commissioners who levied the grant in 1357 make clear, cooperation had to be bargained for—the quid pro quo in 1357 was the remission of a variety of judicial penalties, including, prospectively, the penalties of any future eyres, and the distribution of penalties already collected, in favor of "the townships and hamlets of the county according to their need."[25] Another means of coercing men into juries disappeared as a result of the inexpert drafting of the statute of fines of 1299. The new rules unintentionally encouraged sheriffs to set the level of distraints on those who owed attendance at the court, jurors among them, so low that the penalties for disobedience might well have been less onerous than the inconvenience of obedience.[26]

The sequel to these developments helped shape the later politics of the peasant jury. The jurors became, willy-nilly, members of the expanding universe of consensual politics.

PEASANTS' CHOICES, to the extent that they were their own to make, were shaped by the play of peasant interests. At the center of these interests was the family, the primary cognitive and social category by means of which peasant social consciousness organized and understood the world. Naturally, then, family interests played their part in drawing peasants into royal juries. Peasant jurors carried into the

[23] See David Crook, "The Later Eyres," *English Historical Review*, 97 (1982), for a recent reconsideration of the last decades of the eyre; G. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369, passim*, for a recent discussion of the parliamentary politics of war taxation.

[24] The question of its economic significance has been raised in J. R. Maddicott, *The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown 1294–1341* (Oxford, 1975). But the study, despite its awareness of the burdensomeness of the new taxation for the peasantry, does not raise the possibility of a peasant political rejoinder. Maddicott came closer to identifying a peasant politics in "The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 28 (1978): 33, 39–40.

[25] *Calendar of Fine Rolls, Edward III, 1356–68* (London, 1923), 44.

[26] Marjorie Blatcher, *The Court of King's Bench, 1450–1550* (London, 1978), 68–69.

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larger provincial setting the carefully constructed practices of village office holding by which they marked and enhanced the status of their families.[27] When John Haynes of Horsley joined the other jurors, parish gentry and yeomen, for an inquisition *post mortem* at Gloucester in October 1458, his action was in keeping with his family's role within the Horsley community. The Hayneses were at once successful farmers, leasing demesne lands from generation to generation, and aggressive ones, judging from a conviction for cattle trespass. But John was also a local man of affairs who traveled into Somerset three times in one year on business for the lord of the manor. John Lynet, described as a husbandman but, as the inheritor of two virgates (about sixty acres) of land in Horsley, a prosperous one, served his village as a tithingman while other members of his family acted as "affeerors," that is, as assessors of the amounts of the penalties imposed by the manor court. His appearance at Gloucester in August 1457 to indict a man whose ancestor had been Horsley's steward was service consistent with the family status; it may also have expressed the pleasure of the arriviste in the decay of his erstwhile betters. Lynet and Haynes are typical of their contemporaries. Every run of manorial court rolls reveals their names: Nicholas Jonys of Chavenage, John Oldeland of Berkeley, John Hedley of Pucklechurch, Richard Prout of Hawkesbury, John Castleman of Bisley.[28] Peasants committed to village definitions of family status and service naturally used service in the royal jury to the political advantage of their own families. The logic of the family's village politics became the logic of its jury service beyond the village.

This logic was intergenerational as well as intracommunal. The successful medieval family comprehended a unity of the dead, the living, and the yet-to-be-born, its course in the present set by its urge to provide mementos of its past and prospects for its future, alongside present benefits. All the great institutions, from the church with its memorial masses and brasses to the law with its rules of hereditary property, testified to the strength of this vision of the "extended" family. No less so did the jury. Peasants able to vindicate their rules of hereditary property against the hostile doctrine of land held at the will of the lord proved able as well

[27] See Barbara Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound* (New York, 1986), for a judicious and probing account of the role of family in the life of medieval peasants. For family and office holding, see J. A. Raftis, "The Concentration of Responsibility in Five Villages," *Mediaeval Studies*, 28 (1966): 92–118; DeWindt, *Land and People in Holywell-cum-Needingworth*; Edward Britton, *The Community of the Vill* (Toronto, 1977). See Elaine Clark, "The Decision to Marry in Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century Norfolk," *Mediaeval Studies*, 49 (1987): 496–516, for an insightful analysis of the relationship between status and peasant marriage strategies.

[28] For a discussion of the relationship of family status to village office holding, see Britton, *Community of the Vill*, appendix 1. John Haynes: C. 139/173 no. 7, S.C. 6/855/34, S.C. 2/175/66 m.10; John Lynet: E. 101/108/12 m.74; S.C. 2/175/67 mm.1, 3; K.B. 9/286 m.19. Jonys: homager at Horsley court, S.C. 2/175/67 m.12; litigating with others over land and an enclosure, and illegally cutting down trees, S.C. 2/175/67 m.9; juror at an oyer and terminer, K.B. 9/33 m.24. Oldland: juror and affeeror at "private" Berkeley views of frankpledge, D.L. 30/77/982 rot. 1, 2; assault on a local man, D.L. 30/77/982 rot. 1; inquisition *post mortem* juror, C. 139/149 no. 23; continuity of family in Berkeley, *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1461–1468*, 75–76. Hedley: juror at a hundred view of frankpledge, K.B. 9/268 m.54; juror at quarter sessions of the peace, K.B. 9/273 m.32. Prout: conducting an inquiry for the manor court, S.C. 2/175/53 m.1; farmer of tithes and of a grange, S.C. 6/854/22; juror at an inquisition *post mortem*, E. 149/170 file 9; activities of other members of the family, S.C. 6/854/22, S.C. 2/175/53 m.3. Castleman: delivering the chattels of a Bisley felon who had been hanged to the receiver of Bisley, S.C. 6/850/28; granted, with his wife and daughter, a messuage and half a virgate in Bisley, to hold for their lives by the custom of the manor, S.C. 2/175/10; quarrying and keeping sheep at Bisley, S.C. 2/175/10; juror on an assize, BL Add. MS. 28206; juror on inquests *post mortem*, C. 140/8 no. 22, C. 139/164 no. 16, C. 139/167 no. 5; absent, with the whole panel, for another jury, C.P. 40/807 m.107d. Castleman's economic activities confirm his contemporaries' description of him as a husbandman (C. 237/41 m.91); his political activities alone do not clearly distinguish him from the least of the gentry.

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to vest in their families a presumption of jury eligibility with the force to bind both their own sons and the crown's bailiffs.[29] Generation after generation, peasants were called and went up for jury service as had their fathers before them. *Post hoc* was, in part at least, *propter hoc*.

Generations of unlettered men followed where their forebears had led. In Gloucestershire, in 1450, Clavyll, Clyssale, Nelme, Frampton, Ockehold, Chaumpeneys, Wymbolde, Hobbes, and Wykewyk denoted peasant dynasties with traditions of hereditary jury service. Framptons of Bisley, yeomen by 1450, sent jurors to the peace sessions in February 1451 and to escheators' inquisitions in 1456 and 1459, as they had sent jurors to the quarter sessions seventy-five years earlier. Wykewyks of Wykewyk, who in 1304 had sent William thirty miles to Gloucester to help the crown identify the lawful possessor of a knight's fee, in March 1451 sent John the thirty miles to the sessions at Cirencester. A Wymbolde had sat with Wykewyk at Gloucester in 1304 and a Wymbolde sat again at Gloucester in August 1457 as member of a sessions indictment jury; Ockeholds from Miserden, yeomen too by 1450, had been sending up jurors to escheators' inquisitions throughout the fifteenth century.[30] "Hereditary" service in the crown's juries was, in effect, a strategy of peasant family in its quest for status and authority.

In this, peasants were participants in a broader culture. While peasant community incontestably provided their specific incentives and structures, the provincial community, which focused on the gentry, shared with the village a hereditary political practice. Thus we might expect to find the parsimonious clues to peasants' intentions as jurors supplemented in the more generously documented lives of the lesser gentry, who also found in the juries of the county an important political forum. John Bradston, esquire, of Winterbourne, was one such gentleman. He has been recorded sitting as a juror only twice, once at an inquest into a forcible disseisin (dispossession) and once at an inquisition *post mortem*. The disseisin had been committed at Tytherington; the inquest was held there. But when summoned to sit on an inquest at Gloucester in 1457, he stayed at home. The key to Bradston's behavior seems to lie with Tytherington, symbol of his family's claim to county standing. Their seat during the years of their prosperity in the fourteenth century, the estate was lost when the senior male line failed in the fifteenth. The jury service of John, descendant of a cadet, smacks of duty in the service of nostalgia. By contrast, John Estcourt, esquire, belonged to a family advancing, rather than absorbing a demotion, in the county hierarchy. He attended juries more or less indiscriminately when summoned and occupied his days with assiduous journey-

[29] This peasant practice is overlooked in Helen Cam's comment that hundred bailiffs generally "had a free hand . . . in the making up of juries." It may have been "free" vis-à-vis the sheriff, but it had to respect the political practices of the peasant families themselves. Helen Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (London, 1963), 158. For more on the bailiff's role in selecting jurors, see W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff* (New York, 1968), 279 n. 39.

[30] Framptons: K.B. 9/266 m.77, C. 139/162 no. 29, C. 139/176 no. 25; *Rolls of the Gloucestershire Sessions of the Peace, 1361–1398*, E. C. Kimball, ed. (Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 62) (Bristol and Gloucester, 1942), 85, 133. Wykewyks: *Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids . . . 1284–1431*, 6 vols. (London, 1899–1920), 2: 261; K.B. 9/267 m.126. Wymboldes: *Feudal Aids*, 2: 261; K.B. 9/286 m.19. Ockeholds: *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, E. Stokes, ed., part 6, 1359–1413 (The Index Library, 47) (1914; rpt. edn., Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1968), 241, 261; E. 199/14/14 m.10; C. 237/44 m.209 for John Ockehold's status in 1455. Clavylls: K.B. 9/277 m.29, C. 139/152 no. 2, C. 139/165 no. 20; Stokes, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, 256–57. Clyssales: E. 199/14/15 m.4; Kimball, *Rolls of the Gloucestershire Sessions*, 62, 85. Nelmes: C. 139/180 no. 59; *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls, 1265–1413*, C. Gross, ed. (SS, 9) (London, 1896), 49–50. Chaumpeneys: K.B. 9/33 m.21; K.B. 9/33 m.24; Stokes, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, 265–66. Hobbeses: E. 149/170 file 9; C. 139/161 no. 7; *Feudal Aids*, 2: 283.

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ings to assizes, inquisitions *post mortem*, Warwick's commission. He treated jury duty as a rung on the ladder of county service, for the Estcourts climbed, in the space of a few generations, into the upper ranks of the county's gentry. Gentry families such as the Tryes of Hardwick, Haresfields of Haresfield, Skays of Nibley, Monmouths of Paganhill, Coderingtons of Coderington all used generations of jury service to help define their claims to provincial political status.[31]

Thus although peasants and gentlemen gravitated toward different juries, ancestral example played its part in drawing both to jury work. I can see no sufficient reason for arguing that generations of Wykewyks were acting in the interests of others but generations of Skays were acting in their own when they answered the crown's call for jurors. The social generality of hereditary practice accounts for its invincibility. It conquered the jury as it had conquered the feudal land law, and so much more besides.

Alongside the competitive world of family aggrandizement, peasants and gentry lived in a more cooperative world of community-mediated responsibilities and benefits, albeit a world in which, not surprisingly, the definitions of participation and of community itself revolved around the hierarchies of countrymen. The world of provincial communities was tripartite in structure, made up of the village, the hundred, and the county. The village was the primary community of peasant families, the hundred the community where the villages met the crown, the county the community where the hundreds met the gentry who filled its offices under the crown.[32] Provincial juries embodied these three provincial communities, if not tidily, still fundamentally.

Without the village, the jury, as contemporaries knew it, would have been impossible. Peasants were summoned, and responded, primarily as representatives of their village. The jury rested on the village. Whether in the tithings that appeared at the view of frankpledge or in the townships that appeared at the coroner's inquest, peasant jurors represented villages, the basic units of agrarian community. Thus in May 1455, men from the little town of Northleach met the coroner for an inquest on a body found nearby.[33] In Lent 1457, villagers from

[31] Bradston: K.B. 9/267 m.126, C. 139/153 no. 17, K.B. 9/286 m.21, C. 67/41 rot. 18; John Smyth, *The Lives of the Berkeleys*, J. Maclean, ed., 3 vols. (Gloucester, 1883, 1885), 3: 117–18. Estcourt: K.B. 9/267 m.126, C. 260/151 file 4 no. 4, K.B. 9/280 m.24, K.B. 9/33 mm.17, 21, 24; C. 139/162 no. 29, C. 139/167 no. 5. In 1454, Estcourt was found to be "insufficiently qualified" to hold the office of coroner; *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Henry VI, 1454–1461* (London, 1939), 11. For some of the family's economic diplomacy during the fifteenth century, see *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, N. M. Herbert, ed. (London, 1976), 11: 250, 254, 256. Tryes: Stokes, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, 261; K.B. 9/33 m.24. Haresfields: *Feudal Aids*, 2: 297; K.B. 9/273 m.32; E. 199/14/14 m.12; K.B. 9/283 m.33; C. 139/150 no. 39 and numerous other inquisitions *post mortem*. Skays: *Feudal Aids*, 2: 283; E. 199/14/15 m.4. Monmouths: *Feudal Aids*, 2: 273, 299; E. 199/14/14 m.12; K.B. 9/281 m.44; C. 140/8 no. 22 and other inquisitions *post mortem*. Coderingtons: Stokes, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, 230, 264–65; C. 260/151 file 4 m.4; C. 140/42 no. 48.

[32] One celebrated provincial structure is omitted from this list. Magnate affinities, ever-present in the countryside, acted as special interest groups, as pressure groups that influenced provincial politics, including jury politics. But they lacked the requisites of community. Their interests were centered too narrowly on individual or family ambition; their organization was too dependent on the particularity and individuality of these interests. See Christine Carpenter, "The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study in Bastard Feudalism at Work," *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980); W. H. Dunham, *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers, 1461–1483* (New Haven, Conn., 1955); Carole Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham* (Cambridge, 1978), 56, *passim*.

[33] K.B. 9/278 m.57. The jurors are described as from Northleach and the four neighboring townships; the seven (of a total of nineteen) jurors whose places of residence have been identified came from Northleach. For a description of the evolution of the coroner's jury, see R. F. Hunnisett, *The Medieval Coroner* (Cambridge, 1961), 13 and following. In the late fourteenth century, coroners' juries

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Aston Somerville met the steward and marshal of the royal household to find an indictment for a homicide committed in their village while the king had been staying nearby. Parliamentary legislation had been needed to compel these peripatetic officials of the royal household to seek their juries from the villages neighboring on the place of the offense.[34] But, on a deeper level, it could be said that it was the village itself that had produced the legislation. The force that accounts for the legislation is the same that explains the presence of the fellow villager of an accused on a jury when no formal rule required his inclusion. Thus the jury that tried Robert Lewellyn of Aylburton on a charge of raising war against the king included a man from his own village, William Chaumpeneys, despite the fact that the disturbance had not occurred in Aylburton and the *venire facias* writ instructing the sheriff to empanel a jury asked only for men from the area of the uprising.[35] Villagers were the apt, and inevitable, jurors in cases like these because peasants made their villages the locus of their practice of social responsibility. The village, as moral community, conquered the jury.

It was, however, in the hundred, almost a federation of townships, that the crown generalized its contact with the villages of the shire. Historians' usual emphasis on the decline of the hundred community in the late Middle Ages ignores the authority that the hundred, as the federation of peasant communities, continued to possess. It continued to be indispensable to the crown's organization of territorial taxation and military recruitment, both of which were based on the townships of the hundred, and it continued to influence, if not always to dominate, the composition of juries, especially of indictment juries. In a fluid practice, the old principle retained much of its authority. There was a loosening of the hundred's relationship with the crown's presentment juries, but townships organized by hundreds remained an ideal against which the variable jury practice of the mid-fifteenth century continued to be judged. The evidence is enigmatic but, in the end, persuasive. A few lonely Exchequer lists of defaulting jurors testify to a continuing, if intermittent, practice of building juries on a representative selection of hundred townships. Even without the records of the sessions of the peace, missing for this period, these bare Exchequer columns, mere lists of names and amercements arranged by session and hundred, reveal a continuing relationship between the villages and the hundred jury. In a list for Easter 1452, the absentee yeomen and husbandmen represent the villages up and down the hundreds of Grumbalds Ash and Henbury; the peasant absentees from Thornbury hundred, in Michaelmas 1454, had likewise been selected to represent the most important townships of that hundred. Nor are these lists merely a dry bureaucratic memorial to practices long gone. Companion lists survive in just sufficient numbers to

were regularly being drawn from the four townships neighboring on the place where the body was found: Gross, *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls*, 47 and following.

[34] K.B. 9/288 m.17. The indictment states that the jurors were from the neighborhood of Aston Somerville. The residences of only three of seventeen jurors have been found, but these were all in Aston Somerville. John Reeves, *History of the English Law* (Dublin, 1787; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 2: 420, for the legislation.

[35] K.B. 9/33 mm.23, 24; K.B. 27/762 pleas m.15 for Chaumpeneys's place of residence. The jury at the Gloucester sessions in the summer of 1454 that indicted a chapman from Cirencester for felony at Chedworth included jurors from Cirencester as well as from Chedworth (K.B. 9/277 m.29; the jurors were William Walker from Cirencester: C.P. 40/809 m.4d., and John Mason, a husbandman from Yanworth, within a mile of Chedworth: C.P. 40/763 m.186d.). A sessions jury at Gloucester in January 1458 (K.B. 9/288 m.28) that indicted men from the Marches for theft there included among the jurors John Heyward, from Dymock (C.P. 25(1)/79/92 m.139), adjoining the Marches.

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indicate that they are particular records of real absences and not formalized records of hypothetical expectations of attendance. The names of hundreds and of men vary from list to list, an absence of the merely formulaic in the record of defaults that argues strongly for the continuing vitality of the practice of representation itself.[36] Other fragments, too, hint at the tenacity of the relationship between juries and hundred villages. While the evidence from a few surviving panels of the quarter sessions demonstrates that some juries were recruited from the townships of more than one hundred,[37] evidence of the jury panels from a special commission headed by the earl of Warwick in 1464 makes clear that, on such occasions, indictment juries continued to rely on the townships of the individual hundreds.[38]

Not all juries were based on peasant family and the township, from one or several hundreds. A further measure of the significance of those that were will emerge from a brief look at juries that were formed otherwise and at the occasions that gave rise to them. The chief companion, not competitor, to the village-based jury was the jury formed out of the community of the county. The gentry community of the county—the community of honor and dignified office, of coroner, escheator, sheriff, justice of the peace, knight of the shire—formed a jury community reserved to mark, and make, occasions of honor. When the earl of Warwick brought his commission into the county, the gentry, like the villagers, turned out in force, supplying juries of gentlemen and esquires, some of whom seem not to have served again.[39] On other occasions, the county community offered a more measured response to the jury: for the inquisition *post mortem* held in 1453, after the death of the warrior earl of Shrewsbury, three-quarters of the jurymen were gentlemen, drawn from across the county, but, except for the head juror, they were all individually of lesser distinction than those who later met Warwick.[40] The assizes

[36] The Grumbalds Ash list: E. 137/13/1 m.6. John Clerk was from Badminton: C.P. 40/763 m.469; Robert Hamstead from Sodbury: C.P. 40/763 m.404; John Wymbolde from Hawkesbury or one of the neighboring villages that attended its view of frankpledge: S.C. 2/175/53 m.7; William Reode from Tormarton: C.P. 40/765 m.247; John Boryet from Tortworth: C.P. 40/763 m.220d. This last is a guess. Thomas Boryet came from Tortworth, but, because the name is unusual in fifteenth-century Gloucestershire, John may well have been from the same family and place. The Henbury list: E. 137/13/1 m.6d. Walter Werkesborow was from Wyck: C.P. 40/765 m.69; Thomas Bamfield from Lawrence Weston: C.P. 40/763 m.604d.; Thomas Hunt from Henbury: C.P. 40/765 m.97d.; Thomas Heynes from Yate: C.P. 40/765 m.98d.; William Hobbes from Tytherington: C.P. 40/763 m.186d. Several other hundreds likewise had long lists of absentees recorded against them for this same term. Another set of such estreats (official extracts) survives for Trinity term 1464, in E. 137/13/1 m.8.

[37] An indictment jury at peace sessions at Cirencester at Easter 1457 (K.B. 9/287 m.7) contained jurors from Kiftsgate and Grumbalds Ash hundreds. Juror identifications: Thomas Beaumont, C.P. 40/803 m.169d.; E. 137/13/1 m.9d.; Nicholas Bolde, K.B. 9/33 m.51; John Carter, S.C. 6/858/4 m.1; S.C. 2/175/54 m.1; John Naunton and John Pavy, K.B. 9/33 m.51; Richard Sutton, E. 137/13/1 m.9d. Men on a similar jury at sessions at Gloucester in January 1456 (K.B. 9/280 m.24) came from the hundreds of Longtree, Bradley, Brightwells Barrow, Grumbalds Ash, and Kiftsgate. Juror identifications: John Estcourt, *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, 11: 250; Thomas Persons, C.P. 40/763 m.604; John Avenell, K.B. 27/806 rex m.26d.; Robert Oliff, E. 137/132/4/9d.; Richard Sutton, as above.

[38] K.B. 9/33 mm.30d., 40, 41, 43, 48.

[39] K.B. 9/33 mm.17, 19, 21, 24, 26. John Botiller, John Guise, Richard Tracy, Richard Forster, and Thomas Bradwey appear to have served on no other juries.

[40] C. 139/154 no. 29. Jurors came from at least seven hundreds and were headed by William Whitington, Esq., of Pauntley, who was to sit as a knight of the shire in the parliament of 1455 (C. 219/16/3 m.22) and was made a justice of the peace in June 1464. (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward IV, 1461–1464* (London, 1897), 564. The family had a tradition of activity as justices of the peace (C. 244/7 no. 212 for Guy Whitington, J. P., taking sureties of the peace in 1432). Lesser gentlemen included Richard Bassett of Tetbury, ranked as both gentleman (K.B. 27/807 attornies' roll) and esquire (C. 139/179 no. 57). Too grand to attend village court sessions (S.C. 2/175/88 m.2), his county role was nevertheless modest. He sometimes voted for the county's parliamentary knights (C. 219/16/6 m.10), headed two inquisitions *post mortem* juries that met at Tetbury (C. 139/152 no. 2, C. 139/165 no. 20), and

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might provide an occasion that ranked close to the inquest on Shrewsbury: the jury that tried, and dismissed, the claim of Elizabeth and Edward Catesby to possess as villeins a family of wealthy merchants contained three esquires and twice that number of gentlemen.[41]

Perhaps the limits of what constituted an occasion of honor are best defined by those occasions when gentlemen were placed on jury panels but failed to a man to appear. On one such occasion, the special sessions that two justices held at Gloucester in August 1457 to investigate a forcible disseisin, although knights and esquires were summoned, only husbandmen and a saddle-tree maker attended.[42]

If the unlettered can speak through their actions, peasant jurors of mid-fifteenth-century Gloucestershire speak unmistakably of clearly perceived political interests and of the political will to turn the opportunities of jury service into a means to defend and advance them. Nothing that has been said can challenge the fact of their subordination, but subordination is never absolute. Peasants-as-royal-jurors carried on an active political discourse with the crown that influenced the politics of the countryside. It also influenced the history of the jury. We shall now look briefly at the impact of peasant participation on the nature of the jury.

THE JURY SERVED SIMULTANEOUSLY as an instrument of peasant aggrandizement and of royal authority because the crown was prepared to accept as its jurors men whom the villagers recognized as their political leaders. Such had not always been the case. Royal policies introduced in the late eleventh century resulted in a critical difference between the world as defined by the crown's officers and the world as experienced by the men of the countryside. The reconciliation of the crown's political definitions with those of the peasantry constitutes a significant, and unremarked, chapter in the political history of the medieval countryside. It affords as well an example of the process of mutual formation, the importance of which it would be hard to exaggerate.

One key to these developments lies with the *villani*, and the Angevin crown's attempts to redefine their political status and standing in public law. *Villani* in the Anglo-Norman state had possessed a public personality, with the possibility of undertaking the public responsibilities that this implied. They were, in the terminology of the time, *legales homines*, oath-worthy men endowed with rights and responsibilities in the public life of the communities to which they belonged. Their rights and responsibilities included jury work. In 1086, *villani* took oaths at the

pursued his neighborhood quarrels in the courts at Westminster (K.B. 27/803 pleas m.49, C.P. 40/763 m.111, K.B. 27/807 pleas m.64). Richard Kemyll of Noke, a shade below Bassett in status (described as franklin, E. 137/132/4/9d., and as gentleman, C.P. 40/763 m.396d.), sometimes served as an elector of the shire knights (C. 219/16/2 m.35), sat on a variety of juries (K.B. 9/281 m.44. C. 139/162 no. 29, C. 139/168 no. 23), but during these years held no office higher than that of coroner (K.B. 27/764 rex m.8d.).

[41] C. 260/151 file 4 mm.8, 10. This jury included John Estcourt, Humphrey Coderington, and John Kemys, esquires, none of whom rose to the highest county offices; John Kemys sat as a knight of the shire in the parliament of 1450 and served as an escheator in the county. *History of Parliament, Register of the Ministers and Members of Both Houses, 1439–1509* (London, 1938), 164.

[42] K.B. 9/286 m.21. Two knights and several esquires were impaneled, but the husbandmen and saddle-tree maker were joined only by a village gentleman, Thomas Freme of Nether Lypiatt, whose only other public role seems to have been as a commissioner to levy and collect the parliamentary tenths and fifteenths in 1446 (*Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Henry VI, 1445–1452* [London, 1939], 37; for his status, see C.P. 40/763 m.81d.).

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Domesday inquest; in 1122, Alwinus Bacon the reeve (all reeves were *villani*) was sworn into an inquest on a disseisin against the monks of St. Stephen.[43] As long as he was reputed *legalis*, a man was qualified to render an oath—at inquests into disseisins, disputed rights of entry, even the grander question of "right" to land.[44] To be reputed *legalis* meant to be accounted "obedient to the law" when much of the law was local. It meant to be regarded as truthful, when regard resided in the opinion of neighbors. It sometimes meant as well that a convicted man who had been pardoned by the king had also found *fide jussores*, pledges, for his subsequent good behavior.[45] The pledges of a villager were likely to be other villagers. Peasant neighbors, *villani* among the others, were thus the keepers of the doctrine of the *legalis homo* in the Anglo-Norman state.

Angevin government challenged this system with its new legal doctrine of the "serf-villein"[46] and its new writs exalting the *liber homo* and degrading the *legalis homo*. Henry II's government began what grew into an assault on the traditional role of the *legalis homo*. It demanded that the sworn men in the new property assizes, grand and petty, be, at a minimum, not only *legales* but *liberi homines*.[47] The hundred jurors who were to make up the presentments before the crown's itinerant justices were, according to the Northampton Assize, to be, if not knights, at least *liberi homines*, seconded by four *homines*, nothing more, from each village. The issue is not, in fact, quite this clear. The Assize of Clarendon, which also deals with this question, asked that the presenters be *legaliores*, the traditional qualification. In form, the Northampton definition prevailed; in practice, that of Clarendon.[48] Once

[43] Charles E. Odegaard, "Legalis Homo," *Speculum*, 15 (1940): 186–93; the Domesday inquest, W. Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, H. W. C. Davis, ed., 9th edn. (Oxford, 1962), 101; M. M. Bigelow, *Placita Anglo-Normannica* (Boston, 1970), 120–21, for Bacon.

[44] van Caenegem, *Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill*: 423 for the writ of right; 435, 453 for writs on disseisins. For the writ of entry, see *Pleas before the King or His Justices 1198–1202*, D. M. Stenton, ed. (SS 67) (London, 1953), 381.

[45] Odegaard, "Legalis Homo," 189–90.

[46] For the phrase, see F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law* (Cambridge, 1968), 1: 430.

[47] On the assizes, see *Glanvill*, G. D. G. Hall, ed. (London, 1965), Book 2, chaps. 10, 11, pp. 30–31, Book 13, chaps. 3, 33, pp. 150, 167; D. W. Sutherland, *The Assize of Novel Disseisin* (Oxford, 1973), 32; *Early Registers of Writs*, E. de Haas and G. D. G. Hall, eds. (SS 87) (London, 1970), xl, 23, 87, 280. This novel and crucial insistence on *liberi* is omitted in Milsom's paraphrase of the king's writ ordering the sheriff to find jurors for the assize of *mort d'ancestor*. S. F. C. Milsom, *Historical Foundations of the Common Law*, 2d edn. (London, 1981), 134. The version of the writ in Stubbs's Northampton Assize omits reference to *liberi homines* (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 180), but *Glanvill* includes it (Stubbs, 194), and all the examples of the writ printed in full in the *Early Registers of Writs* call for jurors who were *liberi* as well as *legales*; de Haas and Hall, *Early Registers of Writs*, 3, 23, 87, 88, 89, 280. For an important discussion of the development of the Angevin writs, see W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), 321 and following.

[48] W. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 170, 179. The argument of H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Medieval England* (Edinburgh, 1963), 439 and following, that the text Stubbs offered as that of the Assize of Clarendon was actually written after 1176, and their conclusion that the authentic text of Clarendon defined the jurors in the same terms as did that of the Northampton Assize, does not resolve our puzzle. Whatever its date and provenance, Stubbs's text for Clarendon describes what came to be crown practice regarding jurors; the Northampton text does not. The continuing confusion over the rights and role of prominent villagers, a symptom of the failure of the common law doctrine of *liberi homines* to supplant countryside definitions of status and capacity in royal institutions of justice and administration, can be seen in the personnel of the eyre juries. *Villani* not only sat as presentment jurors; P. R. Hyams, *King, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1980), 155, but, on occasion, as trial jurors, too; *The 1235 Surrey Eyre*, C. A. F. Meekings and David Crook, eds., Vol. 2 (Surrey Record Society, 32) (Guildford, 1983), 385. Practice continued to defy theory in the fifteenth century. T. Marowe is surely right that the sheriff's writ summoning jurors who were "probos et legales" allowed villeins to sit on presentment juries; *Early Treatises on the Practice of the Justices of the Peace*, B. H. Putnam, ed. (Oxford, 1924) 362, 366; but he ignored the complication that sheriffs also summoned presentment juries of "liberos et legales homines" from the hundreds (BL, Harl. MS. 773, fol. 67). The relationship of the status of the jurors to the theory and practice of the crown becomes even more obscure when

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articulated, the doctrine that jurors should be *liberi homines* proved attractive to royal officialdom. In 1181, they required *liberi homines* to swear to the assessment that would serve for a new tax—a departure that had no future in the history of royal taxation. *Liberi* displaced the merely "law abiding" designation in juries on writs of entry, and they monopolized the juries in pleas of debt before the royal justices.[49]

These *liberi homines* were new to England, a kind of remnant group created by the application to the countryside of the common law's doctrine that men were either free or serf. With villeinage declared to constitute a kind of serfdom, *villani* became a special kind of chattel of the lord, and the world of the crown's officers took its leave of the world of the village. While for the crown the operative distinction was between the free and the unfree, for the village this distinction lacked relevance and application.[50] Since the disappearance of slavery, all men were in some sense free, and yet all who owed to others services for their land were also in some sense unfree. At any rate, countrymen saw themselves as the husbands of lands heavily or lightly burdened with services, as men whose persons were subject to severe or mild restrictions on what they could undertake without permission or payment, as the descendants of men who had once been slaves or of men who had never been servile. Countrymen distinguished those whose holdings supported their families from those whose lands did not, the self-employed from the laborers. They marked off those who prospered from those who lived in poverty, those worthy of responsible office in the village from those excluded from positions of authority. Of the merely free or unfree, they knew little.[51]

In the confrontation, muted but real, between the two incompatible political definitions of agrarian community, peasant perceptions and practices gradually prevailed against the crown's novelties. In charting the crown's retreat, it is important to note that it had at no time completely turned its back on the *villani*. Even as Chancery was elaborating its new possessory assizes (actions at common law to settle disputed claims to possession of property) for the exclusive benefit of freeholders, the Exchequer was insisting that all the crown's debtors, of whatever status, were directly accountable to it.[52] Likewise, in elaborating a program of general taxation and military obligation, the crown grounded liability in the peasant, not freehold, community. Early on in the history of the eyre courts, *villani*

further writs are considered. Whereas the king's commission to the justices of the peace invariably commanded that sheriffs should summon presentment jurors who were "probos et legales homines," the justices' own orders to the sheriffs sometimes asked for "probos et legales homines," sometimes for "liberos et legales homines," from the hundreds of the county; *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, B. H. Putnam, ed. (London, 1938) 153, 262, for the "probi"; BL, Harl. MS. 773, fol. 51d. for the "liberi." Fortescue also reflects the continuing ambiguity between legal status and political responsibility: jurors are "probi et legales homines" in Fortescue's account until he discusses their wealth and standing in their communities. Then, like a good lawyer, he turns them into "libere tenentes"; Sir John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Anglie*, S. B. Chrimes, ed. and trans. (Cambridge, 1942), 56, 64, 68.

[49] *The Roll and Writ File of the Berkshire Eyre of 1248*, M. T. Clanchy, ed. (SS 90) (London, 1973), 499, and *Registrum Omnium Brevium* (London, 1595), "Brevium Iudicialium," f. 30 for entry and debt respectively; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 184 (article 9) for the 1181 assessment.

[50] Eleanor Searle, *Lordship and Community* (Toronto, 1974), 77–78.

[51] Those familiar with J. Z. Titow, *English Rural Society, 1200–1350* (London, 1969), 54 and following, will recognize my indebtedness to the categories employed there. Titow, however, ignored the significance of the exclusion of villein oaths from a wide variety of royal processes when he wrote that "in any matter" other than those "concerning their lands or the conditions of their tenure" villeins received "the same treatment as free men" at common law; 57.

[52] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 236: Book 2, chap. 13 of the *Dialogus*.

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began on occasion to share the juries with *liberi homines*.[53] In Edward I's *quo warranto* inquiries, the juries unceremoniously ignored the dividing line imposed on the rural community by the common law doctrine of status.

Perhaps the most significant development of all came in the fourteenth century with the development of the action of trespass as an alternative to the possessory assizes for litigating over property.[54] The importance of trespass in this context lies in its practice, dating from its early days in the king's court, of shunning the doctrine of the *liber homo*: in 1237, an action of trespass on lands within the honor of Wallingford had required only that twelve jurors reside *extra honorem de Walingford*. Subsequently, in the centuries of its prosperity, trespass remained faithful to its initial definition of who was oath worthy, routinely seeking the oaths of men variously denominated *probos et legales, propinquiores et legales*, or *descreciores et legales*.[55] Of the merely free, it continued to know nothing. The coming of age of the action of trespass in the fifteenth century therefore represents the coming of age "at law" of definitions of responsibility independent of, and alternative to, the doctrine of the *liber homo*. The crown's practical abandonment of the dogma that the oath of freemen alone could legitimize disputed title to freehold signals the triumph of an alternative definition of the political community of the countryside, an alternative much more hospitable to peasant practice than the abstract, exclusive definition of the learned royal advisers that it supplanted.

The role of the peasants themselves in contributing to this reversal of allegiances was indirect, "unconscious," "undocumented," but decisive. Its essence lies, ultimately, in the invincibility of the peasants' own political perceptions in the face of the common law's challenge to these tenaciously held ideals, in the peasants' steady work of building their own communities according to their own rules, and in the role that authority played, alongside power, in the larger polity of medieval England. Peasant strength of purpose, skill of social engineering, and sustained effort of will explain the peasant community's success in outfacing the common law. But only the ingrained contemporary habit of viewing political relationships as relationships of authority explains the compromise on which antagonists were able to build their practical cooperation.

Authoritarian values at the core of the medieval polity conditioned the responses of both the crown and the peasantry in the contest over whose definitions should determine the nature of jury representation. Medieval kings neither thought nor acted in terms of a sovereign power of kingship. Their claims to command and to

[53] For the claim that the *villani* had consented to the aid (tax) of 1232, along with the *liberi homines* and others, see Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 356. For peasant liability to taxation, see J. F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property 1290 to 1334* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934); Bertha Putnam, *The Place in Legal History of Sir William Shareshull* (Cambridge, 1950), esp. 53 and following. The peasant voice in taxation is still, however, routinely ignored. Recent examples of this neglect included G. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369*; Maddicott, *English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown 1294–1341*; W. M. Ormrod, "An Experiment in Taxation: The English Parish Subsidy of 1371," *Speculum*, 63 (1988): 58–82. For the continuing confusion that the introduction of the doctrine of the *liber homo* created over the rights and roles of peasants in local and provincial governance, and for *villani* as presentment and trial jurors at the eyre, see Barbara Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities 1300–1348* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 52, and n. 48 above.

[54] Sutherland, *Assize of Novel Disseisin*, 170–75, 199. For the development of the action of trespass in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Eric Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* (London, 1969), 70 and following.

[55] Clanchy, *Roll and Writ File of the Berkshire Eyre of 1248*, 493; *The Roll of the Shropshire Eyre of 1256*, A. Harding, ed. (SS 96) (London, 1981), xliii; *Select Cases of Procedure without Writ under Henry III*, H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, eds. (SS 60) (London, 1981), 24; de Haas and Hall, *Early Registers of Writs*, lvi, 171, 185, 187.

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be obeyed rested ultimately on their claims to be acting legitimately, where legitimacy was an authoritarian concept. As Hannah Arendt has explained, the basis of the legitimacy of any action in an authoritarian state is its respect for the place of both ruler and ruled in a hierarchically ordered universe. In an authoritarian world, the "relation between the one who commands and the one who obeys rests neither on common reason nor on the power of the one who commands" but on the roles both play by virtue of their "predetermined and stable" places within a hierarchy "whose rightness and legitimacy both recognize."[56] To challenge the place of another group within the hierarchy is equally to challenge one's own place and thus to destroy the basis of authoritarian rule. A better conceptualization of the sources of the strength of peasant practice when confronted by the crown's innovations would be hard to find. It is superior to the Bractonian formula—*rex sub deo et sub lege*—because Bracton's *lex* ignores traditional peasant definitions and the rights they entail, whereas Arendt's authoritarian hypothesis identifies the mutual dependence of royal and peasant rights. A condition of the medieval crown's exercise of its own rights was respect for the privileges of the communities of the realm, including the peasant community. The crown hinted at this when it required their cooperation. But each community had its own rules, which outsiders, including even the crown, could not rewrite. Peasants "knew" this when the crown wavered, and brought it home to the crown through the strength of their own practice. This is the significance of the presence of serfs on the eyre juries in the thirteenth century, of the hospitality to *legales homines* that the juries in trespass showed from the outset, and, triumphantly, of the promiscuous commingling of customary tenants and copyholders, the descendants of *villani*, with descendants of the *liberi homines* in the Gloucestershire juries in 1450. The sheer force of their persistence in the practice of their own rules vindicated those rules against the competing rules of the crown. It was the force of peasant practice that overwhelmed the frail, if logical, arrangements of bureaucratic minds carefully schooled in Roman distinctions and heedlessly indifferent to peasant perceptions. But peasant practice overwhelmed the logic of the concept of the serf-villein less because the crown was weak than because, by the rules of the authoritarian political universe from which the crown too derived its political legitimacy, the peasants were right and the crown was wrong. The measure of the peasants' political ability must be that they were able to assert their rights, the measure of the crown's that it acquiesced.

THE BELIEF THAT RULERS RARELY BOTHERED about what happened in the villages has for too long ruled the practice of medieval political history, which, as a result, rarely bothers to look at the village either. Occasionally, and instructively, someone breaks the silence and tells us why this belief prevails. Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie did so when he pronounced that peasants are "objects rather than subjects of history,"[57] by which he meant that peasants are, in ways that other groups are not, affected by developments over which they have no control. To the question of what distinguished them in this respect from the rest of society, Mousnier and Hilton, at odds over other issues, give much the same answer: peasants lacked political conscious-

[56] Hannah Arendt, "What Is Authority?" in *Between Past and Future* (New York, 1961), 93 and *passim*.
[57] Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, *The Mind and Method of the Historian*, S. Reynolds and B. Reynolds, trans. (Chicago, 1984), 121.

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ness. In Hilton's language, the "ruling ideas of medieval peasants seem to have been the ideas of the rulers of society,"[58] in Mousnier's, the peasants' actions were "furies" for which the gentry stepped forward to provide a political rationale.[59]

What unites all three viewpoints and what they share with the arguments from silence dominating the political histories of the medieval state is the conviction that peasants were incapable of political thought, unable to comprehend their political situation in terms of their own experiences. The adherents of this view have few options apart from ignoring peasants altogether or emphasizing their subjection to other persons.[60] Of course, most peasants could not think in terms familiar to royal officials, nor could they express their ideas in the language of privileged men of wide acres and formal training. But this does not mean that the doughty peasant brigade that filled out the crown's juries lacked political understanding—or effect.

Those who believe otherwise rely, more than many of them realize, on a *parti pris* definition of political thought, a definition whose claims to adequacy have been rejected by a significant body of twentieth-century writing. The definition, which may be called Cartesian, identifies thought exclusively with the exercise of the intellect and the ability to theorize action.[61] Thinkers as diverse as Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Jürgen Habermas, Gilbert Ryle and Jean-Paul Sartre, Ludwig Wittgenstein and P. F. Strawson reject this as inadequate. They understand by "mind" the ability to act intelligently and not just to theorize action,[62] by "thinking," "something continuous with, and involved in, all human activities which are not wholly mechanical or instinctive."[63] To "comprehend" an action is to intend something by it, "even if this intention is implicit or obscure to the agent himself."[64] "Consciousness" designates "abilities, liabilities and inclinations to do and undergo certain sorts of things . . . in the ordinary world."[65] "To know" is preeminently "to know how" to do something in practice. Judged by definitions such as these, peasant political acts raise presumptions of knowing intent in the actor.

[58] Hilton, *English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages*, 16. Duby, who argued for a theory of "downward" cultural transmission—see Georges Duby, "The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society," *Past and Present*, 39 (1968): 3–10—acknowledged the peasant family as an exception; compare *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff, eds. (Rome, 1977), 407.

[59] Roland Mousnier, *Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth-Century France, Russia and China*, Brian Pearce, trans. (New York, 1972), esp. chaps. 1, 2, and p. 321 and following. For some penetrating comments on the explanations utilized in this debate over the nature of peasant action, see Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Shepton Mallet, 1982), 214 and following.

[60] Recent works emphasizing peasant subjection include M. J. Bennett, *Community, Class and Careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire Society in the Age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, 1983), 33, 192 and following, but see, *per contra*, 50; Carpenter, "Beauchamp Affinity," 514–32; D. C. Cox, "County Government 1327–1603," *Victoria County History of Shropshire*, G. C. Baugh, ed. (London, 1979), 3: 54–89; R. H. Hilton, *A Medieval Society* (London, 1966), 218; M. E. James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society* (Oxford, 1974), 180; Nigel Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), 106 and following. For a venturesome definition of the scope of magnate domination, see Christopher Hill, "A Comment," *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1976), 121. On the influence of the gentry over juries, see, among many others, Blatcher, *Court of King's Bench, 1450–1550*, 91–92; Cam, *Hundred and the Hundred Rolls*, 18; Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities*, 49, 51; K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), 116–18; R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1967), 263; Paul Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England* (Oxford, 1892), 155. For an instance of sturdy independence in juries, see Searle, *Lordship and Community*, 396.

[61] For a brief introduction to this "rejectionist" thought, see Hannah Arendt, "Reality and the Thinking Ego: The Cartesian Doubt and the *sensus communis*," in *The Life of the Mind* (New York, 1978).

[62] Gilbert Ryle, *The Concept of Mind* (New York, 1949), 26.

[63] P. F. Strawson, "Introduction," *Studies in the Philosophy of Thought and Action*, P. F. Strawson, ed. (Oxford, 1969), 2.

[64] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, Alan Sheridan-Smith, trans. (London, 1982), 76.

[65] Ryle, *Concept of Mind*, 199.

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Rejection of the exclusively intellectualist dogma of the mind removes the chief barrier to a more just appraisal of the significance of peasant political practices in the life of the state. Evidence has never been the key to the problem. No one has ever doubted that peasants acted as jurors—or as taxpayers or soldiers. The issue is one of their responsibility for what they did, one of agency. On this issue, medieval political history has remained uniquely conservative, while economic and social history have vindicated the claims for peasant agency in the creation respectively of peasant economy and peasant community. The evidence of peasant political activity on the provincial level is no less compelling. The difference lies in the greater hold the older epistemological definition retains on the judgments of the older branch of the discipline.

The growing literature on agency as an attribute of the illiterate, the poor, and the suppressed illustrates both the explanatory powers of the concept and its diversity. Anthropologists, political scientists, and historians have imputed rationality and impact to all these groups: Edward Evans-Pritchard to the Nuer, James C. Scott to the victims of the "green revolution" in Malaya, E. P. Thompson, Eugene Genovese, R. C. Cobb, Christine Stansell to the laborers of industrializing England, the slaves of antebellum America, the marginal poor of revolutionary France, the laboring women of industrializing New York City.[66] But, even beyond such examples, human agency has been claimed for those subjected to the most brutal forms of suppression known.[67] If it is possible to maintain that the most extreme forms of domination are unable absolutely to deprive men and women of all ability to choose, how much stronger is the case for extending the concept of agency to the political discourse between medieval English peasants and the crown.

[66] Edward Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (Oxford, 1968); James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak* (New Haven, Conn., 1985); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, 1968); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (New York, 1976); R. C. Cobb, *The Police and the People* (Oxford, 1970); Christine Stansell, *City of Women* (New York, 1986).

[67] Anna Pawelczynska, *Values and Violence in Auschwitz*, Catherine Leach, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1979).

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The Role of Fear: Transitions in American Emotional Standards for Children, 1850–1950

PETER N. STEARNS and TIMOTHY HAGGERTY

> We have seen that he felt fear. Had it been otherwise he must have possessed nerves of steel, or have been utterly destitute of the power of reasoning; but that fear did not so completely overpower him as it had but a short time before, when he lay behind the bush and listened to the guerrillas plan for the capture of Boxer and her crew. On the contrary, it nerved him to make the greatest exertions to effect his escape.
>
> Harry Castlemon, *Frank on the Lower Mississippi* (Boston, 1868), 74–76.

> A baby's fears are often taken for granted as a part of the process of growing up. It is true that many baby fears have no lasting effect upon later behavior, that they are "outgrown." But it is also true that some of these fears carry over into childhood and adulthood with far-reaching results . . .
>
> The prevention of such fears is important, for not only do they make the child an object of ridicule among his playmates and the butt of practical jokes, but later on they may become social and occupational handicaps and in some cases an actual danger to health.
>
> Mary A. Boucquet, "Baby Fears," *Parents' Magazine*, 21 (June 1946): 35.

BETWEEN THE SECOND HALF of the nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century, middle-class Americans began to reevaluate the uses of fear in a number of important respects. The transformation was not complete: before and after 1900, widely read advice literature to parents could both describe fear as a barrier to sensible behavior and celebrate the courageous conquest of fear. Excessive fear in children and deliberate efforts by parents to instill fear were deeply condemned throughout the modern era. Yet there were a number of significant changes in approach. The ideal time for training children to control their own fears moved from childhood and adolescence, when conquering fear might be useful as part of character building, to early childhood, when the key agents were, of necessity, not the children themselves but their parents. Popular authorities correspondingly began to emphasize the unreasoned fears infants might encounter, not those produced by such situations as adventure or war. Even more important was the shift from encouraging children to embrace moral challenges to reducing fearful

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situations and supplying assurances of love and support when fear did loom. Overall, middle-class Americans became increasingly aware after 1900 of fear's unpleasantness and replaced an emphasis on mastery with one on avoidance in their implicit definitions of the desirable emotional life.

Fear is an intrinsic human response to certain stimuli and the emotional basis for flight. It is also a cultural construct. In some societies, people learn not to experience (or at least evince) fear about situations that in other cultures promote panic. For example, several American Indian groups are notable for their lack of fear of heights.[1] As a cultural construct, fear can play various roles in discipline and is frequently used to control and socialize children. Its expression can evoke diverse responses; a recent study argues that shifts in nineteenth-century southern culture made men more sensitive to fears their wives expressed about childbirth.[2] Standards for fear, including those recommended for children and for adults dealing with children, are open to change, as well as being a reflection of deep-seated variations from one culture to the next. The changes that altered a complex Victorian response to children's fears by heightening anxiety form a significant case in point. The changes embraced several of the facets of fear-as-construct: ways in which fear could be used in dealing with children, responses to fears children themselves expressed, and the kinds of reactions to fear that children were supposed to learn in order to become successful adults.

The contention that the evaluation and, through this, some of the experience of fear can change is not new. Jean Delumeau argued that the decline of magic and its supplanting by more rational beliefs and orderly religion greatly reduced fears of external forces in Western culture by the eighteenth century. He went on to claim that, by the twentieth century, fear of the external world was replaced by fears coming from within the individual psyche. Work of this sort, while richly suggestive, remains highly generalized, and it has not been applied to modern American history. The changes discussed in this essay, though less grandiose, may fit into a larger Western transformation in which nineteenth-century confidence yielded to twentieth-century *Angst* even in the cozy confines of the American middle class.[3]

The main evidence for this study derives from eighty-four advice manuals directed to middle-class parents and from various literature aimed directly at children, over the hundred-year span. We also use secondary studies in establishing the popularity of such materials. While popularity does not prove acceptance of content, at least the advice itself can be viewed as representative.[4] The essential

[1] Jeffrey Gray, *The Psychology of Fear and Stress* (New York, 1971), 114–16.

[2] On fear in discipline, see Herman W. Roodenburg, "The Autobiography of Isabella de Moerloose: Sex, Childrearing, and Popular Belief in Seventeenth-Century Holland," *Journal of Social History*, 18 (1985): 517–40; Lloyd de Mause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York, 1974), 1–33. On changing responses to fear and pregnancy, see Jan Lewis and Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Sally Has Been Sick: Pregnancy and Family Limitation among Virginia Gentry Women, 1780–1830," *Journal of Social History*, 22 (1988): 5–19.

[3] Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident, XIV^e–XVIII^e siècles: Une Cité assiégée* (Paris, 1978); and *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries* (New York, 1990); see also W. J. Bouwsma, "Anxiety and the Formation of Early Modern Culture," in B. C. Malament, ed., *After the Reformation* (Manchester, 1980), 215–46; and Herman Roodenburg, "The Maternal Imagination: The Fears of Pregnant Women in Nineteenth-Century Holland," *Journal of Social History*, 21 (1988): 701–16. One study deals with the ritualization of fear among troops in the American revolution: Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character* (New York, 1982).

[4] Identification of the popularity and audience for prescriptive literature has been extensively researched. On Victorian-style child rearing and the family manuals most popular with the nineteenth-century middle class, see Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic* (Philadelphia, 1968); and R. G. Kelly,

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coherence of the Victorian approach to fear shines through the most popular manuals and widely sold boys' fiction until key signs of change creep in at the century's end. Nineteenth-century emotional standards were deliberately conveyed through several kinds of publications, with parental guidance supplemented by moralistic children's fiction, often purchased, in the decades before "allowances," by parents themselves.[5] After 1900, the advice to parents took clearer precedence over other channels in defining mainstream adult expectations about childhood fear. Findings from psychology began to enter the picture more strongly, even though they did not monopolize middle-class standards in this area. Partly because of this new expert role, recommendations on child rearing moved through several phases between 1900 and 1950, from tentative exploration of behaviorism to elements of Freudianism, and the most popular child-rearing manuals signaled these transitions while maintaining some larger themes. Correspondingly, new parental concerns about fear contributed to new interest in expert findings; the interaction was mutual. Children's fiction, no longer overtly moralistic and more eager to treat its audience as consumers who must be diverted, less clearly complemented family standards. Even so, an approach to fear was implied in children's fiction that differed from its nineteenth-century predecessor, reflecting some of the themes that had transformed the prescriptive literature for adults.

AS CONVEYED IN A SERIES OF WIDELY READ FAMILY MANUALS, American middle-class standards for dealing with fear in childhood from the mid-nineteenth century until its end displayed three striking characteristics.[6] First, in a shift from the cruelty and backwardness of presumably traditional parental practices, advice writers urged adults to avoid the use of fear in discipline. The message here was clear, though not expounded in as much detail as it was to receive in the twentieth century. Second, most family manuals were relatively silent about the fears children experienced. The manuals offered almost none of the anxious probing of nighttime terrors or frights inspired by animals that were to become standard fare a few generations later. Silence on certain topics, to be sure, limits illustration and constrains

Mother Was a Lady: Self and Society in Selected American Children's Periodicals 1865–1890 (Westport, Conn., 1974). On twentieth-century manuals and their audience, see Leone Kell and Jean Aldous, "Trends in Child Care over Three Generations," *Marriage and Family Living*, 22 (1960): 176–77; Jay Mechling, "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers," *Journal of Social History*, 9 (1975): 44 and following; Celia B. Stendler, "Sixty Years of Child Training Practices," *Journal of Pediatrics*, 36 (1950): 122–34; Thomas Gordon, *Parent Effectiveness Training* (New York, 1970); Martha Wolfenstein, "Trends in Infant Care," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 23 (1953): 120–30; Michael Zuckerman, "Dr. Spock: The Confidence Man," in Charles Rosenberg, ed., *The Family in History* (Philadelphia, 1975), 179–207; and Stephanie Shields and B. A. Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents in Childrearing Manuals, 1915–1980," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 52 (1989): 44–55.

[5] On the advent of allowances, see Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child* (New York, 1986). For the various sources of adult standards for socialization in the nineteenth century, and how they could move in complementary even when not identical directions, see Daniel T. Rodgers, "Socializing Middle-Class Children: Institutions, Fables and Work Values in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1980): 354–67; Gillian Avery, "Two Patterns of Childhood: American and English," *Hornbook Magazine*, 60 (1984): 794–807. See also R. Gordon Kelly, "American Children's Literature: A Historiographical Review," *American Literary Realism*, 6 (1975): 89–107; and "Literature and the Historian," *American Quarterly*, 26 (1974): 141–59; Patrick Dunae, "Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime," *Victorian Studies*, 22 (1978): 133–50; and Gillian Avery, *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Childhood Fiction, 1770–1950* (London, 1975).

[6] On the study of emotional standards, see Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *AHR*, 90 (October 1985): 813–36.

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interpretation, but it also suggests that many parents between 1850 and 1900 found children's fears unproblematic compared to more pressing issues such as obedience or honesty. The paucity of guidelines for parents was partly explained by the existence of a medium to address children directly. Moralistic children's stories urged an active confrontation with fear as part of a successful boyhood. They also provided reasonably explicit gender distinctions between boys and girls in terms of handling fears, which in turn helped reconcile diverse Victorian impulses about avoiding and utilizing fear's emotional charge. All three elements—warnings to parents about causing fear, silence about early childhood fear otherwise, and the inspirational boys' stories—fit together in a reasonably coherent, if not deliberately coordinated, package consistent with the wider context of middle-class Victorian culture.

Victorian standard-setters did not theorize about fear in emotional make-up. They clearly found fear unpleasant, and therefore not to be unnecessarily invoked, but they also granted the inevitability of fear-producing situations that could be controlled, even mastered, to the benefit of character. The most urgent recommendations about childish fear involved the cautions to parents. These fit into a wider nineteenth-century interest in reexamining parental habits on the basis of new assumptions of family emotional harmony and childish innocence.[7] They also meshed with new worries about the tone servants might take with the children, as middle-class and popular standards were beginning to diverge.[8] The dominant acceptable approach for managing children, which opposed extensive physical punishments and other scare tactics as a means of correcting childish misbehavior, was founded on a belief that children should not be made needlessly afraid.[9] Advice writer Lydia Child stated the common sentiment early in the nineteenth century: "Fear should on no occasion be used as a preventive, or a punishment." Even as a caution against danger, fear should be avoided. Thus a child made afraid of spider bites may get bitten just as easily as a child who had not been warned, while at the same time bites are not nearly as bad as a "fear that troubles one all life long."[10] Children had no natural fear of animals, according to this expertise, and could only be made afraid by heedless adults. Still more obviously, the temptation to use dire warnings about old men "prowling about to steal" infants, however well-intended by a mother concerned about safety, must be resisted, for they might "embitter the whole existence of her offspring."[11] And "she who can tell a frightful story to her child or allow one to be told, ought to have a guardian appointed over

[7] Philip J. Greven, Jr., ed., *Childrearing Concepts, 1628–1861* (Itasca, Ill., 1973); Wishy, *Child and the Republic*.

[8] On servant-child relationships generally, see David Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York, 1978); and Faye Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn., 1983).

[9] John Demos, "Shame and Guilt in Early New England," in Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Emotion and Social Change* (New York, 1988), 69–86; William G. McLoughlin, "Evangelical Child-Rearing in the Age of Jackson: Francis Wayland's View on When and How to Subdue the Willfulness of Children," *Journal of Social History*, 9 (1975): 234.

[10] Lydia Child, *The Mother's Book* (Boston, 1831), 31–32. Some important manuals, expansive on certain emotional issues, did not mention fear at all. See Catharine Sedgwick, *Home* (Boston, 1834). For the more common, brief cautions, see Catharine E. Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 191–93; Jacob Abbott, *Gentle Measures in Management and Training of the Young* (New York, 1871), 69; and Louise Hoare, *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education and Nursery Discipline* (Salem, Mass., 1826). Issues of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1880–1889, recurrently attacked traditional discipline methods, with concerns about fear high on the list. See additional references in notes 24–28, below.

[11] Child, *Mother's Book*, 32.

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herself." "Much watchfulness" was needed against the implanting of superstitious fears, which meant not only parental restraint but supervision of ignorant or malicious maids and nannies.[12]

The message, overtly directed to parents, expressed obvious concern about the extent to which fear could undermine rational control and the confidence necessary for effective behavior. Good character and purposeful action did not mix with fear in the Victorian lexicon. This distaste for fear was a unifying thread in Victorian emotional culture, especially in the rearing of boys destined for the sphere of business and public life. The first step in creating the necessary freedom from fear rested with enlightened mothers, to whom most of the family advice books were directed. It was vital for a mother to spend enough time directly supervising her children so that scare tactics became unnecessary, for childish fear could become a tyrant that only the strongest minds could later overcome. "It is utterly impossible to calculate the evil" that imposing fears, either through warnings or as discipline, could do to sensitive souls. Even isolation in a dark closet, not an uncommon punishment on the part of nineteenth-century parents eager to avoid physical discipline, was rejected as an "undefined species of horror," sometimes actually fatal through the fright it created.[13] As the rearing of children became more important in the lives of middle-class women, abrupt uses of fear, which had certain advantages in immediate and durable impact, became less compelling as a means of discipline. A more sentimentalized view of motherhood meant a reduction in the use of fear in favor of more gentle, time-consuming persuasions. Children could be swayed instead through familiar suggestion.[14]

Admonitions against instilling fear constituted an important shift in recommended parental norms, away from earlier traditions that had readily employed fear as a means of cautioning children against strangers and other potential threats.[15] Indeed, parents in the evangelical tradition undoubtedly persisted in instilling active fear of God as a basis for proper piety.[16] But the mainstream shift against those tactics paralleled changes in Protestant middle-class religious views toward a more benign view of God in which love, rather than fear, played the central religious role and visions of hell receded. A fearful individual was no longer appropriately pious but rather risked being incapable of taking the kinds of initiatives, of displaying the kinds of confidence, desirable in the new world shaped by republican optimism and business dynamism. Fear was dangerous, and the individual who deliberately sowed it was abusing authority.[17] While most of the nineteenth-century pamphleteers who warned against parental error did not

[12] T. S. Arthur, *Mother's Rule* (Philadelphia, 1856), 289–90.

[13] Child, *Mother's Book*, 28–32; Demos, "Shame and Guilt in Early New England."

[14] Jan Lewis, "Mother's Love: The Construction of an Emotion in Nineteenth Century America," in Andrew E. Barnes and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness* (New York, 1989), 207–29.

[15] Roodenburg, "Autobiography of Isabella de Moerloose," 517–40; and "Maternal Imagination," 701–16; Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident*, 389–403. The transition from early uses of fear in discipline deserves further exploration, as part of understanding the nature and extent of change that Victorian-style emotionology itself entailed. See de Mause, *History of Childhood*, for a somewhat exaggerated overview. More relevant is Philip J. Greven, Jr., *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Childrearing, Religious Experience and the Self in Early America* (New York, 1977), in his distinctions between moderates, likely to be newly cautious in using fear on children, and evangelicals. This suggests an eighteenth-century origin for the attitudes more widely disseminated in the Victorian prescriptive literature.

[16] See Greven, *Protestant Temperament*, 21–150.

[17] Carol Z. Stearns, "'Lord Help Me Walk Humbly': Anger and Sadness in England and America, 1570–1750," in Stearns and Stearns, eds., *Emotion and Social Change*, 39–68.

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belabor their innovations, unlike their twentieth-century counterparts who inveighed against traditions of scaring children, an important new ingredient had been identified: fear should not be added to childhood.[18]

This first aspect of the Victorian approach to managing fear has persisted throughout the twentieth century. How widely it was accepted, of course, is another matter. Even parents who jettisoned frightening physical discipline often, in their desire to achieve obedience, terrified with other means. As fathers became figures less often present in the home, they might newly inspire fear when invoked as ultimate sources of discipline, and new concerns about childhood sexuality or, by 1850, about toilet training formed new sources of children's fears as well.[19] The currency of published warnings about the use of fear did not necessarily win the day, and even well-intentioned parents could cause fear in new ways or old. Almost certainly, middle-class innovations spread gradually at best. Evidence from recent decades shows how certain subcultures deliberately preserved the older, boogeyman approach. A study of Appalachian families near the mid-twentieth century revealed an unreconstructed sense of fear's utility in discipline. "Yes, she's getting to be a big girl now. You can't scare her any more about the dog to make her go off to sleep. We never tried to make her think the dog would get her, . . . but when she'd get restless we'd say 'listen to the dog bark.' And she'd just scrooge down under the covers and be still."[20] The continued use of fear for control is one reason that twentieth-century advice givers, more concerned about childhood fears overall, returned to the charge with growing insistence.

Nevertheless, the new standards, and their very explicitness, almost certainly won some gradual changes in the way many parents, particularly mothers and particularly in the middle class, defined their own approaches to children. Further, the standards were essential in explaining the second feature of the Victorian family advice literature concerning childhood fears. Prescriptive writers found a ready target in crude parents and even cruder servants as sources of fear, and they fervently believed in the innocence of childhood; thus they ignored other sources of fear in young children. If adults did not create a problem, there was none present. While spiders, for example, might scare some children, inherent fears such as this remained manageable, unworthy of discussion, so long as parents did not exploit them. This assessment of children as shaped by the soundness of adult tactics plus children's own sweet nature clearly differentiated nineteenth-century American guidelines from all the twentieth-century variants; for there was no need, by Victorian assumptions, to provide advice on handling children's fears as a discrete topic beyond the strictures against bad parenting. Innocent children, an orderly environment, a benign God, and, doubtless, some acceptance of the normalcy of certain early fears joined to minimize fear as a subject associated with early childhood.

Thus, what was left unsaid was as important in dominant nineteenth-century

[18] Abbott, *Gentle Measures*, 69; Hoare, *Hints for the Improvement*, 23; Horace Bushnell, *Views of Christian Nurture* (Hartford, Conn., 1847), 253–55.

[19] A probing exploration of what actual nineteenth-century fathers were up to, and what impact they had, remains to be written; for a suggestive framework, see Mark Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago, 1990). Richard Schoenwald, "Training Urban Man: A Hypothesis about the Sanitary Movement," in H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, eds., *The Victorian City* (London, 1973), 2: 669–92; Demos, "Shame and Guilt in Early New England," 69–86.

[20] Claudia Lewis, *Children of the Cumberland* (New York, 1946), 79.

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advice as what was said.[21] Although parents should not create fear, they were assigned no particular responsibilities for fears that children actually experienced. Parents reading advice manuals gained no specific advice on what to do if a child became unwontedly afraid of the dark or of some other phenomenon. There was no problem about animals "unless it were put into their heads," and, indeed, childish cruelty to animals, not fear, was the prevailing concern. Fairy tales might be modified to prevent needless fear of strangers or animals from arising but not because of a deep-seated problem of childhood fear in general.[22] Further, an overriding belief that appropriate religious sentiment could cushion fear and a related conviction that good would triumph over evil rendered more specific strategies unnecessary. Lydia Child urged in 1831 that prayer always permitted a child to govern feeling, "tranquiliz[ing] the most strong passions."[23] Horace Bushnell, noting sixteen years later that children must not be taught to fear either parent or God, lauded the "natural state of courage" that a child's approach to God permitted. Undue parental scare tactics could dent this shield (although Bushnell was not concerned about occasional necessary punishments), but, with appropriate adult caution and general religious encouragement, the child needed no further armor. While invocations of religious solace declined in the popular manuals issued late in the nineteenth century, religious references did not disappear, and an emphasis on the ability to instill confidence in the "forces of right and order" remained high.[24] Taken at face value, then, the men and women who wrote the popular family manuals in the nineteenth century, claiming largely moral inspiration, whether religious or secular,[25] shaped an indirect task for parents regarding fear, save insofar as they had to unlearn bad traditional habits: their role was to avoid creating, rather than actively managing, a troubling emotion in children. Brief injunctions would suffice, like writer T. S. Arthur's uplifting but curt appeal: "Train up your children to be virtuous and fearless. Moral courage is one of the surest safeguards of virtue."[26] Active attention to proper religious values and moral confidence, not some rearguard action against fear itself, was the appropriate strategy.

VICTORIAN EMOTIONAL CULTURE, even in its eagerness to avoid fear-ridden personalities, emphasized the opportunity to shape emotional characteristics later on, when children could be addressed directly. Middle-class arbiters assumed that older children could and would continue to improve their characters, aided by moral examples from various sources in the adult world. Here was the other reason for the relatively small amount of space devoted to fear issues in family advice literature and the reason as well for utilizing another kind of literature—the

[21] Documenting silence is possible mainly by contrast, beyond the sheer lack of discussion of young children's spontaneous fears in all the widely used nineteenth-century manuals. The more detailed discussion below, of the elaborate treatments current after 1904, provides the obvious counterpoint.

[22] Felix Adler, *The Moral Instruction of Children* (New York, 1901), 72; Child, *Mother's Book*, 8–32.

[23] Child, *Mother's Book*, 5.

[24] Bushnell, *Views of Christian Nurture*, 253–55; Adler, *Moral Instruction of Children*, 72 and *passim*.

[25] On the basis of nineteenth-century "expertise" in the family manuals and the trend toward greater secularism, see Wishy, *Child and the Republic*. Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of the American Family* (New York, 1988), 44, sets a useful overall context for the growing middle-class need for family manuals from the 1830s onward. There was no apparent parental demand for advice about children's fears save in the reconsideration of discipline.

[26] Arthur, *Mother's Rule*, 288.

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inspirational stories directed toward older children, particularly boys—to expand on the subject more abundantly.

In this genre, the message was clear and consistent from the 1850s onward, although there were some gradations in complexity as the Civil War was reassessed after the first flush of excitement.[27] In 1856—before the war and its impact—Oliver Optic, one of the most widely sold writers for boys, offered a characteristic story of courage, in which a lad stops a plunging horse, shrieking lady atop, without considering his own danger. He had neither time nor wish for deliberation; the lady was in peril and he had no excuse. "He was a boy who would not fight except in self-defense, but he had the courage to do a deed which might have made the stoutest heart tremble with terror." The same bravery inspired Harry Castlemon's George in the pilot house: "There was nobody to whom he could look for assistance; he was utterly alone. He had never before been placed in a situation of danger, and when he thought of it afterward he was astonished at the manner in which he conducted himself, and the promptness with which he acted."[28] And the popular *Rollo* series by Jacob Abbott urged the same, both by example and paternal injunction. In one story, Rollo had fallen into bad company. When his father found out, he knew sheer terror, which he could not at first control. His father was patient but expected his son to master his emotions on his own. Fear had to yield, without external assistance, until Rollo was "entirely composed and pleasant." Still more common themes in the series found Rollo saving his sister from danger in settings that combined excitement with explicit comment on how Rollo experienced but overcame fear.[29] Castlemon's river story *Frank on the Lower Mississippi* (1869) featured a boy who felt fear but refused to be overpowered by it, using it as a motivation instead to escape captivity while calculating his tactics amid "remarkable" clear-headed coolness.[30] Injunctions of courage, appropriately and dramatically illustrated, formed one of the standard themes of mid-century boys' stories. The Victorian usage of "courage" involved not only controlling emotions but also facing up to moral obligations, among which was the explicit mastery of fear. This was not simply an ideal for later manhood but a quality boys themselves could be expected to develop.

With the Civil War, additional sources of inspiration were added to the insistence on cool courage, for the failure to conquer fear could lose battles and undermine both a just cause and a boy's own standing. A series of stories drove the message home. A wounded lad was urged to "keep up a good heart . . . A little pluck does more for a wound than a good many bandages." And the boy responded "I won't die—it would kill my mother if I did." Another wounded boy was aided both by thought of mother and by prayer, and he found both courage and the necessary practical assistance to pull through. The same theme spilled over into other fearsome situations. A boy faced a mad dog. "Although Paul was so cool and courageous in the moment of danger, he trembled and felt weak afterwards when

[27] We examined thirty-six book-length stories from the mid to late nineteenth century, as well as a substantial sample of relevant tales from boys' magazines. Existing secondary literature guided us in judging representativeness; see note 5 above.

[28] Oliver Optic [pseud., William Taylor Adams], *Now or Never* (Boston, 1856); Harry Castlemon, *George at the Wheel, or Life in the Pilot-House* (Philadelphia, 1881).

[29] Jacob Abbott, *Rollo at Play* (New York, 1860). For general discussion of the *Rollo* series, see Wishy, *Child and the Republic*, 47.

[30] Castlemon, *Frank on the Lower Mississippi*, 74–76.

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he thought of the risk he had run." Again, religion supported the retrospective assessment, as Paul knew that a kindly God sustained him.[31]

In stories of this sort, fearlessness was equated with sinlessness. Very good girls, like Beth in Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868) and Little Eva in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), were allowed to go to their death without fear. In stories involving boys, explicit and successful displays of courage were standard fare. Fear required mastery, but with divine assistance this mastery proved possible, even easy, and the conjunction of danger and control was the key emotional test. Facing fear successfully was far more important than avoiding the situations that might produce the emotion because of the risk of failure or loss of control.

The confidence that fear could be dominated shifted slightly in the boys' fiction of the final decades of the nineteenth century, a modification that foreshadowed the more pronounced transition in the early twentieth century toward making the confrontation with fear more problematic. Fear became understandable in boys' stories that used the Civil War setting, and even desertion, while not proper, could be granted as rational.

> "I am sorry to know that these men have deserted the field," replied Captain Lyon.
>
> "You can hardly wonder at it, Dick; for I suppose they are like so many who have been brought into the field of the enemy, with little or no drill or training, and it's a terrible thing for a green soldier to stand up before a volley from the enemy, with artillery blazing at them, as we can judge that it was from the sounds that have reached our ears."
>
> "I can pity without blaming them, for it was a fearful ordeal for men such as you describe," replied Dick. "As I heard my father say in a speech to the men, it requires a moral force behind the physical to enable a soldier to stand up before the enemy, facing death and mangling wounds, without flinching. We have always found that the most ignorant and ruffianly men make the most unreliable soldiers. As father said, it is the soul, rather than the body that makes the true soldier."[32]

Still, the idea of control over fear as a moral test—even a desirable moral test, if not here generating quite so automatic a response—remained current in boys' literature at least until 1900. Bravery was essential to the manly boy, and it required dealing directly with fear either by quick reactions followed by subsequent sober assessment or by a somewhat more conscious self-control, the whole supported by a strong moral or religious sense and a reference to the lifelong inspiration of a loving mother. Indeed, children's stories clearly implied that control of fear was a particularly masculine badge. To be sure, as in many emotional categories during the Victorian era, gender distinctions were not explicitly confronted in the dominant formulas. No advice authority directly defined fearfulness as a feminine characteristic, and the children's literature made it clear that girls were not supposed to succumb to fear. Yet in the family advice manuals, fearful mothers were criticized, while fathers were assumed to pose no problems. And, while a few brave girls joined the fictional pantheon of boys, the larger images of female frailty and a new tolerance of women's expression of their anxieties about death and

[31] "The Boy of Chancellorville," *Carleton*, 1 (1865): 601–02; "Winning His Way," *Carleton*, 1 (1865): 159; Edmund Kirk, "The Little Prisoner," *Our Young Folks* (1885): 35; on the mother theme, see Lewis, "Mother's Love," 207–29.

[32] Oliver Optic, *On the Staff* (Boston, 1896), 398–400. The changing response of boys and boys' literature to the Civil War has been commented on by Sam Pickering in "A Boy's Own War," *New England Quarterly*, 48 (1975): 362–77; see also Oliver Optic, *On the Blockade* (Boston, 1890); and *The Soldier Boy* (Boston, 1863).

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physical pain suggested a de facto gender gap,[33] in which boys and men might readily conclude that control of fear was an attribute of manhood. Popular girls' fiction did its part by discussing scenarios in which "self-control" (the word courage was not used) consisted mainly of waiting while boys or men faced peril and then offering them support and consolation. More active ideals of strength in meeting adversity were held up, but the situations did not involve mastering fear (or were not so described).[34] In those few childhood terrors occasionally acknowledged by advice writers, girls were consistently used as examples. By the end of the nineteenth century, when nightmares began to be examined more forthrightly, notably by G. Stanley Hall, the victims mentioned were girls, although, again, no general statement sought to prove that girls in fact suffered disproportionately.[35] Similarly, from the mid-nineteenth century onward, comments on children's problems in confronting death cited female cases. References of this sort anticipated emotional issues faced as standard fare by twentieth-century experts, but in the nineteenth century their identification with girls contrasted markedly with the moral-challenge themes for boys.[36]

Boys, in sum, were urged to face fear and conquer it. Girls, less explicitly discussed in this category and more sheltered domestically, were essentially advised not to be more fearful than necessary. Thus T. S. Arthur, while urging even adult women to control fear, also implied that they should expect to suffer from it. The same author, in twin manuals directed respectively to girls and to boys, devoted a characteristically long section to fear and moral courage when addressing boys, having resolutely ignored the subject in the pamphlet for girls.[37] To the extent that skittish women depended on courageous male protection, a small degree of female fear might even help delineate the essential distinctions between the genders; such was the implication when Rollo courageously saved his more passive sister. Females could be brave. They certainly should not distract males through incapacitating fright, and, as mothers, they should not corrupt their naturally fearless children. As girls, however, they had no need to gain the positive mastery over fear that was urged as a staple of a boy's identity.

Not surprisingly, American language use reified the gender distinctions with which children's fears were viewed. The word "sissy," coined in the 1840s both in Britain and the United States as an affectionate name for "sister," began its conversion toward a derisive term for fearful boys and men in the 1880s—interestingly, almost exclusively in the United States. Boys dominated by fear needed to be labeled in order to be reproved, and a feminine label suited best.[38]

Gender distinctions added complexity to the Victorian approach to fear, but they also helped reconcile its diverse ingredients. Fear should not be used in discipline. Women should always be shielded from fear, and, if they expressed the emotion anyway, they deserved some sympathetic hearing—for fear remained unpleasant. Comfort from religion and love from one's mother provided some protection against fear for children generally. Fear could also build character, and here some

[33] Lewis and Lockridge, "Sally Has Been Sick," 5–19.

[34] See, for example, a widely used collection, Lydia H. Sigourney, *The Girl's Reading Book* (Newburgh, N.Y., 1847), 197–98, 217.

[35] G. Stanley Hall, "A Study of Fear," *American Journal of Psychology*, 8 (1897): 147–249.

[36] Sigourney, *Girl's Reading Book*, 217; Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women* (1868; rpt. edn., New York, 1984), 318–27.

[37] Arthur, *Mother's Rule*, 168–71; T. S. Arthur, *Advice to Young Ladies* (Boston, 1848); T. S. Arthur, *Advice to Young Men* (Philadelphia, 1860), 168–93.

[38] *Oxford English Dictionary* (London, 1989), s.v. "sissy."

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confrontation was essential—but mainly for boys, trained to face the outside world. Elaborate strategies for dealing with fear were unnecessary for young children, save in avoiding scare tactics, for girls' fearfulness was to an extent natural, while boys should be prepared to deal with "causeless fear" through the stiff-upper-lip injunctions of model heroes. A few prescriptive authors who targeted boys directly joined the fiction writers in this conclusion, but it was the inspirational story above all that was meant to continue the task of shaping male standards and character. Men should be able to control fears, and the schooling ground was in boyhood and its physical challenges. That boy was most to be envied who had found his control tested, who had tasted fear but surmounted it, using the challenge to inspire great deeds. Writing in 1901, Felix Adler, the last popular family manual writer to take an essentially Victorian stance, agreed that fear was not a great problem, not worth mentioning in connection with early childhood save in avoiding needless anxieties generated by undiluted fairy stories. The emotion could be addressed through literary example, directed at older children. Here the goal was "moral courage," which, though it could not entirely prevent physical cowardice could overcome it, bypassing the admittedly "paralyzing" effect of fear "by a powerful effort of the will," itself honed by heroic example learned from good reading and good teachers. True moral confidence and the "dignity of humanity" could not be overwhelmed by any force of nature or of evil. It was a question of character, and character could be instilled through orderly appeals to reason.[39]

Advice given to parents and children alike concerning childhood fear forms only a part of the larger subject of fear in the American Victorian experience. Middle-class men may in fact have been unusually fearful, in an environment of economic innovation and competitive threat; this is the conclusion of a recent study of psychological implications in selected American adult fiction.[40] Efforts to minimize fear in childhood and to urge a special courage on manly boys could well follow from largely unacknowledged adult anxieties, for the role of denial in aspects of Victorian culture has often been noted. At the same time, the standards applied to children's fears had more straightforward bearing on Victorian emotional life. They encouraged parents to reconsider traditional discipline, as in the relatively permissive atmosphere of 1890s child rearing. They certainly fed familiar gender stereotypes, for while the positive imagery applied to boys was not matched by a clear characterization of girls, it did encourage condescension. Boys' standards fit into adult-sponsored exercises such as athletics, scouting, and paramilitary training. Most strikingly, the qualities urged on boys were a part of the culture of middle-class boys themselves, where passing tests such as crossing swollen streams or facing down a bully became standard fare during expeditions boys organized to help separate themselves from maternal protectiveness and in which scaring girls was a recurrent pleasure.[41] In sum: the Victorian emotional culture developed to describe and manage childhood fear invites further attention, toward identifying competing subcultures and toward more fully testing its relationship to the actual

[39] Arthur, *Advice to Young Men*, 168–93; Adler, *Moral Instruction of Children*, 194–95.

[40] David Leverenz, *Manhood and the American Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989).

[41] E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture: Middle-Class Boyhood in Nineteenth Century America," in Carnes and Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood*. On adult-sponsored exercises, see David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870–1920* (Madison, Wis., 1983); similar themes are discussed for Europe in John Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations* (New York, 1974). Fictional enshrinement of the pleasures of scaring girls—although with realistic recognition of how boys themselves could end up equally scared—is found in Mark Twain's *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884).

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emotional experience of children and adults alike. It was not, however, mere camouflage. It shaped adult perceptions and vocabulary to some degree, and it bore some relation to what children themselves thought their response to fear should be.

THIS AMALGAM BEGAN TO UNRAVEL after 1900, although change was gradual and incomplete. Emphasis on parental responsibility to avoid provoking fear was carried bodily into all twentieth-century advice. The desire to celebrate courageous acts that defied normal fears persisted in military and sports settings and also in key institutions inherited from the nineteenth century; thus the Boy Scouts encouraged their members to encounter certain fears and master them and gave prizes to the most successful.[42] Many children's stories continued to cite heroism, and courage remained a vital theme of inspirational biographies intended for children.[43] Leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt directly sought to expand on Victorian standards. Along with persistent themes, however, came a number of new ingredients, which made some of the most undiluted Victorianisms increasingly anachronistic. Early childhood was reassessed as a more complex and more crucial stage of life where fear was concerned. Parental responsibilities extended accordingly. Gender became less salient, and the facile inspirational qualities of boys' fiction declined overall; here, the acknowledgement of the frequency of fear in late nineteenth-century war stories had foreshadowed new complexity. In general, fear and its management became far more problematic than they had been in nineteenth-century culture. Avoiding fear began to make much more sense to many prescribers than accepting its challenge as part of building moral character.

Most of the leading child-rearing manuals issued in the first quarter of the twentieth century pointed clearly to a transition formula concerning children's fears. In 1904, for example, just a few years after Felix Adler offered his stiff-upper-lip injunctions, Mrs. Theodore Birney, writing under the auspices of the Child Study Association, took a different tack.[44] Birney, devoting considerably more space to the issue of fear than the Victorian-style manual writers had allowed, explored the subject of fears in early childhood. She noted unaccountable fears of such menaces as darkness, which might arise without any clear parental spur. Her manual urged caution in dealing with such fears, arguing against a "hardening"—presumably, a tendency to punish fearful reactions—and equally against a purely dismissive response. Here was significant identification of a new kind of emotional problem and a corresponding responsibility for parents. Having made this point, however, Birney went on to recommend stories of brave deeds to instill courage, in the best Victorian fashion. In 1919, William Forbish issued a substantial compendium on child rearing. Like Birney, Forbish devoted a considerable section to children's fears as a problem. He maintained that infants, while exhibiting some fear reactions, were not yet old enough to be a real concern. Children from two to six, however, were another matter. They often picked up signals from adult fears

[42] Jay Mechling, "Courage and Heroism in Everyday American Life, 1890–1930," paper presented to American Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, November 1990. Mechling also noted that the very attention to the topic in scouting literature (Boy and Girl) and the 1904 Carnegie Hero Fund reflected newly problematic aspects of heroism.

[43] See, for example, children's biographies of figures like Helen Keller; Margaret Davidson, *Helen Keller* (New York, 1973), 43–68.

[44] Mrs. Theodore [Alice McLellan] Birney, *Childhood* (New York, 1904), 24–29.

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and then displayed intense anxieties about the dark or animals. The adults blamed were usually a "thoughtless nurse [telling] a fairy story" (black nannies were singled out for comment in the South), but mothers also came in for criticism when they expressed too many cautions about climbing stairs or avoiding lightning in a thunderstorm.[45] This extension of a Victorian explanation of origins was combined with greater detail on the resulting emotional issue for children.

Twentieth-century parents were told not only to avoid frightening children as a disciplinary device but also to master their own emotions lest they give disturbing signals. A bit of fear in promoting caution was acceptable; however, most situations required calm, rational discussion, not scare tactics. Forbish extended Victorian assumptions that fear prevented effective action and inhibited an appropriate personality in either adult or child, adding specifics about what kinds of behaviors could result from inadequate management of early childhood anxieties. "An untold dread may become a veritable poison in the mind, bringing its evil to fullness years later." Delinquency, among many other troubles, could be traced to mishandled fears, since wayward youth used aggression to conceal their terrors.[46]

Even though this judgment of childhood and fear was not entirely novel, it intensified and extended the discussion of childhood anxieties, it enhanced a sense of fear as a problem, and it enlarged parental functions in the management of emotions. Children were, in the Forbish view, vulnerable creatures needing considerable help in handling fears successfully. Parents should assist them positively to overcome fear, not through direct mastery but through benign evasion. Thus the child who feared the dark should be elaborately talked to, given a candle or light at night, or urged to enter a dark room to get some candy. Parents must be "patient and sensible in reinforcing the child's own courage." Even in somewhat later childhood, parental guidance remained essential, allowing children to practice courage so they would not collapse in the face of fear. Activities such as camping or boxing were excellent preparations toward handling later challenges. Forbish offered an elaborate range of strategies: "We can strengthen a child who is sensitive to physical discomfort, afraid of a fight, etc., by experiences in camping out, fishing, boxing, that will prepare him imaginatively to face other perils, even though their exact character may be unknown." This nineteenth-century goal, the mastery of fear, was now rendered more a matter of parental manipulation than native moral courage. When a child was simply frightened, Forbish urged no confrontation: children should not be forced directly to control fears of fireworks or water. The need to avoid emotional trauma began to gain precedence over displays of courage.[47]

Compared to their Victorian counterparts, transitional writers like Forbish and Birney were introducing a more restrictive definition of childhood fear, one confined to its incapacitating facets.[48] The gradations of fear that the late Victorians had tacitly recognized gave way to a tendency to equate fear with stark terror—a shift toward definitional simplification discernible in other changes in

[45] William Byron Forbish, *The Character Training of Children* (New York, 1919).
[46] Forbish, *Character Training*, 2: 162–63, 157–66.
[47] Forbish, *Character Training*, 2: 157–63.
[48] In the history of advice literature, materials issued between 1900 and 1920 are few and far between, compared to the outpouring from the 1920s onward. The pattern suggests a transition, certainly in terms of source of expertise, and probably in terms of reconsideration of nineteenth-century staples. Transitional approaches to fear are thus suggestive more in content than volume. For discussions of representativeness and on twentieth-century advice literature periodization, see note 4 above.

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twentieth-century emotional culture. Correspondingly, this new generation of experts added an explicit strategic component to the parental approach that their more confident predecessors had ignored; care was not enough, and moralistic invocations of courage were irrelevant. In the child-rearing manuals of the 1920s, avoidance or soothing of fear in early childhood began to supersede interest in later demonstrations of bravery almost entirely. Not accidentally, the use of words like bravery and courage, in relation to ideal boys and even to many adults, began to decline as well, as the terms began to take on a slightly antiquated air. Even the word "sissy" began to recede in popularity.[49] The most authoritative manuals of the decade, issued by the Children's Bureau and its principal popular expert, D. H. Thom, devoted considerable attention to the problem of childhood fear and to practical antidotes.[50]

Warnings against parental use of fear tactics multiplied, providing new emphases and detail to a Victorian theme, and admonitions against revealing one's own fear to young children were usually conjoined. "Do you ever scare your child by saying 'The doctor cuts the fingers off little boys who touch things'? Do you sometimes say, 'The policeman will get you if you are not quiet'? Or do you say, 'Mother will ask the ragman to take you away in his big bag'?" "Do you ever let him hear you say, 'Johnny is afraid of the dark just as I am,' or 'Johnny is afraid of dogs—he gets it from his father.' Of course, Johnny will be afraid of the dark or of dogs if you suggest to him that he is."[51] D. H. Thom extended warnings about boogeyman tactics and invocations of dangers from animals. He urged that children not be pushed into new experiences if they were fearful, while also insisting that parents (particularly mothers, who now replaced nursemaids as the worst sinners, but as cowards instead of frighteners) control their own fears about lightning or animals in front of their offspring. Children were far more sensitive than adults realized, Thom maintained, and they could acquire deep-seated fears with extraordinary ease. Thom granted that a certain amount of fear provided desirable protection against danger, but he stressed the incapacitating qualities of the emotion. Any notion of a salutary moral challenge in facing fears down was entirely absent.[52]

The rising concern about children's fears and the risks they entailed continued into the early 1930s, in leading manuals written by popular authorities like Winnifred de Kok and Sidonie Gruenberg. They emphasized the importance of reconsidering a host of traditional parental approaches, beyond the lazy and damaging use of fear in discipline. Children's fears should be coddled and heeded rather than scorned or ridiculed, for as reproval of the emotion became more straightforward, the strategic responses increased in complexity. Implicitly, the nineteenth-century practice of urging fearful boys to buck up—as in T. S. Arthur's recommendation—now came under attack. "When a child evinces fear, the one danger to avoid is repression. As long as the fear is brought into the open and discussed, little harm can be done." Talk it out and attach pleasant experience to the object of fear, so that young children are led unwittingly to replace fear with anticipation. Fear joined a number of "bad" emotions that had to be ventilated to

[49] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "sissy."

[50] On determining authoritativeness in interwar child-rearing manuals, see Shields and Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents," 52–55. See also the historical sections of Elizabeth Lomax, Jerome Kagan, and Barbara Rosenkrantz, *Science and Patterns of Child Care* (San Francisco, 1978), 19–150, on expertise.

[51] *Are You Training Your Child to Be Happy?* (Washington, D.C., 1930), 32.

[52] D. H. Thom, *Child Management* (Washington, D.C., 1925), 12–15.

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remove their sting, lest a repressive dismissal drive the feeling deeper, to fester and corrupt.[53]

By the 1920s and 1930s, the Victorian approach to childhood fear had been altered in a number of fundamental respects—although no overarching popular theory as yet explained the emotion. The resultant approach persisted for several decades. Popularizers argued that fears might arise in children without clear cause, and they could wound the psyche deeply, distorting not only childhood but also adult functioning. Early childhood, once noted in passing, now became a crucial stage for combating fear. Blasts at the use of fear tactics increased, consuming several paragraphs in every child-rearing manual; the fierceness of the attack reflected the persistence of traditional habits during the preceding decades but also the new urgency of the problem. Parents must actively try to prevent other fear-producing situations and must introduce a host of compensatory strategies when fear intruded. Finally, amid this flurry, the idea of recommending bravery and encouraging mastery of fear in later childhood, even if still present in Forbish's pages, fell by the wayside. "There is always the danger that the fear resulting from such methods [teasing or insisting on confrontation] will reach the 'overwhelming' stage and leave its mark for a long time," wrote Gruenberg.[54] Fear could be handled only through elaborate manipulations in a placating and supportive environment.

IT IS UNQUESTIONABLY EASIER to pinpoint the nature of changing advice than to specify its causes, particularly because most of the prescriptive literature was resolutely unselfconscious in identifying, much less in justifying, the novelty of the themes it advanced. The origins of the changes are complex, and, although expertise played a role in the equation, no simple model of innovative expert preachments working away at parent-readers will suffice. Rather, the new advice expressed a number of trends building in intensity from the late nineteenth century, fully emerging only from the 1920s onward and amplified by successive schools of child psychology, to which we will shortly turn. Three factors can nevertheless be adduced, all of which combined to promote heightened anxiety about childhood fears. First was the ability to build on precedent. While, on balance, the twentieth-century emotional advice was new, it reprised those elements of Victorian expertise that had stressed the importance of avoiding incapacitating fears and promoting rational self-control.

The second part of the explanation follows from wider shifts in American culture and society. By 1900, for example, adult controls were beginning to be imposed on the previously autonomous activities of middle-class boys, activities that had been filled with dares and the need to control fear. Heightened supervision both expressed and encouraged a reevaluation of fear as part of the process.[55] The decline of gender-specific advice about childhood fear, so noticeable in the changes of the 1920s as children became a collective problem category and as heroic goals

[53] Winnifred de Kok, *Guiding Your Child through the Formative Years* (New York, 1935), 76, see also 58–77. For a slightly more academic statement urging revision of parental reactions to children's fears, see Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie Gruenberg, *Our Children: A Handbook for Parents* (New York, 1932), 134–37.

[54] Sidonie Gruenberg, ed., *Encyclopedia of Child Care and Guidance* (New York, 1952), 845–52.

[55] This is the concluding claim in Rotundo, "Boy Culture"; some similar points are offered in Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present* (New York, 1977).

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for boys receded, related to larger gender interactions within the middle class. From dating and courtship to marriage and professional roles, men and women began spending more social and work time together, which reduced the vitality of older gendered emotional norms.[56] Changes in the uses of fear, in other words, related to important alterations in the larger American context, including even the emergence of personality over character as a socialization goal.[57] These changes in turn help explain how this new context worked, in emotional terms.

Finally, several specific innovations in culture, in expertise, and in the experience of early childhood and parenting directly contributed to the adjustments in emotional standards. These were innovations that can be teased out of the prescriptive literature itself, during the first four decades of the century, in contrast to the larger shifts in context that plausibly coincided with the new tone without emerging explicitly in its expression. Direct causes of the reevaluation of fear preceded the fullest statements, for popularization tends to lag, but, while the standard-setters were too unanalytical to inquire into their stimuli, they incorporated these stimuli in their phraseology.

The most obvious new ingredient involved the findings of child psychology and its gradually growing currency among popularizing advice writers. Darwinian biology had encouraged a host of emotions studies toward the end of the nineteenth century, as well as a growing sense that certain key emotions were innate in the human experience and likely to emerge in early childhood. G. Stanley Hall, among others, had sponsored studies of emotions in childhood as well as adolescence. Fear gained his attention late in the 1890s; and, while in his views on gender he reflected a lingering Victorianism, his conclusions were on balance novel. It was Hall's work that particularly inspired the Child Study Association, and his findings on the frequency of night terrors among infants fed directly into Birney's child-rearing manual, with its new promptings on the fragility of young children and the need for protective strategies. Most widely sold manuals did not include scholarly references, which fact masks precise research sources of the rising urgency concerning childhood fears, but authors and agencies like D. H. Thom and the Children's Bureau were intimately acquainted with turn-of-the-century psychological research.[58]

Scholarly probing of children's emotions unquestionably influenced the change in Victorian assumptions about what was normal, but it does not explain why middle-class parents, as purchasers of the popular manuals, might be interested in a new approach. Here, the popular manuals point toward a shift in the actual infant experience of fear and a decline in middle-class confidence in a benign environ-

[56] Shifts in gender socializing by the 1920s form the central concluding point in Mark Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), 220–26; see also John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Adolescence to Adulthood in the United States, 1920–1975* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

[57] Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1985), 271–85; see also for a definition of Americans' "Inner Revolution," Thomas Cochran, *Challenges to American Values: Society, Business and Religion* (New York, 1987).

[58] Hall, "Study of Fear," 147–248; Birney, *Childhood*, 24–29. The present article is not intended as a systematic inquiry into the evolution of formal psychological or psychiatric theories of fear over the past century. This might be a useful additional project. Hall's article on fear, though less theoretical than his wont, accumulated a hodgepodge of data on childish fears and sparked both scholarly and popularizing interest. See *American Journal of Psychology*, vols. 8–18, 1897–1917. The concentration on fear specified children, with occasional excursions into adult phobia. French work on the frequency of infant fears was also widely cited: thus the *American Journal of Psychology* reported Binet's study on infant fear (*Année psychologique* [1895]: 223); *American Journal of Psychology*, 7 (1896): 577. In all this, the emphasis was highly empirical, with little attention to causation.

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ment—though they do not, it must be repeated, provide explicit documentation on either count.

Why did the dominant advice literature by 1920 stress children's fears of darkness and animals, in such interesting contrast to Victorian sentiments? Research findings like Hall's help explain the innovation, but they were in all likelihood supplemented by actual changes in the context of middle-class childhood. Several factors pushed middle-class children toward greater fearfulness, as well as toward more willingness to exhibit fears, than had applied to their nineteenth-century counterparts. Emotional change in childhood must always be suggested cautiously, given inherently inadequate direct evidence and the need to acknowledge some innate emotional reactions independent of cultural context. Nineteenth-century toddlers surely had their fears, however minimized in adult response. At the same time, emotional change among children does stand out in some key areas, such as sibling jealousy, in the turn-of-the-century decades. There are good reasons to posit shifts in the focus of childhood fear. Declining family size reduced buffers between individual children and adults; there were fewer siblings available for talks about fears and for half-teasing, half-reassuring reactions. More intense contacts with parents could both frighten children and increase the utility of infantile fear reactions as a means of appeal. Falling death rates might heighten anxieties if a family member did die. Evidence for these connections between new family structures and childhood fear is tentative, but it merits some attention.[59]

Early twentieth-century child-rearing authorities, drawn from disciplines with little sensitivity to change, in no sense directly reported a new level of fear among children. If asked, they would surely have assumed that past parental practices—their traditional target—had created more fear than did the gradual enlightenment of their own day. Nevertheless, some interesting clues emerge from the prescriptive manuals. The new emphasis on fear of animals is a case in point, for, while this subject was mentioned in the nineteenth century, it had been overshadowed by the concern about cruelty. Different meanings play a role, to be sure; earlier cruelty may have followed from fear. But it is conceivable as well that a more urban society, in which families encountered fewer animals, produced greater anxiety about them. The stress on darkness is even more interesting, for it had no preparation in nineteenth-century accounts despite the low level of household lighting and the greater reality of darkness. Smaller family size and the growing insistence on separate rooms for middle-class children may well have produced a higher level of fear about darkness than had traditionally prevailed.[60]

Thus an important factor in heightened adult concern about fear and attendant focus on young children may have been new emotional tensions parents encountered among their offspring. Given the previous century's distaste for young children's fears (and a desire to avoid responsibility for engendering them), this notion would help explain the expansion of parental responsibility beyond self-control to active supervision and compensation. Along with expert-driven findings (indeed, explaining their parental audience), this factor would account for the

[59] On sibling roles, and the contrast between small broods and large in terms of children's emotional experience, see Jane S. Brossard and E. S. Boll, *The Large Family System: An Original Study in the Sociology of Family Behavior* (Philadelphia, 1956), 186–87; see also Peter N. Stearns, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York, 1989), 66–87.

[60] These possibilities would add important flesh to the contentions of Richard Sennett, *Families against the City: Middle-Class Homes of Industrial Chicago, 1872–1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), concerning the growing emotional vulnerability of smaller, more fully nucleated families at the end of the nineteenth century. Similar issues are explored concerning sibling rivalry in Stearns, *Jealousy*.

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particular interest in countering children's fears by embracing security. Night lights and carefully staged encounters with the neighbor's dog not only resulted from expert perceptions about the need to reduce fear for healthy personalities but also reflected real changes in a child's life. Furthermore, parents were spending more time with infants during the early decades of the century than had been the case for the nineteenth-century middle class. Declining family size, again, reduced mutual care by siblings. Live-in maids were disappearing, and by the 1920s co-residence by a grandmother was declining as well.[61] This meant that parents were exposed to new evidence about how fearful infants could be—and ready, therefore, for advice that pinpointed the earliest years as a key point for intervention and control.

Reduced reliance on religion completed the changes in middle-class family life that explain the early twentieth-century intensification of concern about fear. Active invocation of a divine being certain to reward courage measurably declined. Here was both symptom and cause of the retreat from Gilded Age confidence, but, like children's new (or newly noticed) fears of darkness, it directly promoted reorientation of parental tactics. The secularization of family advice literature, increasingly visible in the later nineteenth century, became virtually complete in the most widely sold prescriptive manuals after 1900. Expertise rested, however vaguely, on science, not theology. Middle-class families might retain some religious identification along with their openness to up-to-date secular advice. And there were various subgroups for which religion was less compartmentalized that utilized separate child-rearing pamphlets or relied more directly on tradition. Nevertheless, for the consumers of the most popular manuals, and after 1926 the new *Parents' Magazine*, explicit religious references were either absent or isolated in a specific section on church behavior.

Secularization in turn shifted the framework for dealing with children's fears; for, as religion provided less certain comfort, fear almost inevitably surged forward as an emotional problem, at least in the eyes of concerned adults. Adults in the nineteenth century may well have been fearful in fact, as noted above, but they were eager to believe that their children could be shielded, and their religion had loomed large in the popular advice on children's reassurance. Twentieth-century prescriptions offered no such solace. The Victorian heroes' recourse of prayer proved harder to invoke, while at the same time parents had to think of explicit tactics to replace the general reliance on divine guidance and the power of prayer that had undergirded their professed confidence in children's control of fear. Religious asides concerning fear, persisting even in largely secular manuals before 1900 in the form of remarks on the solace of trusting in God, now disappeared. Some experts attacked religious impulses to use fear as discipline against the "wages

[61] Daniel E. Sutherland, *Americans and Their Servants: Domestic Service in the United States from 1800 to 1920* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981); Daniel Scott Smith, "Accounting for Change in the Families of the Elderly in the United States, 1900–Present," in *Old Age in Bureaucratic Society*, David Van Tassel and Peter N. Stearns, eds. (Westport, Conn., 1988), 87–105. The impact of more extensive parental contact with infants, against a backdrop of previously established high expectations of family harmony, is also explored in Stearns, *Jealousy*, chap. 3. Note that reallocation of parental time, while applying particularly to mothers, also touched fathers; Margaret Marsh explored the 1920s survey literature on parental time allocations in "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870–1919," Carnes and Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood*. On changes in living arrangements, see David Handlin, *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815–1915* (Boston, 1979), 479–502. A number of studies point to the importance of sleeping with siblings in nineteenth-century reactions and of the corresponding results of new sleeping patterns around 1900; see E. Anthony Rotundo, "Romantic Friendship: Male Intimacy and Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800–1900," *Journal of Social History*, 23 (1989): 1–26. On the changing general context for family life, see Mintz and Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions*, 107–32.

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of sin." Others simply recorded the growing hesitancy about religious comfort. An early *Parents' Magazine* article (1933) noted the parental interest in softening children's fear of death by "conjuring up a heaven of angels and harp playing." The difficulty was—theology resolutely aside—that "inevitably the small girl or boy will discover that mother and father are not certain about the afterlife. Such a discovery augments the fear of death." The alternative? A simple scientific explanation, or a bit of history of other peoples' views of death, or some assimilable phrase such as "grandma was through."[62] Here is a clear, unsurprising indication that the new approach to fear drew on larger trends in the culture of the early twentieth century. Related uncertainties about moral absolutes and their inevitable triumph added to the mix as the century progressed.

It is possible that the decline of religion reduced the confidence adults themselves had about their ultimate relationship to the natural and social environment, although advances in technology and medicine might compensate for some loss of faith. One way to handle a level of anxiety that could not be fully acknowledged was to help children avoid the sources of fear—as children were removed, for example, from active participation in funerals, in marked contrast to Victorian practice—or to reassure them carefully if avoidance broke down.[63] Greater recognition of the complexity of fear in fictional treatments of war, even in the later nineteenth century, might similarly denote declining confidence in the ability to view battle as moral challenge, which the actual experience of twentieth-century war would merely enhance.[64]

APART FROM SPECULATIONS about levels of adult anxiety, it is clear that changes in early childhood experience and in more general adult assumptions within the middle class combined with new research findings in psychology to make key features of the nineteenth-century approach to childhood fears untenable. The manuals parents bought helped them deal with new emotional reactions, from the response of a toddler now sleeping alone in a dark bedroom to reactions that had previously been delegated to a sibling for attention. The new advice guided parents in strategies that could be used to replace reliance on prayer and divine supervision. The same advice reduced confidence that older children could be relied on to work their fears out as part of character development.

In this context, by the late 1920s, advice givers and concerned parents alike were open to more systematic statements about childhood and fear than had been

[62] Fisher and Gruenberg, *Our Children*, 117; Ruth Sapin, "Helping Children to Overcome Fear," *Parents' Magazine*, 8 (May 1, 1933): 14–16. On changes in children's knowledge of death, Peter Uhlenberg, "Death and the Family," in N. Ray Hiner and Joseph M. Hawes, eds., *Growing Up in America: Children in Historical Perspective* (Urbana, Ill., 1985), 243–52.

[63] James Walvin, *Victorian Values* (Athens, Ga., 1988); Elizabeth Kubler-Ross, *Death: The Final Stage of Growth* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1979), esp. 5–6, 19–21; Ralph Houlbrooke, ed., *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (London, 1989), chaps. 7, 9, 11. John Demos offered some parallel thoughts on increased anxiety about death among middle-aged Americans in *Past, Present and Personal: The Family and the Life Course in American History* (New York, 1986), 119–20.

[64] It would be of particular interest to see how an event of the magnitude of the Civil War affected the emotionology of the postwar era. While beyond the scope of this essay, one might begin this exploration by a close reading of *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), which was written not by a veteran but by Stephen Crane, who was born six years after the hostilities had ceased. Though not a typical treatment, it displays some connection to the new awareness of fear even in the boys' war stories by the 1890s. The contrast can be further extended by comparing the very different, and more limited, echoes of World War I in children's literature—a subject that merits further scrutiny.

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available up to that point. They were treated to two successive versions: Watsonian behaviorism, which gained considerable attention in the decade after 1928, and then a somewhat diluted version of Freudianism, shorn of stark formulas such as castration anxiety, which appeared in the popular literature during the 1940s and early 1950s. The two approaches differed in key respects: interpreting childhood fear and recommending strategies to alleviate it. They conjoined, however, in citing fear as a significant problem in childhood's early stages that warranted substantial parental attention. This shared focus, more perhaps than the nuances of explanation, may have accounted for the attention the theories gained from two successive generations of popularizers.

The Watsonian discussion of childhood fear trumpeted a "scientific" method for its prevention or management that fit the growing concern of child-rearing experts and many expertise-consuming parents during the 1920s and 1930s. According to John B. Watson, children's entire emotional disposition was determined by age three, yet children by nature had virtually no fears at all. Watson claimed that a series of experiments had revealed no instinctive fears in children of the dark, of fire, or of snakes; only noise and falling produced innate reactions of fear. All other fears, for example, of animals, derived from associations with noise or falling. For parents who worried that children were mishandled as experimental subjects, Watson produced a revealing explanation: such experiments "are not cruel if they help us to understand the fear life of the millions of people around us and give us practical help in bringing up our children more nearly free from fears than we ourselves have been brought up."[65] The moral of the scientific story was twofold: first, the scope of necessary parental restraint in inducing fear, for instance, by avoiding even vital cautions in a loud (and therefore scary) voice, was greatly expanded. Parents were charged with the responsibility of providing a fear-free environment, by limiting loud noise, closing windows during storms, and buying houses set well back from the sounds of the road. Second, when children did display fear despite the best parental efforts, careful steps of reeducation should be introduced, gradually associating the feared object with pleasurable sensations. Again, traditional approaches were wrong: ridicule, demonstrations that other children were not afraid, as well as confrontation with the feared object were useless. But gradual bribery—candy in a partially darkened room, then the next night a bit further into the dark, and so on—would do the trick.[66]

The goal of all this effort was assumed to be largely self-evident. Watson specifically mentioned the importance of preventing or correcting excessively timid or fearful children. Surely, every mother of such a child should be "more than willing . . . to take the time and trouble necessary to shape the fear life of her child." But whether the long-range impact of such strategies on most children was to teach them to handle fear better, or to avoid fear, or to look for some authority to sweeten the setting—these consequences, all logical possibilities, were simply not explored. Presumably, the stable emotional personality formed by age three would have lifelong benefits.[67]

The popularity of Watson's views on fear (and his approach to this emotion drew much more notice than did his stern views on anger or love) clearly went beyond the credibility of his experimental base. To an interesting extent, popularized

[65] John B. Watson, *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (1928; rpt. edn., New York, 1972), 54; see also M. C. Jones, "The Elimination of Children's Fears," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 7 (1924): 382–90.
[66] Watson, *Psychological Care of Infant and Child*, 45–68.
[67] Watson, *Psychological Care of Infant and Child*, 68.

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Watsonianism could help parents combine a new degree of worry about childhood fear with Victorian assumptions that there was nothing innately wrong. Environment was now the key, but an environment immensely more complex than the last century's, with car and appliance noises added to nature's storms—another perception many middle-class parents might have found congenial. Problems there were, but they could be solved, so long as parents devoted more active effort than their nineteenth-century counterparts had been told was necessary. The clear casualty was the brave mastery of fear as part of character development, although the candy-induced conquest of a phobia might serve as pale substitute. Since the brave boy scenario had already trailed off in adult perceptions as being too risky, the fact that courage had yielded to manipulation passed unnoticed.

Watson's general views on fear were widely reproduced among the authors of popular child-rearing manuals. He himself was interviewed on the subject in an early issue of *Parents' Magazine*. This journal continued, through the 1930s, to publish articles on the subject in a Watsonian vein, albeit with a few theoretically aberrant modifications, such as a suggestion that seeing children of one's own age playing with a fear object did in fact help, along with pleasurable bribes that were still more reliable.[68] Considerable attention continued to be devoted to the prevention of fears through adult self-control: mothers must realize how often their own irrationality was communicated. Still greater emphasis was placed, in these popularizations, on remedial action after fears had been implanted. Adults could teach children skills that would ease initial fears. They could, through a "long, slow" process, reverse fears of strangers that had resulted from a careless adult, by gradually, over weeks or months, providing treats in association with the stranger's presence, putting them closer and closer to the stranger in question. The goal, the Watsonian popularizers noted, remained clear: "The main job of the parent should be to prevent fears, since some fears are extremely difficult to cure."[69]

The Watsonian approach not only formalized the new level of anxiety about children's fears and promoted various strategies designed to circumvent them (in the process reifying the decline of fear's role in character development),[70] it also highlighted how fear itself had been redefined, or more properly narrowed, compared to Victorian usage. Watsonians contrasted fear with caution, which was a desirable attribute given the inability to prevent all danger. Fear itself meant

[68] Uses of Watsonianism permitted some interesting Victorian throwbacks. If children could be entirely manipulated, they might be taught mild versions of fear as the basis for forming subsequent courage; people did need to face risks. One popularizer boldly offered a subheading to her article, arguing that the new methods of teaching fear control should produce "a generation of young people braver than their elders." In other words, even as newly explicit attention was given to young children and to manipulative strategies, an ultimate goal of courage—including use of the word itself—might persist, even though this was not characteristic of most statements in the 1930s. See Fisher and Gruenberg, *Our Children*, 137; and Sapin, "Helping Children," 14–16. The 1930s manuals that use Watsonian ideas without expressing a larger goal of courage (as opposed to a more limited, ad hoc prevention of fear) include D. Russell, *Children: Why Do We Have Them?* (New York, 1933); Ada Arlitt, *Child from One to Twelve: Psychology for Parents* (New York, 1931); and E. R. Groves and G. H. Groves, *Wholesome Childhood* (New York, 1931).

[69] "What to Do When Your Child Is Afraid," *Parents' Magazine*, 2 (March 1927): 25–27. Helen L. Schulz, "Mother's Conquest of Fear," *Parents' Magazine*, 10 (April 1935): 29–31; Boucquet, "Baby's Fears," 94–96. Lois Greenwood Howard, "What to Do about Fear," *Parents' Magazine*, 22 (March 1947): 175–77; Gladys Groves, *Marriage and Family Life* (New York, 1942), 69–72, reproduces Watsonian advice on fear almost literally.

[70] Arlitt, *Child from One to Twelve*, 117; see also William Blatz, "How to Deal with Anger and Fear," *Parents' Magazine*, 7 (August 1932): 14–15, 45–47; George E. Gardiner, "Night Terrors," *Parents' Magazine*, 7 (March 1932): 63–65.

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undiluted loss of control, actually prompting foolhardy antics by "making it impossible for one to think clearly." Passionless good sense and a controlled environment were the new preconditions of sound behavior, as fear moved from its nineteenth-century amalgamation of danger and stimulus to an emotion defined simply in terms of its boundless and destructive qualities.[71]

The reevaluation of fear reached new intensity in the revised child-rearing advice of the pre–World War II era, even though the basic thrust, toward minimizing fear and avoiding confrontation as a vital aspect of dealing with children, remained constant. Earlier assumptions (broadcast if not created by the behaviorist research school), about children's lack of many natural fears, yielded ground to Freudianism by the 1940s. The selective popularization of Freud was crucial, teaching that certain influential fears lay deep in the psyche.[72] The anxious wartime atmosphere provided a spur as well. During the war, fear was judged to be more normal, though no less undesirable, than either Watsonians or nineteenth-century writers had allowed. Psychiatrists urged wartime parents to be alert for children's anxieties and to present a calm exterior, lest they do permanent damage to their child's character. But part of the program now included an admission that fear was normal and could be discussed with the children themselves; the extreme avoidance goals of the behaviorists, which allowed fear to be combated while evoking more traditional hopes of inherent calm, gave way to greater complexity. Fear, still dreadful, was inescapable for children, which meant that adult support became all the more indispensable.[73]

Parents received less blame for causing children's fears in this new formulation, perhaps an indication that scare tactics were declining. Children might be afraid of dogs or the dark for reasons that could not readily be fathomed. But, while the emphasis on staying totally placid declined, and more possibilities of admitting fears crept in, parental responsibility for producing a compassionate, reassuring response to children's fears escalated. It remained important not to invoke the boogeyman or to terrify as part of even justifiable discipline. Some Watsonian fear-by-contagion suggestions persisted as well, including strong recommendations for a secure, controlled environment. It became commonplace, however, to recognize that fears could not always be reversed in a mechanical behaviorist fashion, and the role of affectionate reassurance steadily gained ground.[74]

The first full articulation of the mid-twentieth-century approach to child-rearing standards came in Dr. Benjamin Spock's initial manual.[75] Children's fears were presented as somewhat unpredictable—certainly varied—but demanding a careful adult response. Parents must sit up with the sleepless child in whom fear had taken root. "Don't be in a hurry to sneak away before he is asleep . . . This campaign may take weeks, but it should work in the end." Delay travel plans when children around two years of age seem anxious; be very careful about going off to work; do not push toilet training to the point of causing fear, and assure an anxious child that your

[71] Harold Homer Anderson, *Children in the Family* (New York, 1940), 105, see also 95–106.

[72] Arthur Jersild, *Children's Fears, Dreams, Wishes, Daydreams, Likes, Dislikes, Pleasant and Unpleasant Memories* (New York, 1933); A. Michael Sulman, "The Freudianization of the American Child: The Impact of Psychoanalysis on Popular Periodicals in the United States, 1919–1939" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1970); see also Shields and Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents."

[73] Institute for Psychoanalysis, *Growing Up in a World at War* (Chicago, 1942).

[74] For a representative statement, see Gruenberg, *Encyclopedia*, 845; Norma Cutts and Nicholas Moseley, *Better Home Discipline* (New York, 1952); V. von Valler Gilmer, *How to Help Your Child Develop Successfully* (New York, 1951).

[75] Benjamin Spock, *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (New York, 1945), 283–84, 196–97.

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love withstands any number of soiled pants. Older children who show fear of the dark should not be threatened or teased or even reasoned with; they should be provided with an atmosphere of calm, including no scary stories or films, because "the child is scared enough of his own mental creations." Other training goals must be put aside, for a time, amid the primary purpose of reassurance, and above all lavish affection must be offered. "This is the time for extra hugs and comforting reminders that you love him very much and will always protect him." Earlier mechanisms, such as candy in a darkened room, dropped out of sight, given the more mysterious origins of childish fears, although playacting was recommended as a potentially useful stratagem.[76]

The revisions Dr. Spock introduced implicitly into the advice literature were amplified in a number of manuals and in *Parents' Magazine* during the 1950s. The range of childhood fears was described in great detail: "The fact is that a child can get to be afraid of almost anything." While some fears were outgrown, others were merely considered unhealthily concealed. Children could not manage this emotional area unaided: "Unless some grown-up helps them, each frightening experience leaves them weakened for the next assault." Fear lurked, in fact, within the child, not in the feared object, which is why outside guidance was essential. Popularizers still found it necessary to warn against parental threats or insipid displays of fear, but active "corrective efforts" moved front and center, along with admissions that full success was impossible. The goal was to "reduce to a minimum the reasons a child should be afraid," according to a manual in 1956, which translated into constant control over the environment. The effort must extend, in this vision, well beyond the early years into the schooling period; parents should accompany a frightened first grader, for example, when the child's insecurity warranted it. Oversolicitousness was a risk, but the real attention of the popularizing experts riveted on reassurance and provision of security. Because some fear was inevitable, promoting bravery was meaningless and potentially damaging; far better to urge a child to discuss fear amply and to provide opportunities for playacting and carefully graded activities that extended responsibility. The Victorian joys of a sturdy confrontation with fear yielded still more fully to adult stage managing.[77]

Post-1945 revisions of the interwar strategies are important, as they echo through successive child-rearing manuals. For most practical purposes, however, they added to the interwar approach, rather than overturning it, while confirming the basic interest in controlling children's fears amid anxious realization of their damaging potential. Any impulse to urge courage on a child or to deal with fears by confronting them with their source—a dog, or water—remained taboo. "Courage" might result from careful handling—Dr. Spock still used the noun itself—but through gradual adjustment, not moral challenge, and only if eased by consistent parental reassurance and affection. Children had become potentially delicate plants, in this new vision, with the noxious qualities of fear intensified as a result.

[76] Spock, *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*, 284, 295, 283–97.

[77] Allan Fromme, *The Parent's Handbook* (New York, 1956), 102–08; see also above, note 74. For *Parents' Magazine*'s adjustment to the new, more complex parental strategies, see Martin W. Piers, "Who's Afraid?" *Parents' Magazine*, 24 (June 1949): 6, 95–99.

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AMID SOME IMPORTANT VARIANTS, the new stance toward children's fear deepened its roots in American culture from the 1920s onward. It drew growing attention from parents and even older children, helping to shape their vocabularies about fear. It affected adult appeals to children's imagination, through fiction, though in a complex fashion. Taken together, these facets demonstrate the widening context in which the new standards being urged on parents were embedded.

The reevaluation of fear and its appropriate socialization calls renewed attention to the early part of the twentieth century as a time of significant alterations in the American emotional climate. Fear can now be added to the several emotions that were more systematically reproved in the initial decade of the century and that summoned up new strategies of avoidance and social manipulation as both Victorian intensity and Victorian gender differentiations were downplayed. Here, at least on the suppressive side, was the emotional counterpoint to the construction of new American personality values, suitable (or so it was deemed) for a new, secular consumer culture and a managerial organizational and economic structure.[78] As consumer interests proliferated, it became increasingly important to label emotions pleasant or unpleasant, with the latter to be shunned as much as the former were courted.[79] Fear by now fit easily into this characteristic twentieth-century dualism, insofar as it paralyzed rather than pleased. Just as clearly, the idea of wrestling deliberately with an unpleasant emotion in order to develop character made less sense amid consumerist values. The declining validity of entrepreneurial virtues, in the corporate economy of the mid-century, similarly maintained the new attack on fear just as it redefined other emotional standards. Here, too, direct confrontation with fear made less sense than organizational controls that would limit encounters with the emotion, beginning with parental manipulations.[80] The new approach to fear, spurred by specific issues in childhood family context and by specific psychological findings, meshed with the sweeping shifts in American personality goals that began to take shape from the 1920s onward.[81] This is why expert recommendations were widely sought and heeded, furthering the process of change.

As mentioned above, the reevaluation of fear was also an important feature of the general revision of gendered differentiations in emotional standards. When expert attention moved to very young children, gender distinctions mattered less than when the encounter with fear had been seen as a longer process.[82] Written accounts of fearful young children ceased to point disproportionately at girls. The Victorian insistence that boys had a special responsibility for controlling fear, in part to shelter more timid girls, virtually disappeared, and the salience of joyful

[78] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, Conn., 1973); Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (New York, 1977). Claims of transformation in personality norms need not be accepted without reservation, but the shifts in emotional standards support the idea of significant change.

[79] Shula Sommers, "Adults Evaluating Their Emotions: A Cross-Cultural Perspective," in Carol A. Malatesta and C. E. Izard, eds., *Emotion in Adult Development* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1984), 314–38; and "Reported Emotions and Conventions of Emotionality among College Students," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46 (1984): 214; see also Peter N. Stearns, "Suppressing Unpleasant Emotions: The Development of the Twentieth-Century American Style," in Barnes and Stearns, *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness*, 230 and following.

[80] Daniel Miller and Guy Swanson, *The Changing American Parent* (New York, 1958), 57, 107–08; Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago, 1986).

[81] Susman, *Culture as History*, 271–85; see also Stearns, *Jealousy*.

[82] Peter N. Stearns, "Gender and Emotion: A Twentieth-Century Transition," in David D. Franks, ed., *Social Perspectives on Emotion* (Greenwich, Conn., 1990).

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mastery of fear declined. The residues of these attitudes, with children beating back their fears to win through danger, were by 1920 as likely to show up in stories about girls, now more active protagonists as detectives or nurses, as in boys' fiction.

Gender-based disputes over fear in adults could persist, however, as the Victorian legacy died hard. Child-rearing authorities often implied that mothers, because of their traditional anxieties about fear, moved more quickly than fathers to accept new standards in dealing with childhood frights. Even up-to-date fathers might try to insist that boys master fears directly, without manipulation or coddling.[83] At the same time, the theme of contagiously fearful mothers persisted, particularly in the 1920s manuals; this echoed Victorian gender stereotypes and turn-of-the-century worries about boys turning to "sissies" under women's tutelage. The extent to which disagreements eased, and at what speed, remains to be traced. It is revealing, however, that prescriptive literature from the 1930s onward uniformly dropped the standard references to frightened mothers. Again, shifts in assessment of fear, prompted initially by specific factors including new expertise, merged with wider alterations in middle-class life and culture.

By the same token, large numbers of adults, parents in the vanguard, seemed to accept the new concerns about childhood fear and many of the tactics urged in consequence, even though neither timing nor extent can be precisely measured. By the 1920s, certainly, worried parents often referred fearful children to therapists or to guidance clinics, a recourse duly noted in early issues of *Parents' Magazine*.[84] More general evidence emerged in the 1940s, partly because social researchers began to investigate parental standards more systematically. By this point, the campaign to promote sympathetic attention to children's fears and the various factors that supported it were several decades old; it was not surprising that many parents had fully internalized the message. An inquiry during the 1940s into problems parents perceived with children, though regrettably unspecific in its summary categories, uncovered great concern about childhood fears.[85] There was no corresponding perception of particularly admirable courage among children, and the concept was rarely cited. Fears loomed large in the overall category of emotional problems, which in turn was considerable among all issues treated; problems were rated highest among younger children and were focused on reactions to darkness, water, animals, germs, and death, as well as generalized fearfulness. Parental perceptions, in other words, particularly in the suburban middle class, paralleled the kinds of signals given in the larger emotional culture of the period.

Parents also had comments to make. Letters to *Parents' Magazine* began to appear regularly from the late 1920s onward, detailing concerns about children's fears and successful (initially, largely behaviorist) strategies of coping. The magazine posed a problem to its readers in 1929, based on a five-year-old's night fears. A host of mothers responded, dutifully warning against maids who told boogeyman stories, fearsome images of a punitive God, and, on the positive side, recommending carefully planted benign images and the after-all-small-enough expense of a night light. The temptation to impose discipline was granted, but giving in was sedulously

[83] Fisher and Gruenberg, *Our Children*, 116–18.

[84] Margo Horn, *Before It's Too Late: The Child Guidance Movement in the United States, 1922–1945* (Philadelphia, 1989); Pamela Holcomb, *History of the Pittsburgh Child Guidance Center* (Pittsburgh, 1986); Sapin, "Helping Children," 16–18.

[85] Arthur T. Jersild, *et al.*, *Joys and Problems of Childrearing* (New York, 1949), 215 and *passim*; note that parental concerns were heightened through World War II's impact on children, although Jersild and his colleagues allowed for directly war-inspired fears in a separate category.

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combated. Here, admittedly, was a sponsored scenario. More interesting (though still self-selected) was the spate of spontaneous submissions from the late 1930s through the ensuing decade, in which children's fears of dogs, darkness, and so on were detailed and compensatory strategies based on explaining the source of fear and distracting with treats were recounted. The goal was always removal of a particular fear, not (overtly, at least) development of a courageous personality or a desire to introduce moral challenge.[86] By the 1940s, if not before, middle-class parents had widely assimilated the idea that childhood fear was a substantial problem and were eager to offer tactics that would allow their children to cope.

A similar tone emerged in responses of older children to survey questionnaires about fear, although again the interests of the eliciting researchers may well have influenced the result. The assessment by Arnold Gesell and his colleagues in 1956 yielded no pre-teens dreaming of facing stampeding horses or calculating the bravery needed to turn aside an enemy attack but rather a group of older children eager to demonstrate that they had surmounted the characteristic fears of earlier years.[87] The narrowed equation of fear with terror had clearly triumphed over the wider Victorian use of fear in stimulating response to danger. Fear and childishness were more likely pairings than fear and moral challenge. Thus ten-year-olds pointed proudly to the waning of a previous fear of dogs, while "spontaneously" reporting that they were no longer afraid of the dark; Victorian echoes resounded only in comments about potentially fearing to meet a lion or spend a night in an old castle alone; here, some projections of imagined calls upon courage persisted. By age eleven, however, these fancies seemed to have passed, and many children would either not discuss fear at all or had redefined the emotion to focus on anxieties about being liked by peers. By fifteen, fear had become mainly a matter of reminiscence, about earlier sports anxieties or more outright childhood frights. Maturity, clearly, meant claiming to do without fear, not anticipating its confrontation, and this was some measure of the change from the unpolled nineteenth century.

Teen-agers who dutifully responded to questions by development authorities and pediatricians like Gesell had obviously learned much of their vocabulary about childhood fears from their parents, a further sign of the dissemination into middle-class households of the prescriptive literature. Teen-age responses may also have been shaped by the altered tone of the stories directed at children. This category of fiction, like the child-rearing manuals, departed substantially from Victorian standards of fear and its mastery.

Children's fiction from the 1920s must, to be sure, be handled somewhat differently from its nineteenth-century counterpart. It had rivals, in radio and movies; the graphic portrayals of danger on screen may well have maintained some of the Victorian motifs of surmounting fear, if somewhat less explicitly. Further, there was no unity of approach. Many stories maintained themes of courage while many leading series, like the Hardy boys novels and rising genres like science fiction, pulled away from Victorian continuities. Overall, children's stories served less obviously as companions to family norms than during the nineteenth century,

[86] "Childhood Problems" section in *Parents' Magazine*, 21 (March 1946): 34; 21 (May 1946): 46; 22 (October 1947): 35; 23 (May 1948): 34; 23 (July 1948): 42; "Now This Is What I'd Do," *Parents' Magazine*, 4 (January 1929): 24. See also Children's Welfare Federation of New York City, *Child Care Questions and Answers* (New York, 1948), 103–07, for a series of common parental concerns and appropriately anxious supportive strategies.

[87] Arnold Gesell, Francis Ilg, and Laura Ames, *Youth: The Ages from Ten to Sixteen* (New York, 1956), 51, 65, 192.

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since children increasingly bought their own books, and fiction appealed to them more directly as consumers instead of catering to parental moralisms. Still, if fiction was less centrally enmeshed in approved adult standards for children—another reason for the growing concentration on socializing young children—it could still bear some relationship to them and could certainly affect the readers involved. In fact, many children's stories echoed the shifts in prescriptive literature by moving away from episodes that probed a boy's encounter with fear and subsequent mastery. Here is another indication of the considerable reach of the twentieth-century approach to childhood fear, even in media that did not always win favor from experts or parents.

The experts themselves were clear enough: certain kinds of fear-inducing horror stories were inappropriate, possibly for anybody and certainly for children. A certain leeway was allowed, for more moderate tales like *Hansel and Gretel*, which, though a bit scary, could provide useful dramatizations that would aid children in handling fear. Temperaments and timing, however, must be considered. In one account, fathers, who enjoyed thrillers more than mothers, were given a cautious and qualified green light.[88] In no sense did traditional fright stories, or their functions both in providing courageous examples for children and in allowing adults to vent some spleen by scaring their offspring, disappear entirely.

Nevertheless, there was change, as a result of the larger shifts in emotional values. A number of traditional tales were redone to reduce (though rarely to eliminate) the fear component. This was a standard feature of the Walt Disney approach in cartoons of fairy tales and modern children's books: in Disney's *Three Little Pigs*, the first two little pigs were not in fact eaten, and the cartoon Cinderella had lots of friendly animals to keep her spirits up during the darkest hours (which is doubtless why she was kind enough to invite her stepsisters to her palace later instead of having them put to death). As stories of this sort were read and reread, children did not need to build up too much uncomfortable anticipation of the sort that they might equate with fear.

To be sure, some children's stories from the 1920s onward maintained an essentially Victorian desire to inspire courage, just as Watsonian experts themselves waffled as to whether their goals were enhanced bravery or avoidance of fear-producing situations. Again, there was far less consistency in this genre than there had been during the nineteenth century and less coherence than the contemporaneous parental advice literature manifested in terms of basic standards for judging fear. Concerns about boys who were "sissies" and sports activities that "built men" by, among other things, insisting on control of fear in the face of challenge maintained or even enhanced earlier nineteenth-century themes.[89] Boys' literature, not to mention radio adventure shows like "Jack Armstrong, All-American Boy," unquestionably presented to the imagination situations that could readily provoke internal assessments of whether one would be afraid, how one would handle fear, and so on. Stories like *Matchlock Gun* (1936), which pitted Dutch colonist children and their mother against Indian attacks, came straight from a Victorian arsenal now modified for greater gender equality.[90] Girls' stories offered only a partial modification. A new breed of teen-age heroines—nurses and girl detectives—

[88] Sapin, "Helping Children," 16. For additions to the roster of scary stories available for children, see works such as Maurice Sendak, *Where the Wild Things Are* (New York, 1963).

[89] Joe Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1979); Julius Sachs, "Co-Education in the United States," *Educational Review*, 33 (1907): 300 and *passim*.

[90] Walter D. Edmonds, *Matchlock Gun* (1937; rpt. edn., New York, 1971).

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grappled with fear from time to time, beyond merely finding themselves in scary situations. The signals about evaluating fear presented through fiction to older children were far from uniform, which is normal when new emotional standards are being sketched.

Nevertheless, fear did change in children's media in key respects beyond the curtailment of fairy tale horrors. The changes related to the emerging expertise on child rearing. First, an increasing number of heroes in children's stories of the 1920s and beyond were essentially emotionless, building on the "Nick Carter" and Old West tough-guy models pioneered in late nineteenth-century adult fiction and dime novels.[91] Rather than grappling with fear, or even considering fear in retrospect, the new breed of Tarzans and, soon, outright super-heroes whose emotionlessness was as impressive as their ability to fly or to withstand bullets, had no fear to begin with. Daredevil supermen or Captains Marvel were notable for their freedom from any need to master fear. They handled all sorts of adventures, but they faced no moral challenges; their stories were intended to rouse excitement, not fear. It was almost as if the super-heroes had been reared in an ideal Watsonian setting in which the emotions had been entirely inhibited.[92] The subsequent surge of outright science fiction extended the tendency to depict incredible adventure minus an emotional load. As exposed in the newer forms of children's fiction, fantasy life changed considerably, from idealizing the control of fear to celebrating its absence.

Equally revealing, though admittedly harder to assess, was the emotional atmosphere surrounding real-boy heroes. Frank Dixon's Hardy boys, teen-age detectives, avoided emotional challenge, in contrast to their nineteenth-century wild-horse-stopping counterparts. Called upon to fly a blimp with no experience, Frank and Joe were briefly "tense with excitement," but that was it. And after later getting shot at, they might remark, "I thought we were dead ducks"; no pondering how they set aside their fear, no invocations of prayer or mother for these stalwarts. Lesser colleagues, including fat Chet, might indeed admit some emotion, as in one situation they did "forget fears" in supporting Frank and Joe in their adventures, but these points were made in passing, with none of the savor of nineteenth-century evaluations of performance. By implication, the protagonists were not bothered by these fleeting emotional warts.[93] They accomplished wonders, but they were not described as courageous because they had no complicating emotions to surmount.

The idea of successfully grappling with fear thus faded in many of the fictional formats urged upon children, in favor of high-action adventure without emotional strings. Children's stories were less monochrome than the advice about fear being urged upon parents. These stories often annoyed adults through their sensationalism, for daredevil fictional excitement challenged the more carefully monitored

[91] Available studies on American children's fiction support the idea of a shift in tone during the 1920s, including a decline in heroic idealizations, but they have not developed a full characterization—partly because of a tendency to focus on literary quality and adult appreciation more than popularity and children's reactions. Still, a helpful guide is Sally McNall, "American Children's Literature, 1880–Present," in Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, eds., *American Childhood. A Research Guide and Historical Handbook* (Westport, Conn., 1988), 377–411, esp. 391–92. See also Deirdre Johnson, *Stratemeyer Pseudonyms and Series Books* (Westport, Conn., 1982).

[92] Although it focuses on England, Kristen Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751–1945* (New Haven, Conn., 1988), helps evaluate American patterns in absence of a definitive study; see also Avery, *Childhood's Pattern*, *passim*.

[93] Franklin W. Dixon, *The Secret of the Lost Tunnel* (New York, 1950), 183, 206; Dixon, *The Mystery of Cabin Island* (New York, 1929), 198.

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environment parents might seek for their offspring. Modern children were much less likely, however, than their nineteenth-century counterparts to explore the process of encountering fear and mastering it. Children might avoid scary stories at their parents' request or assume with their heroes that danger could be faced without emotional distraction. They would not, as readers, be encouraged to think concretely about what fear was or how they would handle it.

The dominant tone of children's fiction, then, reflected important elements of the same approach toward childhood fears that was shaping some of the goals and concerns of many middle-class parents. The idea of avoiding fear, rather than learning or even welcoming its mastery, meshed with larger changes in emotional style and gender standards during the middle decades of the twentieth century. In their approach toward childhood fears, middle-class Americans increasingly assumed that unpleasantness should be evaded rather than utilized and that organizational strategies, rather than personal resourcefulness honed by emotional challenge, best served the individual in the social environment. Redefining the control of fear added significantly to the new directions in American personality goals toward mid-century.

GROWING ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW APPROACHES to childhood fear, evident in various facets of culture and in the ways many Americans were learning to talk about the emotion, had a number of further consequences that overflowed the bounds of family socialization and personality goals. Without pretending to offer a thorough exploration of an area where further research remains essential, we can briefly mention three outcomes that followed from the idea of modifying the way fear was handled. Adult institutions reconsidered uses and descriptions of fear, recreational outlets found ways to make fear sell, and the experience of fear itself seems to have shifted.

A variety of institutions took up the idea that fear should be avoided, not surmounted; here was the most straightforward extension of the shift in socialization standards. A new emotional culture, even when its interaction with direct emotional experience is incomplete, characteristically has important institutional consequences, if only because the kinds of thinking and expertise that help formulate standards also affect other public norms. The new aversion to fear had several institutional implications. By the 1930s, school authorities were urged to minimize fear-based motivations in favor of careful encouragements; even examinations were to be rethought. As one authority noted, "Many junior high schools, by eliminating home work and stressing day-by-day preparation at school, have done much to banish the fear of semester examinations."[94] Obviously, fear and school could still go hand in hand for many children, at least at certain times. Attempts to avoid inducing fear did not suddenly or completely recast the school atmosphere. Over time, however, from the 1940s onward, schools did increasingly encourage positive reinforcements rather than fear-inducing punishments and comparisons, to the point that some educators came to believe that only kindness was worth conveying as a response to classroom work. Warnings about flunking tended to give way to careful acknowledgements of some quality or improvement in a student exercise—and, from the 1940s onward, a less frightening average range of grades moved in the same direction. Fear-informed settings of school days

[94] Sapin, "Helping Children," 40.

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past (which, in a different emotional culture, once functioned successfully, though doubtless at cost to some youngsters) seemed incomprehensible amid contemporary beliefs about the incapacitating qualities of the emotion.[95]

Gradually, the same emotional culture pressed toward modifying other fear-based rituals, supplemented by concerns about outright physical danger in certain hazing practices. How extensively the desire to banish needless fear operated in institutions like campus fraternities, which traditionally took some pride in testing self-control of fear, warrants further inquiry, for the process was gradual and uneven; but the general direction and its cultural base seem clear enough. Even in periods when fraternity popularity surged, as in the 1950s, societal pressure to modify initiation rituals continued.[96]

A less familiar limitation of conventional uses of fear took shape in the personnel field as the implications of the new emotional culture gained ground after World War II. Job interviews in the white-collar sector had long operated in a formal fashion, with abrupt questions designed to test an applicant's ability to handle anxiety. The idea was not to terrify but to use moderate fear as a probe of character. By the 1950s, a new breed of management experts insisted on a change in emotional tone. Interviewers should offer moderate friendliness, putting applicants at their ease—for fear, no longer a character test, merely distracted from useful qualities.[97]

Even the military used elements of the new emotional culture. In 1943, a manual for American officers still conveyed strong echoes of Victorianism:

> Physical courage is little more than the ability to control the physical fear which all normal men have, and cowardice does not consist in being afraid but in giving way to fear. What, then, keeps the soldier from giving way to fear? The answer is simply—his desire to retain the good opinion of his friends and associates . . . his pride smothers his fear.

Even this statement relied more on the power of general beliefs about keeping fear at bay than on idealized individual bravery. Still more revealing was an infantry pamphlet for the Fifth Army in Italy: "Don't be too scared. Everybody is afraid, but you can learn to control your fear . . . Being too scared is harmful to you." While war made avoidance of fear impossible, there was no anachronistic interest in pleading for heroic courage.[98] Wider assessments of military experience also changed; recognition of fear's potential for causing madness increased in World War II. Earlier wars had emphasized "shell shock"—more literally, physical

[95] Again, definitive analysis is lacking, but several studies deal with the evolution of school systems toward more supportive and amicable teacher-student interaction. See Victor Lipman, "Mr. Glasser's Gentle Rod," *American Education*, 14 (1978): 28–31; Walter B. Kolesnick, *Educational Psychology* (New York, 1963), 458; Caroline B. Zachry, *Personality Adjustments in School Children* (New York, 1929); E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York, 1928), 17, 127, 161; J. Manning, "Discipline in the Good Old Days," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 41 (1969): 96. On other aspects of the school environment that might enhance fear, see Robert Coles, *Children of Crisis*, esp. Vol. 1: *A Study of Courage and Fear* (Boston, 1977).

[96] Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 176–77, 185–86, 260, deals with episodes of hazing and with twentieth-century changes. Attacks on fraternity practices were not, of course, new to the 1950s, but they demonstrated a split between youth and collegiate authorities over fear's appropriate role. Still, some connection between the new standards and the official concern about hazing is probable. On hazing traditions, see also Henry Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs* (New York, 1901); on postwar concerns, see Bill Bryan and Robert Schwartz, *Challenges for Fraternities and Sororities* (Alexandria, Va., 1983).

[97] D. L. Kirkpatrick, "How to Select Foremen," *Personnel Journal*, 47 (1968): 262–70; Silas Warner, "Spotting the Neurotic—Helping the Maladjusted," *Personnel Journal*, 36 (1957): 136–39. For the evolution of recommendations on job interview atmosphere, see *Personnel Journal*, 1940–1970. A lag of a few decades in institutionalization of new emotional standards is historically normal.

[98] Paul Fussell, "The Real War, 1939–45," *Atlantic Monthly*, 264, no. 2 (August 1989): 33–40.

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concussion—which had allowed greater latitude for heroism in World War I descriptions. In contrast, euphemisms like "war neurosis" or "battle fatigue," used from the 1940s onward, granted a constitutional inability to cope with fear as a darker, pathological side of the military experience.[99] Changes of this sort in the military culture were incomplete, although they have gradually extended into further adjustments to reduce the needless generation of fear as part of combat training.

Other fields of combat, such as team sports, maintained elements of the older tradition of valuing the mastery of fear. Overall, however, the new approach to fear, emphasizing avoidance over confrontation, gained ground in adult life, as the implications of the new emotional culture spread from family advice and adult-sponsored standards for children into such prosaic sites as job interviews, and as a growing range of experts chipped in. Here is a thread running through a number of mid-twentieth-century adjustments: the new standards spilled beyond child rearing, and adults themselves emerged from childhoods in which fear had been carefully manipulated.

The second outcome of the new approach to fear was more complex, providing another opportunity for additional analysis in subsequent research. Consumer fascination with encountering certain kinds of fear increased. It is true that the explicit logic of limiting exposure to fear moved in the opposite direction. As we have seen, it argued for careful monitoring of children's play and enhanced Victorian concerns about scary stories. Steadily also, from the 1950s onward, the fright potential of Halloween ventures was curtailed. Growing hostility to vandalism joined with a desire to protect younger trick-or-treaters from unregulated scares. Community authorities in the 1950s began to regulate the hours and scope of Halloween activities.[100] Yet the idea of restricting fear as part of healthy recreation did not gain an unchallenged victory. While fear receded as a source of moral challenge, certain kinds of fright actually grew in popularity, particularly for teen-agers and young adults, as vehicles of entertainment. Amusement park rides and horror films deliberately billed as terrifying became an increasingly important part of American popular entertainment from the early twentieth-century onward. Freak shows became less appropriate amusements—another development traced to the 1920s[101]—but horror movies to some degree took their place.

Fear as perverse enjoyment, of course, was not new; it could even involve the challenge to master emotions. One source of the appeal of horror movies, from Frankenstein onward, might have been the vestiges of Victorian values that urged young people, particularly boys, to surmount scares. Certainly, there is no reason to ignore continuities from past popular culture even when translated into the media of the twentieth century. The contemporary entertainment forms, however, reflected the specifically twentieth-century standards for fear in several ways. First, this was not fare for younger middle-class children. Second, despite its brief intensity, the terror involved operated in ultimately bounded conditions; it appealed to people who perhaps wanted more emotional stimulus than they had been allowed in a controlled childhood—who wanted to demonstrate their maturity by their ability to set fear aside—but who knew that the environment was secure. Third, entertainment fear normally avoided a significant implication of moral

[99] For a provocative discussion of fear in World War II, see Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York, 1989).

[100] Edna Barth, *Witches, Pumpkins and Grinning Ghosts* (New York, 1981).

[101] Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago, 1988).

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challenge: this was pure sensation, not an opportunity to build character. It was experienced passively, by people in the seats of movie houses or roller coaster rides.[102] As such, it built on the experience of Americans who had been taught mainly to see fear as terror and who found escapist enjoyment in encountering the emotion, childhood safely past, in reassuringly fictional or staged settings. The connection, reflected in the new super-heroes as well, with their nerves of steel, sprang from a socialization that did not stress inner controls over fear and that therefore gave new support to escapist fantasies both of fearlessness and of recreational terror. On these terms, the new standards developed for fear in childhood may have had a real, if hardly straightforward, impact in shaping the ways in which fear could be sold as part of the consumer culture.

Finally, the new standards of fear might affect individuals' responses when experienced outside a recreational setting; for, as a rule, altered perceptions color actual emotional reactions to some degree. Americans taught to avoid fear or to expect supportive sympathy when fear intruded might well have adult encounters with the emotion somewhat different from those of their nineteenth-century counterparts. Distinctions could be heightened by aspects of adult culture that maintained concern. Growing attention to the heart as a source of health risks, for example, could reinforce adult sense that fear was dangerous.[103] It became more respectable, in the twentieth century, to admit to phobias, in contrast to Victorian tendencies to mask them under more general hysterical symptoms.[104]

Were there additional connections, not only in the emotional vocabulary of many middle-class people but also in wider responses to threat? The answers, inherently difficult, await bold research, but some tantalizing possibilities exist. Was there some relationship between the relatively quick American dismissal of anxieties about atomic warfare, including the even more revealing impulse to dig private shelters during the 1950s, and the way fear was encountered in middle-class socialization?[105] Whatever the verdict on the sweeping outcomes of successive twentieth-century reevaluations of childhood fears, there is little question that the cultural position of fear did shift and would doubtless shift again, at some point after the 1950s. Parents sought to master new lessons, while many children learned a different vocabulary and a different idea of moral challenge; Victorian standards yielded to twentieth-century concerns. A number of institutions and media responded to the change, while acceptable public evaluations of fear shifted to some extent and the use of fearfulness to measure gender differences diminished. Standards applied to fear had loomed large in the Victorian emotional lexicon, and their reassessment played a central role in the creation of a different emotional culture for the middle decades of the twentieth century.

[102] This point relates to other judgments about the experience of movie audiences: see Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York, 1980); and, for Europe, Charles Rearick, "Song and Society in Turn-of-the-Century France," *Journal of Social History*, 22 (1988): 59–63. The adjustment obviously requires comparison with nineteenth-century recreational experiences.

[103] For discussion of how emotional control standards link to health norms and their moralistic quality in twentieth-century experience, see Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983); for a more theoretical statement, see John W. M. Whiting and I. L. Child, *Child Training and Personality* (New York, 1953).

[104] Edward Shorter, "Paralysis: The Rise and Fall of a 'Hysterical' Symptom," *Journal of Social History*, 19 (1986): 549–82.

[105] Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York, 1986).

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The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change

TAMARA K. HAREVEN

RECENT HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON THE FAMILY has revised some widely held myths about family life in the past as well as generalizations about the impact of the grand processes of social change on the family and society. Family history has complex roots in both historical demography of the early 1960s and the "new social history" of the same period. Particularly in the United States, it has shared with the latter a commitment to reconstructing the life patterns of ordinary people, to viewing them as actors as well as subjects in the process of change. Out of such concerns has come research that explores previously neglected dimensions of human experience such as growing up, courting, getting married, bearing and rearing children, living in families, becoming old, and dying, from the perspective of those involved. Contemporary historians of the family have sought to reintroduce human experience into historical research and to emphasize the complexity of historical change.[1]

The challenge for such scholars is the reconstruction of a multi-tiered reality—the lives of individual families and their interactions with major social, economic, and political forces. This enterprise is complicated by our increasing appreciation of the changing and diverse nature of "the family," rendered fluid by shifts in internal age and gender configurations across regions and over time. The formidable goal is to understand the family in various contexts of change, while allowing the levels of complexity to play themselves out at different points in historical time. In short, it represents an effort to understand the interrelationship between individual time, family time, and historical time.[2]

Before systematic historical study of the family began, various social science

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[1] For other discussions of the state of the field, see Tamara K. Hareven, "The History of the Family as an Interdisciplinary Field," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2 (1971): 399–414; Tamara K. Hareven, "Family History at the Crossroads," *Journal of Family History* (hereafter, *JFH*), 12 (1987): ix–xiii; Lawrence Stone, "Family History in the 1980s," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12 (1981): 51–57; Louise A. Tilly and Miriam Cohen, "Does the Family Have a History?" *Social Science History*, 6 (1982): 181–99; Charles Tilly, "Family History and Social Change," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 319–30; Andrejs Plakans, "The Emergence of a Field: Twenty Years of European Family History," Occasional Paper No. 1, West European Program, The Wilson Center (Washington, D.C., 1986).

[2] Tamara K. Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time," *Daedalus*, 106 (1977): 57–70; Glen Elder, "Family History and the Life Course," in *Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective*, Tamara K. Hareven, ed. (New York, 1978); Glen Elder, "History and the Family: The Discovery of Complexity," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 43 (1981): 489–519.

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disciplines had generated their own myths and grand theories about continuities and changes in family behavior in the past. Sociologists in particular argued that, in preindustrial societies, the dominant household form had contained an extended family, often involving three co-resident generations, and that the "modern" family, characterized by a nuclear household structure, family limitation, the spacing of children, and population mobility, was the product of industrialization. Associated with these generalizations was also the popular myth that industrialization destroyed familial harmony and community life. But historical research on the family has provided a perspective on change over time as well as on family behavior within specific social and cultural contexts in discrete time periods. It has led to the rejection of these assumptions and to the resulting questioning of the role of industrialization as a major watershed for American and European history.[3]

Over the two decades and a half of its existence, family history has moved from a limited view of the family as a static unit at one point in time to an examination of the family as a process over the entire lives of its members; from a study of discrete domestic structures to the investigation of the nuclear family's relations with the wider kinship group; and from a study of the family as a separate domestic unit to an examination of the family's interaction with the worlds of religion, work, education, correctional and welfare institutions, and with processes such as migration, industrialization, and urbanization.[4]

More recently, efforts to explore decision-making processes within the family have led to an investigation of strategies and choices that individuals and family groups make. The life-course approach added an important developmental

[3] E. A. Wrigley, "Reflections on the History of the Family," *Daedalus*, 106 (1977): 71–85; Peter Laslett, "Characteristics of the Western Family over Time," in *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*, Peter Laslett, ed. (Cambridge, 1977); E. A. Wrigley, "The Process of Modernization and the Industrial Revolution in England," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 3 (1972): 225–29; William Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns* (New York, 1963); Peter Laslett, "Introduction," in Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, eds., *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), 1–73; Neil Smelser, *Social Change and the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago, 1959); Michael Anderson, "The Relevance of Family History," *Sociological Review Monograph*, 28 (1979): 49–73.

[4] Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time," 57–70; Stone, "Family History in the 1980s," 51–57; Hareven, "Family History at the Crossroads," ix–xxiii; Maris Vinovskis, "From Household Size to the Life Course: Some Observations on Recent Trends in Family History," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 21 (1977): 263–87. My own involvement in family history reflects these trends. In 1967, the United States Children's Bureau commissioned a collaborative documentary history of children in American society. Headed by Robert H. Bremner, that project led to a pathbreaking collection, *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970–74). While working on this project, I became interested in linking children's history to family experience and, like a number of social historians during that period, in the relationship between the family and industrialization. Two conferences I organized at Clark University (one in 1970 titled "Childhood and Youth in Historical Perspective," and a second in 1971 called "The Family: Social Change and Social Structure") aroused such widespread interest in this area that the Rockefeller Foundation offered to support a Family History Program at Clark University aimed at developing the newly emerging research through conferences and workshops, including a newsletter, "The Family in Historical Perspective," which I started editing in 1973. The newsletter was published by the Newberry Library in Chicago, which also had an influential training program in quantitative methodology that included family history and historical demography. The second phase of the Family History Program at Clark was supported by the Education Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities. In 1975, I proposed to the National Council on Family Relations (NCFR) the establishment of a scholarly journal on the history of the family. With the support of the NCFR, Robert Wheaton and I launched the *Journal of Family History: Studies in Kinship, Family and Demography* (first issue, Fall of 1976). The *Journal* was published by the NCFR, 1976–1986, and by JAI Press from 1986—under the sponsorship of the NCFR. The *JFH* has published special issues on France, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, Japan, the Iberian Peninsula, and Sweden; thematic issues on Family and Sexuality in France, Anthropology and Family History, and Spinsterhood; papers from the Rockefeller Foundation's conference on Women, Work, and the Family, September 21–22, 1978, from the Shelby Collum Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, and from Old Sturbridge Village.

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dimension to the history of the family by focusing on age and cohort comparisons in ways that link individual and family development to historical events. As historical research on the family developed further, new findings and approaches led to the revision of the pioneers' findings. Research also expanded chronologically to ancient Greece and Rome, and geographically from Western Europe, North America, and Japan to Northern and Eastern Europe, to southern Italy and the Mediterranean, and to China. The cumulative impact of studies in the history of the family has been to revise simplistic views of both social change and family behavior. These revisions have generated a host of new questions, which have been answered only in part. Given the richness and diversity of research in family history, it would be impossible to cover here all the aspects of this large volume of scholarly endeavor. I will try to follow the main strands of research and will illustrate them with select examples.[5]

The emergence of the history of the family as a special area of inquiry received its major impetus from the publication of Philippe Ariès's *Centuries of Childhood* (1960 in French and 1962 in an English translation). Ariès argued that childhood as we know it emerged only in the early modern period and that its discovery was closely linked to the emergence of the "modern" or conjugal family, in which parents' private relationships with their children were more important "than the honor of a line, the integrity of an inheritance, or the age and permanence of a name." Looking back to pre-modern France and England, when the family was actively involved with the community and the household open to nonrelatives engaged in familial activities, Ariès idealized the family's sociability in the "big house." "The big house fulfilled a public function . . . It was the only place where friends, clients, relatives and proteges could meet and talk." In the big house, "people lived on top of one another, masters and servants, children and adults, in houses open at all hours to the indiscretions of the callers. The density of society left no room for the family. Not that the family did not exist as a concept," but its main focus was sociability rather than privacy. The "modern" family, he argued, emerged as sociability retreated. In thus lamenting the loss of earlier sociability in the family, Ariès laid the foundation for a debate as to which family type best prepares children to function in a complex, modern society: the family of the past,

[5] Tamara K. Hareven and Andrejs Plakans, eds., *Family History at the Crossroads* (Princeton, N.J., 1987). For bibliographic coverage of the field, see Gerald Soliday, with Tamara K. Hareven, Richard Vann, and Robert Wheaton, eds., *History of the Family and Kinship: A Select International Bibliography* (New York, 1980). For ancient Greece and Rome, see Cheryl Anne Cox, "Sibling Relationships in Classical Athens: Brother-Sister Ties," *JFH*, 13 (1988): 377–96; Virginia Hunter, "The Athenian Widow and Her Kin," *JFH*, 14 (1989): 291–312; Eva Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Baltimore, Md., 1987); Judith P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); Beryl Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986); Suzanne Dixon, *The Roman Mother* (London, 1988). On the Mediterranean, see David B. Rheubottom, "'Sisters First': Betrothal Order and Age at Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Ragusa," *JFH*, 13 (1988): 359–76; D. G. Peristiany, *Mediterranean Family Structure* (Cambridge, 1976); on Turkey, Alan Duben, "Turkish Families and Households in Historical Perspective," *JFH*, 10 (Spring 1985): 75–97. On China and Southeast Asia, see Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845–1945* (Stanford, Calif., 1980); Burton Pasternak, *Guests in the Dragon: Social Demography of a Chinese District, 1895–1946* (New York, 1983); Burton Pasternak, "Age at First Marriage in a Taiwanese Locality 1916–1945," *JFH*, 14 (1989); Susan B. Hanley and Arthur P. Wolf, eds., *Family and Population in East Asian History* (Stanford, 1985); Patricia Ebrey, "Concubines in Sung China," *JFH*, 11 (1986): 1–24; Patricia Ebrey, "Women in the Kinship System of the Southern Sung Upper Class," *Historical Reflections*, 8 (1981): 113–28; Peter C. Smith, "Asian Marriage Patterns in Transition," *JFH*, 5 (Spring 1980): 58–96; Tamara K. Hareven, "Reflections on Family Research in the People's Republic of China," *Social Research*, 54 (Winter 1987): 663–90.

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which exposed children from a young age to a diversity of role models, or the contemporary, private, intimate family.[6]

By linking the "discovery" of childhood to transformations in family and social structures as well as economic and demographic changes, Ariès inspired a whole new generation of scholars.[7] His emphasis on sentiment and privacy as the defining characteristics of the "modern family" was emulated by John Demos, Edward Shorter, and Lawrence Stone, among others. Equally influential was Ariès's integration of diverse, previously neglected sources with demographic data, especially his use of iconography and art. In recent years, however, historians have challenged Ariès's thesis that West European society before the eighteenth century was characterized by indifference to children. Shortly before his death, Ariès himself acknowledged that, had he looked at medieval sources, he might have modified his conclusions about the emergence of sentiment in the early modern period.[8] Ariès's focus on attitudes toward children and the concept of childhood remains nevertheless the major reference point for studies of the historical transition to the "modern family," especially for historians who employ cultural rather than socioeconomic and demographic approaches. *Centuries of Childhood* has served as a catalyst for family history in the same way Henri Pirenne's *Medieval Cities* affected medieval and early modern European history.[9]

WHILE HISTORIANS OFTEN POINT TO ARIÈS'S BOOK as the first major work of family history, historical research on the family was rooted in several disciplines, such as psychology, anthropology, sociology, economics, and most notably in historical demography, which preceded it.[10] In the early 1960s, historical demographers in

[6] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, Robert Baldick, trans. (New York, 1962); orig. pub. as *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1960), 393, 404–06. On the debate concerning which type of family better prepares children to function in a complex society, see Richard Sennett, *Families against the City: Middle-Class Homes of Industrial Chicago, 1872–1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

[7] Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*; John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York, 1977); Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York, 1976). On Ariès's contribution, see Robert Wheaton, "Observations on the Development of Kinship History, 1942–1985," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 285–302.

[8] Hareven, "History of the Family as an Interdisciplinary Field"; Philippe Ariès, commenter, "The Dead in the Early Middle Ages," Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, December 1980, Washington, D.C.

[9] Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, Frank D. Halsey, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1946). See essays reassessing Ariès's contribution in the *JFH*, 12 (1987): 343–405. For a critique of Ariès, see Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge, 1983).

[10] E. A. Wrigley, "Family Limitation in Preindustrial England," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 19 (1966): 82. For an excellent history of the French demographic school and the family reconstitution method, see Wheaton, "Observations on the Development of Kinship History, 1942–1985," 285–302; for the pioneer analyses in France, see Pierre Goubert, "Une Richesse historique en cour d'exploitation: Les Registres paroissiaux," *Annales: E. S. C.*, 9 (1954): 83–93; Pierre Goubert, *Beauvais et les beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730* (Paris, 1960); Pierre Goubert, "Historical Demography and the Reinterpretation of Early Modern French History: A Research Review," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 1 (1970): 37–48; Louis Henry, "Une Richesse demographique en fiche: Les Registres paroissiaux," *Population*, 8 (1953): 281–90; Louis Henry, "Historical Demography," *Daedalus*, 97 (1968): 385–96; Louis Henry, *Anciennes familles genevoises: Etude demographique: XVI^e–XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1956); for Germany, see Arthur E. Imhof, "Genealogie et demographie historique en Allemagne," *Annales de demographie historique* (1976): 77–107; Arthur E. Imhof, "Historical Demography as Social History: Possibilities in Germany," *JFH*, 2 (Fall 1977): 305–32. For Austria, see Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, "The Developmental Process of Domestic Groups: Problems of Reconstruction and Possibilities of Interpretation," *JFH*, 4 (Fall 1979):

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France provided family historians with a powerful "new weapon" for the analysis of vital processes related to life and death in the past. Louis Henry and Pierre Goubert had developed a family reconstitution technique in the 1950s that, in E. A. Wrigley's words, enabled historians "to assemble all the information about the vital events in a given family which can be gleaned from the register of a parish or a group of parishes." The Institute National des Etudes Demographiques took the lead in the development of this new methodology. Using first genealogies and then marriage, baptismal, and death records from parish registers, demographers reconstructed aggregate patterns of fertility, nuptiality, and mortality for vast numbers of people and, in some instances, over several generations.[11]

In France, historical demography and family history developed into two parallel but interrelated streams from the 1960s on. One stream continued to concentrate on demographic analysis, along the lines of Henry and Goubert; the other, influenced by Ariès, by anthropology and the French social history tradition, integrated demographic analyses with patterns of family and sexuality, linking community and social and cultural variables with *mentalité*, as exemplified in the work of Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, André Burguière, and Jean-Louis Flandrin, among others. Family reconstitution subsequently became a powerful tool in the hands of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. Established in 1964, the Cambridge Group adapted the family reconstitution

257–84. For Sweden, see Kurt Ägrent, *et al.*, eds., *Aristocrats, Farmers, Proletarians: Essays in Swedish Demographic History* (Uppsala, 1973). Swedish demographic data are exceptionally rich, because parish registers kept track of members even after they migrated elsewhere; Ann-Sophie Kälvemark, "The Country That Kept Track of Its Population: Methodological Aspects of Swedish Population Records," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 2 (1977): 211–30. The most elaborate reconstitution and data linkage project in Sweden is now being carried out in Umeå; for analyses of the Umeå database, see the special issue of the *JFH*, Tom Ericcson and Lars Goran Tedebrand, guest editors, 14, no. 3 (1989). For Hungary, see Rudolf Andorka and Sandor Balazs-Kovács, "The Social Demography of Hungarian Villages in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (with Special Attention to Sarpilis, 1792–1804)," *JFH*, 2 (1986): 169–92. For Astonia, see Juhan Kahk, Heldur Palli, and Halliki Uibu, "Peasant Family in Estonia in the Eighteenth and the First Half of the Nineteenth Centuries," *JFH*, 7 (1982): 76–89. Family reconstitution in Japan was pioneered by Akira Hayami, who from the early 1960s embarked on a massive data linkage from local population registers; Akira Hayami, "Labor Migration in a Preindustrial Society: A Study Tracing the Life Histories of the Inhabitants of a Village," *Keio Economic Studies*, 10 (1973): 1–17; Akira Hayami and Nobuko Uchida, "Size of Household in a Japanese Country throughout the Tokugawa Era," in *Household and Family in Past Time*, 473–515; L. L. Cornell and Akira Hayami, "The Shumon Aratame Cho: Japan's Population Registers," *JFH*, 11 (1986): 311–28; Thomas Smith, *Nakahara: Family Farming and Population in a Japanese Village, 1717–1830* (Stanford, Calif., 1977). For New England, see John Demos, "Notes on Family Life in Plymouth Colony," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 22 (1965): 264–86; Demos, *Little Commonwealth*; Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970); for Canada, see Jacques Henrepin, *La Population canadienne au debut du XVIII^e siècle: Nuptialité, fécondité, mortalité infantile* (Paris, 1954); Yves Landry and Jacques Légaré, "Seventeenth-Century Immigrants to Canada," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 201–12; Hubert Charbonneau, *La Vie et mort de nos ancêtres: Etude demographique* (Montreal, 1975); Hubert Charbonneau, *et al.*, *Naissance d'une population: Les Français etablis aux Canada au XVII^e siècle* (Montreal, 1987).

[11] For example, see Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Familles: Parenté, maison, sexualité dans l'ancienne société* (Paris, 1976); in English translation, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality* (Cambridge, 1976); André Burguière, "The Formation of the Couple," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 39–56; André Burguière, "Le Rituel de mariage en France: Pratiques ecclesiastiques et pratiques populaires (XVI–XVIII siècles)," *Annales: E. S. C.*, 33 (1978): 637–49; Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, "Family Structures and Inheritance Customs in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200–1800*, J. Goody, J. Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, eds. (Cambridge, 1976), 37–70; for an insightful discussion of these trends, see Martine Segalen, *Mari et femme dans la société paysanne* (Paris, 1980); Martine Segalen, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family* (London, 1983); Robert Wheaton, "Introduction: Recent Trends in the Historical Study of the French Family," in *Family and Sexuality in French Histoy*, Robert Wheaton and Tamara K. Hareven, eds. (Philadelphia, 1980), 3–26.

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method to English parish registers, while also pursuing analysis of a seventeenth-century nominal household register for Clayworth, which Peter Laslett had discovered. In an analysis of Colyton from 1538 to 1837, Wrigley found—in the decline in seventeenth-century fertility and the eighteenth-century recovery—evidence that rural births and marriages responded to changing economic conditions. As Wrigley explained, the demographic transition did not involve a change from uncontrolled fertility to its reduction by the "exercise of prudential restraint" but "from a system of control through social institution and custom to one in which the private choice of individual couples played a major part in governing the fertility rate." This family reconstitution for Colyton in East Devon and the analysis of the Clayworth household register became the base for Laslett's book *The World We Have Lost* (1965).[12]

Such demographic analyses for France and England revealed that, in the preindustrial period, age at marriage was later than had been generally assumed, couples practiced some form of family limitation and child spacing as early as the seventeenth century, households were predominantly nuclear rather than extended, and preindustrial populations experienced considerable geographic mobility.[13] From today's perspective, it is difficult to recover the excitement of being able to re-create such patterns from the past. The evidence about the practice of family limitation in particular demonstrated the control that couples exercised over their own lives and the implicit choices (what Wrigley called "unconscious rationality") that they followed in relation to changing social and economic conditions. Similarly, the discovery of late age at marriage helped explain the timing of household and family formation. Late marriage served as a method of family limitation. It was also closely related to the expectation that a newlywed couple would establish a separate household. Hence marriage was contingent on a couple's ability to accumulate resources that would enable them to live independently, as well as contribute to their families of orientation. Linking late age at marriage to the nuclearity of the household, John Hajnal developed his thesis of the "West European Marriage Pattern," which served as the basic model for the analysis of West European families until recently.[14]

Using nominal census records, Laslett found evidence of continuity in nuclear household structure in England, at least since the sixteenth century. In 1969, he convened a demographic conference on family and household structure, concentrating on Europe and North America but also including papers on Japan, China,

[12] Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1965); Laslett, "Characteristics of the Western Family over Time"; E. A. Wrigley, "Fertility Strategy for the Individual and the Group," in *Historical Studies in Changing Fertility*, Charles Tilly, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1974), 148; Wrigley, "Reflections on the History of the Family"; E. A. Wrigley, "Family Reconstitution," in *An Introduction to English Historical Demography*, Peter Laslett, *et al.*, eds. (New York, 1966); E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1981); E. A. Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England: The Example of Colyton, Devon, over Three Centuries," *Daedalus*, 97 (1968): 546–80.

[13] Wrigley, "Reflections on the History of the Family"; Laslett, *World We Have Lost*; Pierre Goubert, "Family and Province: A Contribution to the Knowledge of Family Structures in Early Modern France," *JFH*, 2 (1977): 223–36.

[14] John Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in *Population in History*, D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds. (Chicago, 1965), 101–43; John Hajnal, "Two Kinds of Pre-Industrial Household Formation System," in *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, Richard Wall, Jean Robin, and Peter Laslett, eds. (Cambridge, 1983), 65–104. Recently, Hajnal's thesis has been applied to Eastern Europe and to Japan, and there is now serious question on how unique the model is for Europe and how general it is. L. L. Cornell, "Hajnal and the Household in Asia: A Comparative History of the Family in Preindustrial Japan, 1600–1870," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 143–62. A forthcoming special issue of the *JFH* on marriage provides a reassessment of the Hajnal thesis.

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and Africa. The conference essays were published in *Household and Family in Past Time* (1972), with an extensive introduction from Laslett that provided a classification scheme of household types. The essays from Western Europe and North America affirmed Laslett's findings for England that there has been little variation in mean household size and that there has been a continuity in the predominance of the small nuclear family since the sixteenth century. Akira Hayami and Robert Smith also found evidence for the existence of nuclear household structures in certain regions of Tokugawa Japan. The volume's conclusions, combined with those deriving from subsequent analyses of nominal censuses for urban communities in the United States and Canada, dispelled the previously held assumption that industrialization brought about a nuclear family form. The myth of what William Goode termed "the great family of Western nostalgia," namely, the co-residence of three generations in a single household, was laid to rest. Subsequent studies showed that co-residence with extended kin tended to increase, not decrease, after the "industrial revolution," because of the need of newly arrived migrants to industrial cities to share housing space.[15]

More recently, David Herlihy traced a nuclear household structure in medieval Tuscany back to the twelfth century, and Richard Smith, using poll tax lists for the village of Suffolk from 1377 to 1381, concluded, "There seems to be good reason to suppose that the general shape and membership of the familial group differed very little from that of early modern England." This conclusion was reinforced by Smith's analysis of manorial contracts for the same period: three-quarters of the contracts contained proof of separate residence of the two generations.[16] In an imaginative reconstruction of the family and community life of the medieval village of Montaillou in southern France, LeRoy Ladurie found a variety of forms of family structures in the *domus* (household), ranging from ordinary nuclear families to families including an aged widowed mother or father to some groups of brothers sometimes co-residing with an elderly mother or with both parents. "The purely nuclear family was perhaps the most common, but it did not have a local monopoly." Most important, family structure varied over the life cycle of its members. The Vidal family, for example, was nuclear at first; then, with the death of the father, "we have a truncated nucleus, which soon becomes a phratry, the position of the brothers gaining in importance" as the mother withdraws and lives in a semi-separate room by herself, and one of her sons succeeds to the position of headship. The family becomes more or less "extended" again when one of the brothers—Bernard—marries and the new couple lives with the mother and the other brothers. After the mother's death, all the brothers leave the parental house

[15] Laslett and Wall, *Household and Family in Past Time*; Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns*, 6; Robert J. Smith, "Small Families, Small Households, and Residential Instability: Town and City in 'Pre-Modern' Japan," in *Household and Family in Past Time*, 429–72; for nineteenth-century American urban communities, see Sennett, *Families against the City*; Clyde Griffen and Sally Griffen, *Natives and Newcomers: The Ordering of Opportunities in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Poughkeepsie* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Tamara K. Hareven, "The Historical Study of the Family in Urban Society," in *Family and Kin in American Urban Communities, 1700–1930* (New York, 1977); Hayami and Uchida, "Size of Household in a Japanese County throughout the Tokugawa Era," 473–517. On household extension following industrialization, see Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971).

[16] David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985); David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Toscans et leurs familles* (Paris, 1978); Richard Smith, quoted in Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property, and Social Transition* (New York, 1978), 31; Richard Smith, "Kin and Neighbors in a Thirteenth-Century Suffolk Community," *JFH*, 4 (1979): 219–56.

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and set up separate households or join other households, except for Bernard, who now heads a nuclear family.[17]

Scholars' emphasis in the 1960s on the continuity of nuclear households and the subsequent wave of studies inspired by them had several limitations that left their mark on the new field for a decade at least. Although Laslett's early work implied that the nuclear "family" persisted over historical time, the major unit discussed was the household, not the family. A nuclear household was not identical with a nuclear family, since the domestic group may have included nonrelatives as well. Nor was a "family" restricted to the household, since extended family ties transcended the household unit.[18]

Early generalizations also led to the formation of new stereotypes: by combining the findings about the nuclearity of the household with the Hajnal thesis on the Western marriage pattern, Laslett developed the "Western Family" type, which he characterized as having a nuclear family form or simple household; a relatively late child-bearing age; a relatively narrow age gap between husband and wife, with a relatively high proportion of wives older than their husbands; and the presence in the household of "life cycle servants" unrelated to the family with which they were residing. By contrast, he characterized the South European and Mediterranean family type as having complex household structure and early marriage, in which nuclear households are formed by the breakup of extended ones rather than through marriage. Recently, however, these generalizations about regional family forms have come in for criticism.[19] For example, on the basis of research in Italy, David Kertzer refuted the thesis that links early female marriage to joint household organization as a characteristic of the "South European" family pattern and claimed that household complexity was not universal; rather, it depended on variations in landholding and sharecropping. Similarly, Haim Gerber, on the basis of his analysis of households in the seventeenth-century Turkish city of Bursa, concluded that "certain widespread notions about the traditional Middle Eastern family do not have a solid base."[20]

Scholars have also questioned the initial preoccupation with household structure and size and have seen the need to investigate internal family dynamics. Berkner has emphasized the fact that co-residence under the same roof was not the crucial variable. Of greater significant was whether family members cooked together and ate together and the nature of their social and economic relations. Similarly, Hans Medick warned about the dangers of using structural criteria of household classification in isolation from the social-historical conditions:

> the danger arises of computing the incomputable. It is true that the industrial proletarian grandmother may have lived in an "extended family" as did the peasant grandmother, but this apparent uniformity by no means indicates an identity of household structures. The

[17] Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, Barbara Bray, trans. (New York, 1978), 47–48.

[18] Jack Goody, "Evolution of the Family," in *Household and Family in Past Time*; Tamara K. Hareven, "The Family as Process: The Historical Study of the Family Cycle," *Journal of Social History*, 7 (1974): 322–29.

[19] Laslett, "Characteristics of the Western Family over Time," 12–49; Peter Laslett, "Family and Household as Work Group and Kin Group: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared," in *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, 513–64.

[20] David I. Kertzer, "Anthropology and Family History," *JFH*, 9 (1984): 201–06; David I. Kertzer and Caroline Brettell, "Advances in Italian and Iberian Family History," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 87–120; David Kertzer and Dennis Hogan, *Family, Political Economy, and Demographic Change: The Transformation of Life in Casalecchio, Italy, 1861–1921* (Madison, Wis., 1989); Haim Gerber, "Anthropology and Family History: The Ottoman and Turkish Families," *JFH*, 15 (1989): 419.

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"extended family" of the proletariat primarily functioned as a private institution to redistribute the poverty of the nuclear family by way of the kinship system. The extended family of the peasant, on the other hand served as an instrument for the conservation of property and the caring of the older members of the family.[21]

When interpreted in the context of economic and social institutions (such as landholding, inheritance, religion, community structure, and religious attitudes), demographic patterns served as the backbone of rich family and community analyses. For example, in his 1970 analysis of the demographic patterns and household and family structure in Andover, Massachusetts, from 1650 to 1800, Philip Greven reconstructed multilayered family patterns. By relating age at marriage and household structure to landholding and inheritance, he revealed the power relations between fathers and sons and the limits of the sons' autonomy within a complicated web of kinship networks.[22] The term "modified extended family," which Greven borrowed from sociologist Eugene Litwak, best described the realities of family life in Andover, where households were primarily restricted to members of the nuclear family and nonrelatives, but where a "complex web" of family connections reinforced by proximity of residence, often on the same land, permeated the community. The strength of Greven's book also lies in his comparison of the generations. By the third generation, Andover society had stabilized considerably. The major change occurred in the fourth, when a land shortage led to the dispersal of sons and to outmigration, which in turn weakened patriarchal ties by the end of the nineteenth century.[23]

Demos's study of colonial Plymouth, Massachusetts, also published in 1970, uses family reconstitution, the analysis of nominal census records, and a great variety of other sources, such as wills and court records, architectural evidence, and sources of material culture, to reconstruct family and community patterns. It reminds us that even though households were nuclear, they differed considerably from those of contemporary society. Families were larger then and included nonrelatives, such as servants, apprentices, and boarders and lodgers in the households. Families lived in smaller households with little chance to "differentiate between various forms of living space , individuals were more constantly together and their activities meshed and overlapped at many points." Age configurations were also considerably different. In some families, the oldest child in the household would be an adult while the youngest was still at the breast. Even though some disagreed with Demos's application of Eriksonian notions of developmental stages to the Puritans, his reconstruction of the stages of the life cycle is masterly in its own right. It provides a dynamic picture of individuals within families and households as they move from childhood to old age in relation to the prescriptions of their society.[24]

[21] Lutz K. Berkner, "The Use and Misuse of Census Data for the Historical Analysis of Family Structure," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 5 (1975): 721–38; Hans Medick, "The Proto-Industrial Family Economy: The Structural Function of Household and Family during the Transition from Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism," *Social History*, 1–2 (October 1976): 295; Robert Wheaton, "Family and Kinship in Western Europe: The Problem of the Joint Family Household," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 5 (1975): 601–28.

[22] Greven, *Four Generations*, chaps. 4, 6.

[23] Greven, *Four Generations*, chaps. 7, 8; Eugene Litwak, "Geographical Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (1960): 385–94.

[24] Demos, *Little Commonwealth*, 181, 69; John Demos, "Developmental Perspectives on the History of Childhood," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2 (1971): 123–29. For conditions other than in New England, see Lorena S. Walsh, "'Til Death Do Us Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds. (New York, 1979), 126–52; Russell Menard, "Growth of Population in

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WHILE THE EMPHASIS ON THE CONTINUITY of the nuclear household structure challenged the overly simplistic categories of modernization theory, it also sometimes obscured important historical differences between past and present family patterns. Nuclear households in the preindustrial period were considerably different in their membership and age configurations from contemporary ones. Within medieval nuclear households, for example, family behavior differed from that of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century families. Preindustrial households were larger because they included more children, as well as boarders, servants, apprentices, and other unrelated individuals; they also contained different age configurations because of later marriage, later child bearing, higher fertility, and lower life expectancy.[25]

A major critique of early studies of household structure was their reliance on "snapshots" in the census household schedules. On the basis of his reconstruction of peasant households in the villages of Heidenreichstein in northern Austria in 1763, Berkner provided evidence that household structure changed several times over the course of the family lives. For example, stem family patterns (involving a household composed of a married couple living with their retired parents) recurred several times, as the family moved through its cycle in relation to the household head's retirement and to death and inheritance. A son first lived in a nuclear household; after his marriage and his father's retirement, he lived in a stem family; after his father's death, he lived in a nuclear family; but he found himself later in life again in a stem family, when he co-resided with his married son following his own retirement. Such phases of the family cycle were often of short duration because they were terminated by the death of the head. In contrast to Laslett's emphasis on uniformity, articles by anthropologists Eugene Hammel and Jack Goody in *Household and Family in Past Time* (1972) emphasized the fluidity in the structure of domestic groups as "processes" in relation to agricultural production, migration, and the family cycle. Analyzing the Zadruga—the large co-resident kinship groups in Serbia—Hammel warned that "the Zadruga is not a thing but a process." The Zadruga formed and reconstituted itself under the impact of demographic processes and external constraints, dictated by agriculture. Similarly, Goody pointed to the confusion in Western scholarship between a "family" and a "dwelling group." He proposed instead the concept of the "domestic group" as the economic unit (meaning production and consumption). By documenting the changing configurations of domestic groups of the La Dagaba and the Lo Wiili in Ghana, he demonstrated the ways in which domestic groups change in their composition over their cycle and in relation to migration and agricultural production.[26]

the Chesapeake Colonies," *Explorations in Economic History*, 18 (1981): 399–410; Daniel Blake Smith, "The Study of the Family in Early America: Trends, Problems and Prospects," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 39 (1982): 3–28; Daniel Blake Smith, *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980); Robert W. Wells, *Revolutions in Americans' Lives: A Demographic Perspective on the History of Americans, Their Families and Their Society* (Westport, Conn., 1982); Lillian Schlissel, *Far from Home: Families of the Westward Journey* (New York, 1989).

[25] LeRoy Ladurie, *Montaillou*; Demos, *Little Commonwealth*, 67–69.

[26] Lutz K. Berkner, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth-Century Austrian Example," *AHR*, 77 (April 1972): 398–418; Berkner, "Use and Misuse of Census Data for the Historical Analysis of Family Structure," 721–38. See also Jack Goody, ed., *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups* (Cambridge, 1971); E. A. Hammel, "The Zadruga as Process," in *Household and Family in Past Time*, 371; Goody, "Evolution of the Family," 103–24; Mitterauer and Sieder, "Developmental Process of Domestic Groups." For Japan, see Robert Smith, "The Domestic

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Even though Laslett may have contributed inadvertently to a static view of the household, he nevertheless focused attention on the massive movement of individuals from one household to the next at certain points in their lives. In his analysis of Clayworth, Laslett found the presence of "life cycle" servants—young men and women in their teens—who lived and served in other people's households in the transitional period between leaving home and marrying. Servants did not always come from a lower class; in many cases, they were members of the same class, engaged in exchanges between households for educational purposes. Demos found a similar pattern in colonial Plymouth, where, significantly, the exchanges of young people as servants followed kinship lines.[27]

The case of the life cycle servants, as well as the presence of other unrelated individuals in the household, proves the remarkable flexibility of households in the past. Nuclear family members engaged in exchange relations with nonrelatives, servants, apprentices, boarders and lodgers, and, at times, with extended kin. Households expanded and contracted in accordance with the family's needs. In American urban households, John Modell and I found a high proportion of boarders and lodgers, whose presence and functions within the household paralleled those of the life cycle servants in an earlier period. Throughout the nineteenth century and the early part of this century, approximately one-half to one-third of all households had boarders and lodgers at some point; about the same percentage of individuals had lived as boarders and lodgers in other people's households in the transitional period between leaving home and getting married. Boarding and lodging provided young migrants to the city with surrogate family arrangements and the middle-aged or old couples who took them in with supplemental income and sociability. In younger families, the income from boarders contributed to the payment of a mortage and, in some cases, enabled the wife to stay out of the labor force. Boarding and lodging represented an exchange across families by which young people who had left their own parents' households temporarily replaced their counterparts in other households.[28]

The discovery of boarders and lodgers in nineteenth-century households and of the overall fluidity of household structure led us to search for a framework that would allow us to capture the movement of individuals through various household forms over their lives and the changes in the composition of the family and the household in relation to these movements, under various historical conditions. Initially, the family cycle approach proved satisfactory, for it helped explain changes in the composition of the family over its development. When applying the family cycle approach, historians discovered that household patterns which appeared constant at one point actually varied significantly over the life of the family

Cycle in Selected Commoner Families in Urban Japan: 1757–1858," *JFH*, 3 (1978): 219–35; Hareven, "Family as Process."

[27] Peter Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in *Historical Essays, 1600–1750, Presented to David Ogg, H. E. Bell, and R. L. Ollard* (London, 1963), 157–84; reprinted in Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*; also in Laslett, *World We Have Lost*; Demos, *Little Commonwealth*, 124–25.

[28] John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 35 (1973): 467–79. See also subsequent analyses of boarders in other communities that bear out our initial findings: Laurence A. Glasco, "The Life Cycles and Household Structure of American Ethnic Groups: Irish, Germans and Native-Born Whites in Buffalo, New York, 1885," in *Family and Kin in American Urban Communities*, Tamara K. Hareven, ed. (New York, 1977); Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); Tamara K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (New York, 1982).

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unit. Individuals living in nuclear households at one time in their lives were likely to live in households containing extended kin or nonrelatives at other times. The family cycle proved especially valuable for identifying those stages in the family's development when it was economically vulnerable and prone to poverty.[29] Quickly, however, the shortcomings of the family cycle approach became apparent. The stages of the family cycle were derived from contemporary American middle-class families, and they were not always appropriate for the study of families in the past. The *a priori* stages were based on the progression of the couple from marriage through parenthood, the launching of children, widowhood, and family dissolution. As sociologist Glen Elder explained, the family cycle identifies stages of parenthood rather than the more dynamic aspects of individual transitions into and out of various family roles.[30]

Dissatisfaction with the family cycle approach led me in 1976 to invite Elder, who had developed the life-course approach, to collaborate with a group of historians on its application to historical analysis. For this purpose, we selected the Federal Census Manuscript schedules for Essex County, Massachusetts. (We deliberately used a census, rather than a longitudinal data set, in order to examine the potential of life-course analysis for data restricted to one point in time.) In a series of intensive seminars during 1976 and 1977, project members analyzed the timing of individual household members' life-course transitions into and out of various household situations and in and out of various familial and work roles. Our analysis of the timing of life-course transitions from the census manuscript schedules included marriage, schooling, women's labor force participation, and later life transitions, all in relation to the family configurations of the individuals undergoing these transitions. We found a significant difference between the pacing of early life transitions and the later ones. Transitions into adult roles were more rapidly timed, while the later life transitions, such as launching children and retirement, were much more gradual and, in many cases, did not occur until the end of life. All transitions, even the ones related to labor force and schooling, were strongly integrated with the family, and collective family requirements and strategies governed their timing. The timing of leaving home and of marriage brought forth a recurring dilemma in generational relations in past time: how did individuals and couples cope with conflicting goals and allegiances to their families of orientation and families of procreation? How did they make their transitions from one family to the other in a regime of economic insecurity, without jeopardizing the independence and self-sufficiency of one or the other? Historical research on the timing of life transitions and on generational relations over the past decade and a half has begun to address these questions and has raised new ones.[31]

[29] On the family cycle, see Berkner, "Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household"; Martine Segalen, "The Family Cycle and Household Structure: Five Generations in a French Village," *JFH*, 2 (Fall 1977): 223–36. For European families, see Mitterauer and Sieder, "Developmental Process of Domestic Groups," 257–84. On the classic formulation of the family cycle in relation to poverty, see E. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London, 1901); Hareven, "Family as Process." On the formulation of the stage of the family cycle in sociology, see Evelyn Duval, *Family Development* (Philadelphia, 1957); Reuben Hill, "Methodological Issues in the Family Development Research," *Family Process*, 3 (1964): 186–204; Reuben Hill, *Family Development in Three Generations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); Reuben Hill and Roy H. Rodgers, "The Developmental Approach," in *Handbook of Marriage and the Family*, John Christensen, ed. (Chicago, 1964).

[30] For a critique of the family cycle, see Tamara K. Hareven, "Cycles, Courses, and Cohorts: Reflections on the Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Historical Study of Family Development," *Journal of Social History*, 12 (1978): 97–109; Elder, "Family History and the Life Course."

[31] The seminars were funded by the Mathematics Social Science Board of the National Science Foundation under the mentorship of Charles Tilly. The resulting analysis, accompanied by interdisci-

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The life-course approach has introduced a dynamic dimension into the historical study of the family, and it has moved analysis and interpretation from a simplistic examination of stages of the family cycle to an analysis of individuals' and families' timing of life transitions in relation to historical time.[32] The pace and definition of timing patterns are determined by their social and cultural context. On the familial level, timing involves the synchronization of individual life transitions with collective family ones. Because individual lives in the past were more integrated with familial goals, many decisions today considered "individual," such as starting work, leaving home, and getting married, were part of collective family timing strategies.[33]

Life-course research also illuminates the links between behavior and perception. While the actual timing of life transitions can be reconstructed from demographic records, its meaning to the individual and family members undergoing these transitions hinges on the examination of qualitative, subjective sources.[34] In his provocative book *Into One's Own* (1989), Modell examined twentieth-century changes in the timing of transitions to adulthood and found that these transitions have become increasingly well defined, more precisely timed, and more compressed in the time period it takes an age cohort to accomplish them. Using both demographic evidence and prescriptive literature, Modell found a major historical change from the erratic timing of life transitions governed by collective family

plinary essays on the life-course approach, was published in 1978 in Hareven, *Transitions*. The volume contains five articles by the historians, who collaborated in various configurations on the analysis of life transitions from the census manuscript schedules, and articles by Glen Elder on the life-course approach, Peter Uhenberg on demographic dimensions, Stanley Engerman on an economic perspective, and Robert LeVine on a cross-cultural anthropological perspective. On the timing of life-course transitions and generational relations in the later years of life, see Howard P. Chudacoff and Tamara K. Hareven, "Family Transitions and Household Structure in the Later Years of Life," in *Transitions*; Tamara K. Hareven and Howard Chudacoff, "From Empty Nest to Family Dissolution: Life Course Transitions into Old Age," *JFH*, 4 (Spring 1979): 69–83; Tamara K. Hareven, "Historical Changes in the Timing of Family Transitions: Their Relative Impact on Generational Relations," in *Aging: Stability and Change in the Family*, Robert W. Fogel, *et al.*, eds. (New York, 1981), 143–65; Daniel Scott Smith, "Life Course, Norms, and the Family System of Older Americans in 1900," *JFH*, 4 (1979): 285–98; Thomas A. Arcury, "Rural Elderly Household Life Course Transitions, 1900 and 1980 Compared," *JFH*, 11 (1986): 55–76. For the connection of later life transitions with inheritance in European peasant societies, see Andrejs Plakans, "Stepping Down in Former Times: A Comparative Assessment of Retirement in Traditional Europe," in *Age Structure in Comparative Perspective*, David I. Kertzer and K. Warner Schaie, eds. (Hillsdale, N.J., 1989), 175–97; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Stepping Down in Former Times: The View from Colonial and 19th-Century America," in *Age Structure in Comparative Perspective*, 215–26. For Japan, see Akira Hayami, "The Myth of Primogeniture and Impartible Inheritance in Tokugawa Japan," *JFH*, 8 (1983): 3–29; Laurel L. Cornell, "Retirement, Inheritance and Intergenerational Conflict in Preindustrial Japan," *JFH*, 8 (1983): 55–69.

[32] Tamara K. Hareven, "Introduction: The Historical Study of the Life Course," in *Transitions*, 1–16; the now-classic formulation of the life-course approach is in Glen Elder, *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience* (Chicago, 1974); see also Elder, "Family History and the Life Course," 17–64. On the life-course approach in relation to the sociology of aging and to cohort analysis, see Matilda White Riley, "Aging, Social Change and the Power of Ideas," *Daedalus*, 107 (1978): 39–52; Matilda White Riley, M. E. Johnson, and A. Foner, eds., *Aging and Society: A Sociology of Age Stratification* (New York, 1972); Norman Ryder, "The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change," *American Sociological Review*, 30 (1965): 843–61; Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time"; Tamara K. Hareven and Kanji Masaoka, "Turning Points and Transitions: Perceptions of the Life Course," *JFH*, 13 (1988): 271–89.

[33] Elder, "Family History and the Life Course"; Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time"; John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven, "Transitions: Patterns of Timing," in *Transitions*, 245–60.

[34] On the formulations of these concepts, see Bernice Neugarten and Gunhild Hagestad, "Age and the Life Course," in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, Robert Binstock and Ethel Shanas, eds. (New York, 1976); Robert A. LeVine, "Comparative Notes on the Life Course," in *Transitions*, 287–95; Hareven and Masaoka, "Turning Points and Transitions"; Howard P. Chudacoff, "The Life Course of Women: Age and Age Consciousness, 1865–1915," *JFH*, 5 (1980): 274–92.

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needs to more individualized timing in conformity with age norms.[35] He concluded that, over this century, the life course has become "individualized" (especially since World War II) to the point that a young couple's decision to marry is contingent on finding a suitable partner at a suitable age rather than the requirements and constraints imposed by their family of orientation. Such individualization of the timing of life transitions first occurred in the native-born middle class; the process and pace by which various ethnic groups adopted similar attitudes still requires investigation.[36]

A life-course perspective has made an important contribution to the study of kinship by directing attention to the changing configurations of kin with whom individuals travel together over their lives. Such configurations are formed and reformed; they change in their composition, their relationship to the individual and the nuclear family, and to each other over the life course.

DURING THE SECOND DECADE of the development of the field of family history, kinship ties outside the household received increasing attention. Studies now show that, rather than being isolated, nuclear households were embedded in kinship ties outside their confines. Members of the nuclear family were engaged in various forms of mutual assistance, collaboration, and rituals with extended kin. Even though aging parents did not reside in the same household with their married adult children, they lived in the vicinity, often on the same land.[37]

By applying network theory, Richard Smith effectively reconstructed kinship networks in a thirteenth-century Suffolk community. In his comparison of individuals' interaction with kin and neighbors, Smith found a strong embeddedness of nuclear households with nonresident kin. The intense interaction with kin led him to conclude that, on Redgrave Manor, "the bulk of the rural population . . . had a social structure that was for the most part familistically organized." The contacts he identified, however, were not among groups of kin but between individuals.[38] Suffolk may have had a higher concentration of kin because of partible inheritance. English villages in which impartible inheritance was practiced showed a lower concentration of kin, because the non-inheriting sons tended to migrate out. On the basis of these findings, Alan Macfarlane concluded that kinship ties in medieval English villages did not resemble the characteristic "clans" and lineages of peasant societies. He used this as proof of his much-disputed claim for the uniqueness of "English individualism." LeRoy Ladurie, however, found similar patterns of kin interaction in Montaillou. He found very little evidence subordinating the *domus* to a formal lineage. What was more important were the linkages between the *domus* and other kin, as well as non-kin. "The *domus* was thus the center of a whole network of links of varying importance: They included alliance through marriage, family relationships, friendship."[39]

[35] John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920–1975* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); John Modell, Frank Furstenberg, and Theodore Hershberg, "Social Change and Transition to Adulthood in Historical Perspective," *JFH*, 1 (1976): 7–32.

[36] Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time"; Modell, *Into One's Own.*

[37] Greven, *Four Generations*; Berkner, "Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household"; Richard Smith, "Some Issues Concerning Families and Their Property in Rural England 1250–1800," in Richard Smith, ed., *Land, Kinship and the Life Cycle* (Cambridge, 1979).

[38] Smith, quoted in Macfarlane, *Origins of English Individualism*, 139; R. Smith, "Kin and Neighbors in a Thirteenth-Century Suffolk Community," 219–56.

[39] Macfarlane, *Origins of English Individualism*; LeRoy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, 48–50.

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When trying to understand the kinship patterns in the villages discussed above, as well as in other communities in which kinship networks were not codified in clans and lineages, it is important to remember the fluidity of kinship networks over the life course and under the impact of migration. For example, a brother residing in a nuclear family becomes an extended kin member when he moves out. As Greven showed for Andover, it took more than two generations to form significant kin networks in the community, which then were disrupted again through migration in the fourth generation.[40]

For nineteenth and twentieth-century urban populations, Anderson and I, respectively, have documented the central role of family members and more distant kin in organizing migration from rural areas to industrial cities, in facilitating settlement in urban communities, and in helping migrants adapt to new working and living conditions. Most of the migration to industrial centers was carried out under the auspices of kin. Kinship networks in communities of origin were reinforced by the back-and-forth migration of individual members and the transfer of resources. Following "chain migration" routes, villagers who went to work in urban factories spearheaded migration for other relatives by locating housing and jobs. Those who remained in the communities of origin often took care of aging parents and other relatives who stayed behind.[41]

In my study of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century textile workers in Manchester, New Hampshire, I found that workers' kinship networks cushioned the adaptation of immigrant workers to new industrial working conditions. Kin acted as brokers between the workers and their industrial employers: they recruited new workers, placed them in work rooms where they could cluster together, initiated the young and the new immigrants into industrial discipline and the work process, taught them how to manipulate machinery, and provided protection inside the factory. At the same time, they socialized new workers to collective working-class behavior, teaching them how to resist speed-ups in production through the setting of quotas on piece work and through the slowdown of machinery. These findings about the role of kin refuted those who argued that

[40] Greven, *Four Generations*. Initially, the richest studies of kinship were based on peasant communities, in the preindustrial period and in the nineteenth century. See, for example, Andrejs Plakans, "Identifying Kinfolk beyond the Household," *JFH*, 2 (1977): 3–27; Andrejs Plakans, *Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life 1500–1900* (Oxford, 1984); Andrejs Plakans, "Ties of Kinship and Kinship Roles in an Historical Eastern European Peasant Community: A Synchronic Analysis," *JFH*, 7 (Spring 1982): 52–75; Bela Gunda, "The Ethno-Sociological Structure of the Hungarian Extended Family," *JFH*, 7 (Spring 1982): 40–51; Robert Netting, *Balancing on an Alp: Ecological Change and Continuity in a Swiss Mountain Village* (Cambridge, 1981); Martine Segalen, *Quinze generations de Bas-Bretons: Parenté et société dans la Pays Bigouden Sud 1720–1980* (Paris, 1985); Martine Segalen and Philippe Richard, "Marrying Kinsmen in Pays Bigouden Sud, Brittany," *JFH*, 11 (1986): 109–30; Jacques Dupaquier, "Naming Practices, Godparenthood, and Kinship in the Vexin, 1540–1900," *JFH*, 6 (1981): 135–55. Robert Wheaton's reconstruction of kinship networks in seventeenth-century Bordeaux provides an exemplary model of an analysis of urban kinship networks in the early modern period; see Robert Wheaton, "Affinity and Descent in Seventeenth-Century Bordeaux," in *Family and Sexuality in French History*; Robert Wheaton, "The Application of Network Theory to the Social Structure of Early Modern European Cities," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Bloomington, Indiana, November 19, 1982.

[41] Anderson documented the vital role of kinship ties in workers' migration from rural Lancashire and from southern Ireland to the industrial town of Preston; Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*; Tamara K. Hareven, "The Dynamics of Kin in an Industrial Community," in *Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family*, John Demos and S. S. Boocock, eds. (Chicago, 1978), 151–82; see also Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, 114–19; Charles Tilly and C. Harold Brown, "On Uprooting, Kinship and the Auspices of Migration," in *An Urban World*, Charles Tilly, ed. (Boston, 1974), 108–33; Harry K. Schwarzweller, James S. Brown, and J. J. Mangalam, *Mountain Families in Transition: A Case Study of Appalachian Migration* (University Park, Pa., 1971).

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migration to industrial centers eroded kinship networks. Rather than disrupting kinship ties, migration often strengthened them and led to the development of new functions for kin in response to changing economic and employment conditions.[42]

Kinship networks within the industrial community were most effective in mediating interactions with local institutions and in responding to immediate crises such as strikes and depressions. Their strength was in their accessibility and stability. But they also retained ties of mutual assistance with kin in the community of origin. The long-distance networks provided, in one direction, care to family members who remained behind and, in the other, back-up assistance from the communities of settlement, especially during crises. Thus kin networks in industrial communities retained both traditional functions as mediators between individual members of the nuclear family and public institutions and added new ones in response to the requirements of the industrial system.[43]

Research on kinship awaits further development in several directions. First, one needs to examine systematically the interaction between the nuclear family and kin outside the household. To explore this question, Andrejs Plakans applied Meyer Fortes's model of "structural domains," which is based on the assumption that an individual participates in several domains simultaneously and fulfills a different role in each. Sometimes these roles are complementary; at other times, they are in conflict. An individual can be engaged simultaneously in obligations to co-resident family members and to nonresident kin. How these roles have been negotiated and played out in various settings during different periods remains an important topic of research.[44] Second, the question of why families in the West drew their household boundary at co-residence with kin but included unrelated individuals in the household has not been answered.

Pursuing these questions requires careful attention to the term "kinship." Scholars must distinguish between perceptual categories and definitions of kinship developed within a given society and the analytical categories used by social scientists.[45] Reconstruction of kinship categories from within is extremely difficult, given the limitations of traditional historical sources, but essential. As Robin Fox put it, "No Australian Aborigine sat down and worked out a blueprint for the complicated systems of kinship and marriage for which he is justly famous; but his ability to conceptualize and classify was as much a factor in this successful development as the claws of the tiger or the neck of the giraffe were in the survival and success of these species."[46] Ideally, historians should juxtapose the actors' categories and definitions of kin with externally defined notions.

As in other areas of research in the history of the family, we need to find a comfortable equilibrium between quantitative analysis and "thick description." Too often, quantitative and qualitative methodologies have been presented as mutually exclusive. Analysis of kinship will be served best by merging the two. For example, while quantitative analysis identifies the composition or extensiveness of a kinship network, qualitative analysis reveals patterns of assistance or areas of conflict

[42] Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, 85–106; see also Philippe Garigue, "French-Canadian Kinship and Urban Life," *American Anthropologist*, 58 (December 1956): 1090–1101.
[43] Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, 101–19.
[44] Plakans, *Kinship in the Past*; Meyer Fortes, *Kinship and the Social Order* (London, 1969).
[45] Wheaton, "Observations on the Development of Kinship History, 1942–1985," 285–302.
[46] Robin Fox, *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective* (London, 1967), 31.

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among kin.[47] Finally, we need to understand how kin relations changed over time in relation to the "grand processes" of change.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE FAMILY'S INTERACTION with the process of social and economic change enables us to understand more precisely not only what occurred internally within the family but how such changes were accomplished on a societal level as well. It provides new insights into the process of industrialization and urbanization, into how labor markets functioned, and how industrial work processes and labor relations were organized. These are only several of many areas in which the role of the family is critical for an understanding of social change and, conversely, for our understanding of societal influences on the family. Recent historical research on the family has led to the rejection of simplistic models of social change. How the family both initiates and adapts to change and how it translates the impact of larger structural changes to its own sphere are questions governing the richest area of intersection between the family and the process of social change. Much of this interaction still awaits thorough examination.[48]

The important principle underlying these questions is a view of the family as an active agent. The family planned, initiated, or resisted change; it did not just respond blindly. Historical research over the past two decades has provided ample evidence to reject stereotypes about the family's passivity. We have therefore augmented questions such as "What was the impact of industrialization on the family?" to "What was the family's impact on the industrial system?"[49] Some of the studies that reversed the stereotype of the family as a "passive" agent have, in turn, generated new stereotypes that exaggerate the family's ability to control its environment. Since historical realities are better expressed in a process of interaction than in the reversal of unilateral processes, the question has been recast into a more complex form: under what circumstances was the family more able to control its destiny and to affect the larger social processes, and under what circumstances did the family succumb to declining markets, changing modes of production, business cycles, and other external forces? How did families interact with these processes and how did they react to opportunities or constraints? For example, how did they respond to technological developments and to new industries that were attracting a labor force? How did they save themselves from the decaying industries that had recruited them during their prime and that left them stranded when they were no longer needed?[50]

The family's interaction with the industrial system has received attention from two types of historical studies: a study of family production systems in artisanal and proto-industrial settings, and the study of family and work in the context of large

[47] Wheaton, "Observations on the Development of Kinship History, 1942–1985"; Tamara K. Hareven, "The Subjective Reconstruction of Past Lives," in *Family Time and Industrial Time*, 371–82. For thick description, see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973); Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus*, 106 (1977): 87–114; Martine Segalen, *Historical Anthropology of the Family*, J. C. Whitehouse and Sarah Mathews, trans. (Cambridge, 1986).

[48] Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time," 57–70.

[49] Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*. William Goode urged the reversal of the stereotype of the family as a passive agent to a view of the family as an active agent in the process of industrialization. He challenged historians to produce the evidence; Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns*, 1–18.

[50] Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*; Tamara K. Hareven and Randolph Langenbach, *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory City* (New York, 1978).

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industrial enterprises. Proto-industrialization was a household-based form of production that preceded the "industrial revolution" in the countryside and in some urban areas in England, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria, from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. It was characterized by the production of goods in local cottages for a capitalist employer who controlled the means of production and sold the products in external markets. When Rudolf Braun first "discovered" this process for Zurich, he emphasized its centrality as a household-based enterprise, which drew heavily on the labor of women and children and engaged the entire household unit. Braun and the historians who identified these patterns in other regions, especially Franklin Mendels, Hans Medick, and David Levine, developed a model of demographic behavior they claimed was typical of proto-industrial families—an earlier age at marriage, higher fertility, and delays in children's departure from the home, all of which were conducive to maximizing a family labor force.[51] Marriage formed the key to the spread of the cottage industry, because it led to the formation of a new nuclear family unit, which was also a "unit of labor." As Medick explained it, "Marriage and family formation slipped beyond the grasp of patriarchal domination; they were no longer 'tangibly' determined by property relationships, but they did not lose their 'material foundation' in the process of production." The prevalent pattern became that of "beggars'" marriages between partners without any considerable dowry or inheritance, between "people who can join together two spinning wheels but not beds."[52]

Recently, the demographic model of proto-industrialization has come under criticism. On the one hand, scholars have questioned whether the demographic changes had been sufficiently widespread to warrant generalizations. For example, in their comparison of two proto-industrial regions in Eastern Belgium, Myron Gutmann and René Leboutte concluded that high ages at marriage were sustained in some regions but not in others. Demographic behavior in response to new economic conditions "differed according to the environment (i.e., land ownership, social structure and inheritance), and the exact nature of the economic change which took place." Shifting the analysis from demographic behavior to the internal division of labor in proto-industrial households, Ulrich Pfister found considerable differences in the division of labor between men and women in relation to the type of manufacturing families engaged in various proto-industrial settings in Switzerland. Again, regional variation, interaction with the local agricultural structure, as well as the type of cottage industry (whether weaving or spinning), made a difference.[53]

[51] Rudolf Braun, "Early Industrialization and Demographic Change in the Canton of Zurich," in *Historical Studies of Changing Fertility*, Charles Tilly, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1974), 289–334; Rudolf Braun, *Industrialisierung und Volksleben: Die Veränderungen der Lebensformen in Einem Ländlichen Industriegebiet vor 1800* (Zurich, 1960); Franklin Mendels, "Proto-Industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrialization Process," *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972): 241–61. Mendels coined the term "proto-industrialization." Medick, "Proto-Industrial Family Economy"; David Levine, "Industrialization and the Proletarian Family in England," *Past and Present*, 6 (May 1985): 168–203; David Levine, *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism* (New York, 1977).

[52] Medick, "Proto-Industrial Family Economy," 303.

[53] Myron Gutmann and René Leboutte, "Rethinking Protoindustrialization and Family," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 14 (Winter 1984): 589; Michael Mitterauer, "Formen Ländlicher Wirtschaft: Historische Ökotypen und Familiale Arbeitsorganization im Östereichischen Raum," in *Familien Strucktur und Arbeitsorganization in Ländlichen Gesellschaften*, Michael Mitterauer and Josef Ehmer, eds. (Vienna, 1986), 187–323; Ulrich Pfister, "Work Roles and Family Structure in Proto-Industrial Zurich," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 20 (1989): 83–105; Josef Ehmer, *Familienstruktur und Arbeitsorganization im Frühindustrielen Wien* (Vienna, 1980). For a comparison with Japan, see Osamu Saito, "Population and the Peasant Family Economy in Proto-Industrial Japan," *JFH*, 8 (Spring 1983): 30–54. Saito concluded

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On the other hand, despite these critiques, the concept of proto-industrialization has helped focus attention on the diversity of types of family-based production, some of which preceded the "industrial revolution" and some of which coexisted with the factory system. As a transition, proto-industrial production prepared a family labor force for industrial work: in certain regions, women and children were first cast into the roles of "industrial" laborers at the cottage production phase. Members of proto-industrial households, who eventually entered factories, brought their skills with them and may therefore have faced an easier adaptation to industrial work. The family had a central role in charting the transitions to various modes of industrial production by following diverse routes: from a rural economy to a proto-industrial or industrial one, or from a rural economy directly to an industrial one. Families of traditional craftsmen or artisans, in their struggle to survive in a changing economy, sent some of their members to work in new industries, while maintaining a crafts production system in their own households. Rural families released members through migration to work in urban factories or took in machinery and transformed their own households into proto-industrial domestic factories. Proto-industrial families as well as those of factory workers provided housing, employment, and training for new migrants in their households. In all these cases, while following its own priorities, the family facilitated the advance of industrialization by releasing the labor force needed for the newly developing factories and by organizing migration to industrial centers.[54]

Like research on the family in the proto-industrial system, the study of the family in the factory system has provided considerable evidence documenting the family's role as an active agent in its interaction with the process of industrialization. Such research effectively undermined the theory of "social breakdown" that had haunted sociology and social history. According to this notion, throughout the history of industrial development, migration from rural to urban centers had led to the uprooting of people from their traditional kinship networks. The pressures of industrial work and urban life caused a disintegration of the family unit, and adaptation to industrial life stripped migrants of their traditional culture.[55]

Historians and sociologists alike have challenged the assumption that families and kin groups broke down under the impact of migration to urban industrial centers and under the pressures of industrial work. Neil Smelser, in his pioneer study of the family in the early stages of industrialization in Britain, documented

that proto-industrialization in Japan was not accompanied by demographic changes as in Western Europe.

[54] Smelser, *Social Change and the Industrial Revolution*; Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York, 1978); Sonya O. Rose, "Proto-Industry: Women's Work and the Household Economy in the Transition to Industrial Capitalism," *JFH*, 13 (1988): 181–93; Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, "Women's Work and Family in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17 (1975): 319–23; Jean H. Quataert, "Combining Agrarian and Industrial Livelihood: Rural Households in the Saxon Oberlausitz in the Nineteenth Century," *JFH*, 10 (Summer 1985): 145–62; Laura S. Struminger, "The Artisan Family: Traditions and Transition in Nineteenth-Century Lyon," *JFH*, 2 (Fall 1977): 211–22. On the division of labor in the family in a cottage industry in Japan, see Tamara K. Hareven, "Women's Work and Family Strategies in the Household Industry of Japanese Weavers: A Comparative Perspective," in *Women in the Labour Force: Comparative Studies on Labour Market and Organization of Work since the 18th Century*, Erik Aerts, *et al.*, eds. (Leuven, Belgium, 1990), 132–45.

[55] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963), 416; Talcott Parsons, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955), chap. 1; William F. Ogburn, *Technology and the Changing Family* (New York, 1955); Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July 1938): 1–24; William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1918–20). The theories of social breakdown were translated into the historical experience by Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1951).

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the recruitment of entire family groups as work units in the early textile factories. Fathers contracted for their children, collected their wages, and at times, disciplined them in the factory. Entire families depended on the factory as their employer; the factories, in turn, depended on the recruitment of family groups to maintain a continuous labor supply. Beginning in the 1820s, however, as a result of factory legislation and technological change, economic and training functions were gradually removed from the workers' families. Child workers were separated from the supervision of their parents. Smelser connected the increasing labor unrest, expressed in numerous strikes from 1820 on, to the workers' loss of control over their family members' work in the factory, which led to the break of the "link between parent and child on the factory premises." He viewed this process as the culmination of the differentiation of the working-class family, one "involving a clearer split between home and factory, a split between the economic and other aspects of the parent-child relationship."[56]

Michael Anderson disagreed with Smelser in his analysis of family work patterns in nineteenth-century Lancashire. He documented a continuity of recruitment in family units in the textile industry, at least through the middle of the nineteenth century. Most important, Anderson stressed the survival of kinship ties and the continuity of the vital role of kin in migration and in adaptation to industrial life. Thus the practice of family members working together in the factory, which Smelser identified for the early phase of industrialization, survived in different forms in Lancashire throughout the nineteenth century. It was carried over into the United States, as the factory system developed there, and was still present among immigrant workers in the twentieth century. Rural as well as urban families functioned as crucial intermediaries in recruiting workers from the countryside in the early phases of industrialization. The very success of the early industrial system depended on a continuous flow of labor from the countryside to the newly industrializing centers, which usually followed kinship lines.[57]

My study of family and work in the Amoskeag Mills in Manchester, New Hampshire, has documented the role of the family as an active agent in relation to the industrial corporation. The family type most "fit" to interact with the factory system was not an "isolated" nuclear family but rather one embedded in extended kinship ties. In cushioning the adaptation to industrial work without excessively restricting the mobility of individual workers, kin were instrumental in serving the industrial employer and, at the same time, in advancing the interest of their own members and providing them with protection.[58] The active stance that the family took in relation to the factory system does not imply that the family was in full control of its destiny, nor does it mean that workers and their families were successful in changing the structure of industrial capitalism. Workers' ability to influence their work environments greatly depended on the fluctuations within the factory system, on business cycles, and on production policies. In Manchester, control of kin over the factory weakened after World War I, as the corporation shifted to a regime of labor surplus. As Smelser and Sydney Halpern observed, it

[56] Smelser, *Social Change and the Industrial Revolution*; Neil Smelser, "Sociological History: The Industrial Revolution and the British Working Class Family," in Neil Smelser, ed., *Essays in Sociological Explanation* (New York, 1968), 34.

[57] Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*; Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, 3–4, 85–100.

[58] Hareven and Langenbach, *Amoskeag*; Hareven, "Dynamics of Kin in an Industrial Community"; Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, chap. 5.

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has not been the steady or continued growth of industrial capitalism so much as its crises that have put strains on modern kinship networks.[59]

The functions that kin fulfilled in their interaction with the factory system were not merely an archaic carry-over from rural society but a selective use of pre-migration kin assistance patterns in response to the needs dictated by industrial conditions. Among working-class and ethnic families, some preindustrial family characteristics persisted, though in modified form. Even after the workplace had been separated from the household, the family continued to perceive itself as a work unit. Family members experienced a continuity between work outside the home and household production, especially where women were involved. Similarly, the survival of important functions of kin in the workplace suggests that the historical separation of family and work had not occurred throughout the society.

The encounter of immigrant workers with the modern factory system led neither to the abandonment of nor the rigid adherence to pre-migration family traditions. Rather, the workers adapted their customs and social organization to the new conditions they confronted. In doing so, they addressed the factory system on its own terms. Selectivity was the key principle in their adaptation. The family selected those aspects of traditional culture that were most useful in coping with new conditions and adapted them to new needs.[60]

The patterns of selectivity in the transmission of pre-migration and family culture to the industrial system described here call into question the linear view of social change advanced by modernization theory. Modernization at the workplace did not automatically lead to the "modernization" of family behavior. Although the family underwent significant changes in its adaptation to new work roles and urban living, family behavior did not modernize at the same pace as workers' conduct in the factory. The family was both a custodian of tradition and an agent of change. As a guardian of traditional culture, the family provided its members with a sense of continuity, which served as a resource to draw on when confronting industrial conditions. Familial and industrial adaptation processes were not merely parallel but interrelated as a part of a personal and historical continuum.[61]

TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE FAMILY'S ROLE in these processes, it is necessary to examine how families charted their strategies in relation to external opportunities and constraints. Family strategies involved not only the decisions individuals or families made but also the actual timing of such decisions in response to opportunities or need: when to send a son or daughter to another community, for example, when to join other kin, when to change residence. Strategies involved, at times, calculated trade-offs in order to find employment, achieve solvency, buy a house, facilitate children's education or their occupational advancement, control or

[59] Neil J. Smelser and Sydney Halpern, "The Historical Triangulation of Family, Economy, and Education," in *Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family*, Supplement, *American Journal of Sociology*, 84 (1984): S288–S315.

[60] Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, 116–19; on the continuity between household economy and factory work, see chap. 8. See also Scott and Tilly, "Women's Work and Family in Nineteenth-Century Europe," 319–23. On pre-migration cultural values and the family, see Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, "A Flexible Tradition: South Italian Immigrants Confront a New Work Experience," *Journal of Social History*, 7 (Summer 1974): 429–45.

[61] Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, 363–70; on the concept of modernization in relation to the factory, see Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, *Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries* (Cambridge, 1974).

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facilitate a child's marriage, save for the future, provide for times of illness, old age, and death. Strategies were part of a larger life plan. As people encountered new circumstances, they modified and reshaped their plans and strategies in the context of their own culture and traditions. As W. I. Thomas remarked, "A family's behavior is influenced by what it brings to new situations, the demands and options or constraints of the situation, and situational interpretations . . . The family is both the product and the producer of its career."[62]

Since very few ordinary people left behind diaries and correspondence, it has often been necessary to infer strategies from behavioral patterns. For instance, Daniel Scott Smith has inferred women's strategies of family limitation in early nineteenth-century New England from the gender of the last-born child and strategies of parental control over the timing of marriage through an analysis of marriage records and wills in the same period. Other historians have inferred strategies of children's and women's participation in the labor force from the census manuscript household schedules of the late nineteenth century.[63]

Historians' recent discovery of family strategies in relation to the abandonment of infants has led to a revision of prevailing interpretations. While earlier scholars viewed this practice in Italy primarily as a form of family limitation, recent work has interpreted it as part of a family strategy. Studies by Volker Hunecke and David Kertzer, respectively, have brought to light new evidence supporting the claim that the parents (usually mothers) who abandoned their children to foundling homes followed a family strategy for temporarily relieving economic pressure on the family. Mothers attached identification marks to the infant (such as half a coin), hoping to retrieve these children and bring them back to the parental home. Even though those hopes were rarely fulfilled, the intent is revealing in itself.[64]

More recently, historical research has begun to reconstruct consciously articulated strategies from ethnographies, autobiographies, oral history interviews, and other types of verbal testimony. Through these means, historians have uncovered conscious strategies underlying inheritance contracts in rural society, in which sons agreed to support aging parents in exchange for inheriting property, or in the planning of marriages intended to serve the preservation or consolidation of family estates or lineages. Family work strategies in response to the industrial system, as

[62] W. I. Thomas, quoted in *Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research*, E. H. Volkart, ed. (New York, 1951), 93.

[63] Daniel Scott Smith, "Child-Naming Practices, Kinship Ties, and Change on Family Attitudes in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1641–1880," *Journal of Social History*, 18 (1985): 541–66; Daniel Scott Smith, "Parental Power and Marriage Patterns: An Analysis of Historical Trends in Hingham, Massachusetts," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 35 (1973): 419–28; Claudia Goldin, "Family Strategies and the Family Economy in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Role of Secondary Workers," in *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century*, Theodore Hershberg, ed. (New York, 1981), 277–310; Michael Haines, "Poverty, Economic Stress, and the Family in a Late Nineteenth-Century American City: Whites in Philadelphia," in *Philadelphia*; Michael Haines, "Industrial Work and the Family Cycle, 1889–1890," in *Research in Economic History*, Vol. 4, P. Uselding, ed. (Greenich, 1981); Karen Mason, Maris Vinovskis, and Tamara K. Hareven, "Women's Work and the Life Course in Historical Perspective," in *Transitions*, 183–216.

[64] Volker Hunecke, *I trovatelli di Milano: Bambini esposti e famiglie espositrici dal xvii al XIX secolo* (Bologna, 1988); for the earlier point of view, see Carlo Corsini, "Materiali per lo studio della famiglia in Toscana nei secoli XVII–XIX: Gli esposiiti," *Quaderni storici*, 33 (1976): 998–1052; Carlo Corsini, "Self-regulating Mechanisms of Traditional Populations before the Demographic Revolution: European Civilizations," *International Population Conference*, 3 (1977): 5–23. In Russia, the situation was far more complex; see David L. Ransel's comprehensive analysis, *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); Kertzer and Brettell, "Advances in Italian and Iberian Family History," 87–120.

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discussed above, and the use of kin to organize and support migration to industrial communities have also emerged as significant areas of family strategies.[65]

The most important contribution of recent research has been to emphasize the significance of cultural values both of the dominant culture and of the family's own culture in guiding family strategies. In contrast to economists, historians are much more inclined to examine the interrelationship between economic and cultural variables in the strategies families follow. As Stanley Engerman observed, "Family decision making has peculiar aspects of jointness, since it affects, and is meant to affect, the entire family group. The family is, in essence, a group of individuals of varying ages with rather unequal decision-making power, and with a bond of 'love' and 'altruism' not generally thought to be found in other groups in our society."[66]

Strategies were not guided exclusively by economic needs but rather by the interaction of economic and cultural factors. In issues such as children's or wives' labor, or in expenditure patterns, even economically marginal families did not always make the most "prudent" choices from a strictly economic point of view if such choices were inconsistent with their family history and their own cultural values.[67] Labor-force participation by married women and children, for example, posed a critical dilemma for working-class families. The participation of women and children in a collective family effort was sanctioned by the cultural values that immigrant workers brought with them to the United States from their pre-migration communities. Even under conditions of economic marginality, the strategies of immigrant families were guided by their cultural values, which were sometimes in conflict with middle-class values in the dominant culture.[68]

As in labor-force participation, family consumption patterns reflect strategies based on the interaction between the family's cultural values and economic opportunities. By comparing expenditure patterns in the family budgets of Irish and native-born workers, Modell found that by the end of the nineteenth century, Irish workers had developed essentially the same consumption patterns as had Yankee working-class families, although the income of Irish working fathers still constituted only 85 percent of the income of native-born working fathers.[69] Conversely, new consumption patterns can lead to changes in values. This aspect, however, is still open to exploration.

In these beginning stages of the historical study of family strategies, the process of decision making within the family has not yet been sufficiently examined. The emphasis on the family as charting its own strategies raises the question, whose strategies were family strategies? To what extent and in what ways did various family members participate in the collective decisions impinging on their lives? Feminist scholars in particular have directed attention to the fact that an emphasis

[65] David Gaunt, "Rural Household Organization and Inheritance in Northern Europe," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 121–42; Martine Segalen, "Life-Course Patterns and Peasant Culture in France: A Critical Assessment," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 213–24; Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*; Louise A. Tilly, "The Family Wage Economy of French Textile City: Roubaix, 1872–1906," *JFH*, 4 (1979): 381–94; Hareven and Langenbach, *Amoskeag*; Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*.

[66] Stanley Engerman, "Economic Perspectives on the Life Course," in *Transitions*, 275; Gary Becker, *A Treatise on the Family* (Cambridge, 1981).

[67] Modell and Hareven, "Transitions: Patterns of Timing," 245–60; Tamara K. Hareven and John Modell, "Family Patterns," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephan Thernstrom, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 345–54; Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*.

[68] Hareven and Modell, "Family Patterns"; Yans-McLaughlin, "Flexible Tradition"; Scott and Tilly, "Women's Work and Family in Nineteenth-Century Europe," 319–23.

[69] John Modell, "Patterns of Consumption, Acculturation, and Family Income Strategies in Late Nineteenth-Century America," in *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*, Tamara K. Hareven and Maris Vinovskis, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1978), 206–44.

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on the family as a collective entity might tend to obscure the respective roles of individual members in the decision-making process. The limited availability of historical sources containing conscious articulations of strategies has made it difficult to differentiate the respective roles and positions of various members in the charting of collective strategies. The use of oral history, however, has enabled us to reconstruct some of the internal dynamics of the family's collective decision-making process. Family collectivity did not necessarily imply mutual deliberation or "democratic" participation in the process. It is possible that major decisions were imposed by the male head of the family on other members, although there is significant evidence that consultation and bargaining took place between husbands and wives and occasionally between parents and children.[70]

Within nineteenth-century "patriarchal" family systems, husbands may have officially held a dominant role in charting strategies pertaining to migration and family members' work careers, while wives made major decisions in areas more directly related to their responsibilities. For example, strategies of family limitation were commonly left to the initiative of women, especially at a time when such matters were not discussed openly. Wives also had a major role in deciding whether and when their children, especially their daughters, should go to work. As evidenced in the case of proto-industrial families, wives gained a greater role in family decision making because of their central place in household production.[71]

Although men were considered to be the main breadwinners and were, therefore, expected to make the major economic decisions for the family, women were much closer to the routine management of household resources. Women made the daily decisions regarding the family budget, the allocation of household space, and family consumption. Since the responsibility of feeding and clothing family members was primarily theirs, women were more sensitive to shortages in food and supplies, and they pursued independent strategies to fulfill these basic needs. Strategies governing the care of relatives during critical life situations—childbirth, illness, infirmity, or death—were also primarily in the domain of women. Because women usually had nurturing responsibilities in all these areas, they had the main initiative in managing exchanges with kin. Thus women became the "kin keepers," who maintained ties with kin over the life course and who held kinship networks together across geographic distances.[72]

The extent to which children had an active role in family decision making has yet to be explored. The decision to send a child into the labor force was primarily, if not entirely, a parental one. Collective family values dictated that children follow their parents' decisions; however, the very dependency of the family on the earnings of children gave the latter considerable maneuverability in implementing these decisions. Under certain circumstances, children working and living at home had less latitude or bargaining power with their parents than children who left home to work in other communities. John Gillis found, for example, that mothers in proto-industrial households pressured their children to postpone marriage in order to retain them as workers in the family's collective enterprise. Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, countering Edward Shorter's claim that young women workers in urban areas became "liberated" from obligations to their families of origin,

[70] Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*; Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*; see also Tilly and Cohen, "Does the Family Have a History?"

[71] Medick, "Proto-Industrial Family Economy."

[72] Hareven and Langenbach, *Amoskeag*, see especially "La Casse Family," 253–74; Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time*, 105–07.

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emphasized the strong continuity of familial obligations for daughters, even for those who had left their rural homes to work in urban areas. Anderson has pointed out, however, that to continue to maintain control over faraway children and keep them more closely tied to the collective family economy, parents had to exercise greater flexibility in bargaining and tolerating these children's preferences, to the extent that they differed from their own.[73]

THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL RESEARCH EFFORT in family history has produced impressive results and identified new lines of investigation. At a 1986 conference convened to assess the state of research in family history, two interrelated future directions emerged: one is to pursue established topics that have not received sufficient attention, including the family's relationship to social space and a more systematic study of the family in relation to religion, the state, and the legal system. Further expansion is also needed in the study of kinship, particularly as it relates to friendship, family transitions over the life course, generational relations, especially in the later years of life, and family strategies, especially where the family's interaction with other institutions is concerned. Today, we can expand the list by adding the need for more systematic studies of the "edges" of family life, such as solitary individuals, orphans and foundlings, and the process of family breakdown through divorce or death. Further research is needed on the relationship of the family to foodways as well. A second direction is the forging of more systematic exchanges between interrelated family patterns and processes: these include a closer linkage of demographic patterns with household structure and internal family dynamics; a closer integration of the study of the household with nonresident kin, and a more careful linkage of kinship and household patterns with various processes such as work and migration. Another significant area to pursue is the linkage of demographic and structural family patterns with cultural dimensions and rituals.[74]

In addition to this specific agenda, the larger questions of historical changes in the family over time still need to be explored systematically in several directions. First, if industrialization did not bring about the emergence of "modern" family behavior in Western Europe and the United States, what did cause it? One plausible explanation that has been advanced is the commercial revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This does not explain, however, the existence of nuclear household patterns in the Middle Ages.

Second, what were the most significant changes in the family over time? The most ambitious and comprehensive interpretation of change in the family was advanced and documented by Lawrence Stone in *Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (1977). Stone developed a typology of change in the English family over this three-hundred-year period. He identified the major historical transition as one from an "open lineage" family in the seventeenth century to a companionate

[73] John Gillis, "Proletarian Marriage in England," in *Proletarianization and Family History*, David Levine, ed. (Orlando, Fla., 1989); Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*; Edward Shorter, "Illegitimacy, Sexual Revolution, and Social Change in Modern Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2 (1971): 237–72; Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*.

[74] The Clark University conference on "The Family in Historical Perspective: An Assessment of Twenty Years of Scholarship in a New Field." For the agenda, see Hareven, "Family History at the Crossroads," *JFH*, 12, no. 1–3 (1987): xx–xxi. The conference essays were published in this special triple issue.

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nuclear family in the eighteenth. By a "nuclear" family, he meant not merely a unit of cohabitation but a social and psychological unit based on emotional bonding and affective relations. According to Stone, the emergence of the "nuclear" family was related to the transfer of loyalty from extended kin to the private family and the nation-state. Advancing a multicausal explanation, Stone cited three concurrent and interrelated changes: the decline of kinship as the main organizing principle in society and the rise of the modern state, with its takeover of some of the economic and social functions previously carried out by the family or the kin group; the subordination of kin loyalties to the higher obligations of patriotism and obedience to the sovereign; and the missionary success of Protestantism. Stone's explanation is limited, however, by his heavy reliance on source materials describing upper-class families and by the linearity of the process he sketched.[75]

While Stone, like Ariès, has dated the emergence of the modern family in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Shorter placed it in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth. Carl Degler dated the emergence of the American modern family in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries as well. Following in Ariès's footsteps, Stone, Shorter, and Degler have focused on the rise of affective individualism as the major criterion of "modern" family life. They generally agreed that the modern family is privatized, nuclear, domestic, and based on the emotional bonding between husband and wife and between parents and children. The correlates of its emergence were the weakening influence of extended kin, friends, and neighbors on family ties and an isolation of the family from interaction with the community. While there has been general agreement among these scholars on these characteristics, there is some disagreement and, at times, lack of clarity about which class initiated these changes. Ariès, Stone, and, more implicitly, Degler viewed the bourgeoisie and the gentry as the vanguard, while Shorter has assigned a crucial role to peasants and workers. Degler placed the origins of the "modern" family in the middle class, although he generalized from the experience of that class to the entire society. Not only is there a lack of consensus over the relative importance of ideological or socioeconomic causes in long-term changes in the family but also a greater need to know how the changes took place and what the nature of interaction among these different factors was. The "grand" explanations of change are vulnerable, particularly in some of these studies' claims for linear change over time.[76]

Related to the emergence of the family as a private, intimate entity is the widely accepted interpretation that this transformation was based on the family's surrender of earlier functions. As Demos put it, "broadly speaking, the history of the family has been a history of contraction and withdrawal; its central theme is the gradual surrender to other institutions of functions that once lay very much within the realm of family responsibility."[77]

It is still an open question whether the loss of various functions had an impact on the quality of family relationships. The family's surrender of its functions of production, welfare, education, and social control to other institutions and its withdrawal into privacy has become one of the standard clichés of family history and sociology. But the meaning of this generalization has not been fully explored.

[75] Stone, *Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500–1800*. Lawrence Stone, "The Rise of the Nuclear Family in Early Modern England: The Patriarchal Stage," in *The Family in History*, Charles E. Rosenberg, ed. (Philadelphia, 1975), 13.

[76] Stone, *Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500–1800*; Shorter, *Making of the Modern Family*; Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York, 1980).

[77] Demos, *Little Commonwealth*, 103. Like Stone, Demos echoed Ariès's point of view.

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Did the functions left to the modern family retain the character they had exhibited in the past? To answer this question, we need to understand the process by which these functions were transferred to other institutions. The process has not been documented, however. A systematic exploration of the family's relationship to public agencies and institutions will help historians escape the trap of viewing the family as an isolated institution, completely divested of its earlier public functions. It will reveal areas where even middle-class families ensconced in domesticity retained some of their previous functions and added some new ones. Child rearing is a case in point. The family was already responsible for child rearing prior to its becoming a specialized domestic unit. Following the transfer of its various functions to other agencies, the family's patterns of child rearing changed. The family became child-centered, and motherhood emerged as a full-time career.[78] Another such example is the family's role in health care. Even though hospitals assumed the major health-care functions once held by the family, the family continued to care for its own members during illnesses that did not justify hospitalization or when such services were not available.

We also need to examine the family's relationship to the institutions of education, welfare, and social control after its functions were transferred to these institutions. Historical studies of the family have generated several models governing this interaction. The first model, articulated by Demos, emphasizes the family's integration with the community. In preindustrial society, the family interacted closely with the community and authorities in the areas of education and welfare. The family served the community by maintaining social order, and, conversely, the community regulated family comportment. The family provided simultaneously for its members and the community in a variety of ways: it was a workplace, an educational institution, a house of correction, a welfare institution, and a church.[79]

The second model plots the emergence of the private, domestic family that specializes in child rearing after the functions of welfare and social control have been transferred to other institutions. According to Jacques Donzelot, middle-class families enjoyed considerable privacy from public institutions, but working-class families, particularly families of the poor, were subject to control and "policing" by the state and various agencies of social control. Eventually, middle-class families became an instrument of the state for controlling and manipulating lower-class families.[80]

The third model, advanced by Christopher Lasch, expands the concept of social control of the family to all classes but uses evidence primarily from the middle-class family. After the family had transferred all its functions to external agencies, it became a "haven in a heartless world." Rather than being left alone in its retreat, the family was subjected to interference and control by government, social workers, efficiency experts, and even social scientists. "Most of the writing on the modern family takes for granted the 'isolation' of the nuclear family . . . It assumes that this isolation makes the family impervious to outside influences. In reality, the modern world intrudes at every point and obliterates its privacy. The sanctity of the home

[78] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (1966): 151–74; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida Country, New York, 1790–1865* (New York, 1981); Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, Conn., 1977).

[79] Demos, *Little Commonwealth*, 181–83.

[80] Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York, 1986); Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1979).

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is a sham in a world dominated by giant corporations and by the apparatus of mass promotion."[81]

The models of "policing" the family proposed by Donzelot and Lasch share a view of the family as a passive entity vis-à-vis public agencies and the state. But, as historians of the 1990s return to an interest in the state and in public policy as subjects of inquiry, it would be fruitful to reexamine the family's relationship to public agencies and bureaucracies as a dynamic process of interaction. There are many other examples of the family's interaction with powerful institutions: David Herlihy documented the "emergence of the couple" in the Middle Ages as a result of a "fit" between the strategies of the Catholic church and those of families: in order to consolidate property and maintain it within the family, families cooperated with the church and accepted laws of monogamy and prohibitions of incest.[82]

In nineteenth-century American society, Maris Vinovskis documented the family's uneasy relationship with the school during the transfer of educational functions to the state. Although "parents during the nineteenth century increasingly turned their children over to the schools . . . [and therefore] sometimes . . . had to accept educational and disciplinary practices which they did not favor," they were able to exercise influences over the school "since school teachers and administrators in most communities still were not sufficiently powerful simply to ignore the demands of parents."[83]

Even if the family could not be an equal partner, it was by no means a "passive" agent. For example, Linda Gordon found that, even under the worst cases of powerlessness, victims of child abuse and family violence struggled against their caretaking agencies and their abusers to retain control: "even in the worst times, there were many family violence victims attempting to become the heroes of their own lives . . . Using the powers of the weak . . . attempting to replace with creativity and stubbornness what they lack in resources, they manipulated every device at their disposal to free themselves from abuse."[84] A dramatic example of the family's resilience and resistance is its interaction with the most oppressive of all institutions—slavery. In this area, the lasting contribution of Herbert Gutman's work has been to document the vitality of family and kinship ties among slaves and their survival despite the breakup of families by the masters.[85]

Most recent historical studies have emphasized an integrated view of the family both as a private entity and an object of the state. *The History of Private Life*, a multivolume series under the general editorship of Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, deserves particular comment. The fourth volume, *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, edited by Michelle Perrot, presents the experiential history of the family in its diverse forms. The authors view the family's private life, its domestic life and sexuality, as inseparable from the state: "The history of private life is more than anecdotal," wrote Perrot in her introduction, "It is the political history of everyday life." Establishing an equilibrium between public and private was a delicate matter: "The nineteenth century made a desperate effort to stabilize the boundary between public and private by mooring it to the family, with the father

[81] Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (New York, 1977), xvii.
[82] David Herlihy, "The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 3–18.
[83] Maris A. Vinovskis, "Family and Schooling in Colonial and Nineteenth-Century America," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 19–38.
[84] Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880–1960* (New York, 1988).
[85] Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York, 1976).

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as sovereign: but just when things seemed firmly in place, they began to slip and slide."[86]

A natural extension of the earlier explorations by French scholars, Perrot's volume does not merely use *mentalité* as an explanatory variable but treats it as a subject of investigation in its own right. The study goes beyond the earlier works on roles and attitudes within the family's domestic abode and reaches not only into the family's private life and activities but also into the realm of emotions. Inspired by the "new cultural history" and anthropology, this exploration of the internal dynamics of family life exploits an imaginative array of sources, including art, in its effort to reconstruct family rituals and relationships. What makes this ambitious approach particularly valuable is the authors' linking of patterns derived from cultural and literary sources and personal documents with demographic patterns.

It is important to note that privacy in the nineteenth century as documented in this volume does not connote individual privacy. Rather, the authors emphasize the privacy of the family as a collective entity. Ariès's original message runs through the entire script: the family enshrined itself in the privacy of the home and supported its domestic existence with various material props, myths, and rituals. The negative consequences of this process were predictable: the private family isolated its individual members from sociability and diversity of role models and exercised excessive control over them. This powerful control by the family over the individual led eventually to the "cries and whispers"—to rebellion and suffering, as expressed in emotional dysfunction, breakdown, impotence, neurasthenia, and psychosomatic diseases in individuals who felt trapped by the family and confused about their social identity. The next historical step was the emancipation of the individual from the oppression of the conformity-seeking private family.[87]

Perrot's and her contributors' emphasis on the family as the creator of its own lifestyle, history, and identity, even of its own documents (letters, for example), emerges as a significant theme in this study—one that historians have not sufficiently addressed. Perrot's characterization of the family contributes to a research agenda: "The family describes itself, thinks of itself and represents itself as a unified entity maintained by a constant flow of blood, money, sentiments, secrets, and memories."[88] The family as the creator of its own documents and memories is also emphasized by Christiane Klapish-Zuber. Through her analysis of the *Ricordanze* (individual autobiographies and memoirs) in Renaissance Florence, she discussed the creation of family histories and genealogies as part of the family's effort to reaffirm its lineage for its descendants and to establish its "name." Both Klapish-Zuber and Perrot focused on the significance of property, real and symbolic, as a source of the family's power identity and future legacy as well as conflict and competition among family members.[89]

It is important to link the new dimensions of the family's private and inner life that emanate from the "new cultural history" with the demographic patterns of household structure and kinship and economic activity reconstructed over the past two decades and a half. One would then be able to interpret the family's inner life in the past in a rich social-structural context.

As further research continues to emerge, it becomes necessary to develop a

[86] Michelle Perrot, ed., *A History of Private Life*, Vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans., Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, gen. eds. (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 669.

[87] Perrot, *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, 453, 615–49.

[88] Perrot, *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, 131.

[89] Christiane Klapish-Zuber, *Le Maison et le nom: Strategies et rituels dans l'Italie de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1990).

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comprehensive model of change in family behavior that does justice to its complexity. The main dissatisfaction with the studies of change over time that have emerged in the 1970s has been their linearity and their generalizations for the entire society based on the experience of one class, usually the middle class. The most important dimension still absent from studies of long-term changes in the family involves more systematic distinctions in family patterns and processes of change among different social classes. We need a more detailed understanding of the historical process by which other classes adopted middle-class family behavior, if, indeed, that was the case; and of what class differences have survived such a process. How did patterns of family behavior that first emerged in the middle class transfer to other classes in society and by what processes? If one rejects simplistic models of a "trickle down" theory, how did other social classes make their transition from a collective family economy enmeshed in a multiplicity of functions in the household to a domestic, child-centered, private family?

Equally important, at the end of that process, had rural and working-class families really adopted middle-class family forms, or did differences persist underneath apparent similarities? The intense focus on family history in Western Europe and in the United States has left similar questions about Eastern Europe and other parts of the world unanswered. A cursory comparison of changes in the family in the United States and Japan, for instance, suggests how profoundly different internal family relations are in the two societies, even though on the surface the Japanese family seems to be heading in the direction of the American Family.[90]

The question about when and how change takes place needs to be asked again. Various strands of change in family history still need to be traced individually, to the point of their culmination as visible transformations. The process is rendered more difficult by the fact that not all the strands undergo change at the same pace. Since the family is not a monolith, different members within it may initiate change or accept change at different points. For example, women were agents of change in certain aspects of family life, such as the introduction of family limitations, while men were innovators in others. Even children were innovators in certain areas.[91] They may have brought literacy into the family, new perceptions of behavior they learned in school, or new work habits and new technologies. Thus, when we examine the family's role in the process of social change, we need to differentiate among the respective roles of members within the family in interacting with these processes. This is an important task for future decades.

When the historical study of the family first emerged, it drew its vitality and motivation from the need to link discrete family patterns to the community and to the larger processes of social change. That original impetus was shared by the pioneer generation of family historians, and it endowed the historical study of the family with its initial depth and energy. Doing justice to this goal and achieving the proper equilibrium between the reconstruction of time-specific family patterns and their linkage to larger social processes continues to be a major challenge.

[90] On changes in the Japanese family, see Kiyomi Morioka, "A Japanese Perspective on the Life Course: Emerging and Diminishing Patterns," *JFH*, 12 (1987): 243–62; Hareven and Masaoka, "Turning Points and Transitions," 271–89; Fumie Kumagai, "Changing Divorce in Japan," *JFH*, 8 (Spring 1983): 85–108. On pre-war changes, see Robert J. Smith, "Making Village Women into 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers' in Prewar Japan," *JFH*, 8 (Spring 1983): 70–84; Dennis P. Hogan and Takashi Mochizuki, "Demographic Transitions and the Life Course: Lessons from Japanese and American Comparisons," *JFH*, 13 (1988): 291–306.

[91] Tamara K. Hareven, "Modernization and Family History: Perspectives on Social Change," *Signs*, 2 (1976): 190–207.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

LEONARD KRIEGER. *Time's Reasons: Philosophies of History Old and New*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 202. $32.50.

Mindful of historians' past claims to be tellers of truth, and heeding current challenges to these claims, Leonard Krieger asks: Why should historians be believed? This work contains his answer, appropriately cast as a historical investigation followed by a short prescriptive epilogue. The book, obviously a labor of love for its author, projects a staunch and, at times, defiant faith in history's ability to say valid and important things. Despite the "tremendous pluralism" now rampant in the profession, Krieger is confident that reason is at work in history, that eventually this reason will reveal itself to patient workers in the discipline, and that, when it has done so, it will turn out to be a "specifically historical reason, a true historicism" (p. 137).

Krieger associates the "lethal challenge" to any belief in historical reason with unspecified "new historians" whose cultural presentism and political radicalism make the past seem a burden to be thrown off. But beyond labeling them ("We shall call the 'new history' therefore whatever smacks of radicalism, academic or political" [p. 8]), he has little to say about the nature and objective of their attack. Instead, he declares his partisanship for "critical historians" who, having faced their own presuppositions, take multiple perspectives and the fragmentation of reality as givens while rejecting the sort of liberal pluralism that holds all viewpoints, and all values, to be the same. What does an examination of "the various vintages of history qua history" (p. 8) reveal about the crucial issues dividing these two camps? Specifically, where have "critical historians" of the past found the principle of coherence that allows them to make sense of historical events? And have any of them located it where Krieger is sure it belongs, that is, implicit in the historical process? In five chapters Krieger surveys the entire history of historical thought, Herodotus to Furet, Wehler, and Foucault, giving special emphasis to philosophical thinkers: Augustine, Vico, Herder, Hume, Hegel, Mill, Marx, Adorno, among others. Some among them, he finds, operated as "rationalists": believing that human actions, like natural phenomena, follow stable rules, they overtly introduced organizing concepts from outside the realm of history. Others were "historists" who denied that human events conform to rational patterns, claiming to find coherence within history but actually taking it, though surreptitiously (unlike the rationalists), from without. Still others were "historicists" (Croce, Dilthey, Collingwood, Spengler, Benjamin), the most consistently historical thinkers in that they historicized all reality and denied the existence of laws, knowable or unknowable, extraneous to the historical process. But, as Krieger demonstrates, even historicists borrowed their principles of coherence from extrahistorical authorities, and, although historicism, taken in this sense, represents the most developed stage of historical thinking, it failed to reach the goal of a totally nontranscendental historical truth.

The possibility of such a truth is the subject of Krieger's brief final chapter. His solution, offered as a personal manifesto, has two parts. As far as the historical process itself is concerned, continuity and coherence exist only when historians are conscious of it and believe in it: "insofar as men believed that it existed, coherence existed" (p. 168). As for the historian, his (it is always "his" with Krieger) criterion must be the chronology of relations among things, "whether . . . things subsist before, after, or at the same time with other things" (p. 169). The only element this scheme takes from outside the historical process is the historian's ex post facto knowledge of connections that, unknown and unknowable at the time, are drawn from a sense of human relations.

I may have distorted Krieger's argument in synopsizing so succinctly. In any case, one cannot always be certain what he means. His opaque formulations, thick syntax, and awkward diction often make it difficult to know exactly what is being said, and this is particularly troublesome in the epilogue. His system also contains elements of mystification and vagueness because its theme traces what Krieger presents as an essential quality of thought: "The human mind tends ever to coherence; it finds satisfaction only in a kind of unity" (p. 167). This pronouncement is taken as an axiom, but it is far from precise ("tends," "kind of"). And freely used identifying labels such as "radicals," "traditionalists," and "auto-rationalists" are not sufficiently clear and distinct. It might be asked, further, whether Krieg-

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er's survey of historical thought is adequately focused, based as it is on statements about history culled from historians' and philosophers' works rather than on an analysis of actual historical writings. And, finally, is "coherence" really the best criterion for classifying and evaluating what has been going on in historical thought and praxis? Its use as a standard is bound to make current historical work appear confused. This book conveys no impression of the range, vitality, and richness of historical writing today. As "pluralists" and "relativists," we may have let slip our predecessors' sure grasp of the rules of coherence. But the sense we have gained of the nearly infinite variety and indeterminacy of earthly affairs has not been a loss to our discipline. Judging by the results obtained over the last thirty years or so, history has not suffered from the shift of perspective.

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KARL F. MORRISON. *"I Am You": The Hermeneutics of Empathy in Western Literature, Theology, and Art.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xxvi, 366. $35.00.

This is a challenging and capacious study that ranges over vastly differing pursuits, historical periods, and genres of expression. It follows a learned, sometimes technical, argument to thoughtful, even profound, conclusions. Readers of *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (1982) will recognize some previous concepts arrayed in a different but complementary line of argument. Karl F. Morrison wants to uncover and realign the premises of the Western notion of empathetic understanding ("Verstehen" or "I-thou understanding") in the service of renewing it. He wants to make this tradition more intelligible at a time when claims to such understanding are impugned as "cognitive imperialism" or dismissed as facile appropriation of otherness. Morrison erects a vaulting but intricate conceptual scaffolding to profile and perhaps to remodel the prevailing shapes of our understanding. His book is a passionately argued work about the nature and possibility of compassion itself, but it is written with an accompanying sense of analytical detachment.

His argument moves back and forth between simple and complex levels. It begins with the ancient, almost primordial, utterance "I am you" and then unfolds the "miniature universe" (p. xxii) of this uncanny assertion through specific texts and paintings. He pursues this sentence and its radically perplexing implications in the writings of St. Augustine, Gerhoch of Reichersberg, John Donne, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Ludwig Feuerbach, Charles Darwin, and several modern literary writers, notably James Joyce, Luigi Pirandello, and Thomas Mann. After a carefully prepared shift from verbal to visual arts, he departs from the iconoclast dispute of the eighth century to explicate several early modern paintings involving the theme of contemplative communication (including those of Jusepe de Ribera, Rembrandt, Luca Giordano, and Adriaen van der Werff). He concludes the visual section of the book with a treatment of twentieth-century abstract expressionism.

Thematic connections of word and image that at first exposure appear surprising, if not wildly implausible, are meticulously developed, both logically and graphically. Morrison's acute sensitivity for what he calls the "double game of word and image" (p. 271) emerges, for example, in his way of juxtaposing Oscar Wilde's *Portrait of Dorian Gray* with Lady Churchill's "iconoclastic" destruction of the notorious portrait of Sir Winston by Graham Sutherland. We are gradually led to acknowledge that there is a largely tacit repertory of conventions guiding our ways of understanding all persons and personifications and, indeed, of representing such understanding to ourselves and others.

Morrison adduces two major models that have defined the bonding in all Western notions of understanding: the erotic-procreational ("biological") and artistic-compositional ("esthetic"). These paradigms, he argues, derive from the deeply ingrained distinction between body and spirit; they set the rules for the "play" of understanding. The result is that most forms of understanding are thereby "engendered" into male and female polarities, as well as shaped into relations of rivalry, coercion, and subordination. Empathetic understanding has been enlisted for malevolent as well as benevolent purposes: suppressed hatred or enmity is very often part of the struggle involved in much love and sympathy. Morrison can cast a cold, critical eye on a seemingly warm subject, so that the claim to sympathy emerges tempered from the analysis.

Morrison finds that the real crux of interpretation resides in the textual and visual gaps (the "silence of words" and "invisibility of art") that constitute the bonds available to us. It is a work's evident interstices and "deficiencies" that induce the beholder's experience of meaning. The scope of empathetic projection expands or contracts depending on the "play" of a set of largely tacit cues accumulated in a tradition of beholding. We are left to conclude that prevailing modern forms of art and discourse require for their effect an entire collective emotional legacy that we can glimpse even as it is transformed in our own reactions. Morrison maintains that this legacy of forms of compassionate fellow feeling must be enlarged rather than cast off or merely forgotten.

In several places the author's seven-league strides leave the reader bereft in the very spaces so carefully delineated. The book has a jolting chiaroscuro quality of starkly contrasting simplicity and complexity, wherein key terms are explained while others are merely asserted and repeated (as with the key notions of "stochastic," "closure," and especially "play" itself: "play" has become the omnipresent workhorse or, better, hobby-horse of much recent cultural history.

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Along with its mate "irony," it is showing harness sores).

Morrison's comprehensive treatment remains rich in insight and well worth the effort of following its multiple levels of argument. He sees the Western mimetic and empathetic traditions to be ultimately convergent but hardly self-enclosed or complacent. Morrison has written one of those wise and unsettling books that show us why we are accustomed to think and see in the way we do.

MICHAEL ERMARTH
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PETER S. DONALDSON. *Machiavelli and Mystery of State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 227. $32.50.

This book is a book on Machiavelli as Machiavellian, as advocate of the effectiveness of the use of evil in politics. The author, Peter S. Donaldson, has carefully examined the works of a number of Trans-Alpine writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and we get a clear impression of the great influence that Machiavelli had in Northern Europe. But it becomes also clear to a startling degree that Machiavelli's works were studied neither in their entirety nor with great care, but striking statements are taken out of context and used to justify and strengthen the writer's own ideas about the nature of politics and the function of the state.

The introductory chapter of the book is called "Machiavelli and Anti-Christ." It is concerned with Reginald Pole, who was convinced that Machiavelli had been the inspiration of the nefarious policy of Henry VIII; in Pole's view, concealment, secrecy, and deception were inherent elements of Machiavelli's view of politics, and recognition of their importance for political behavior signified "the temporary ascendance of Anti-Christ before the Last Days."

Another essay of the book concerned with John Wolfe, a printer who lived in the second part of the sixteenth century, gives a very different picture. Wolfe was regarded to be a Machiavellian but not only because he published an edition of *The Prince* and the *Discorsi* but because he regarded Machiavelli as a model of political action: he was a fighter against tyranny. Princes might consider Machiavelli as defender of their rule, but others might learn from him about the injustices and crimes on which princely rule is based.

The role of mysterious and magical forces in politics is then the chief theme of the last two chapters of the book, centered on Gabriel Naudé and Louis Machon. According to Donaldson, in Naudé's thought the notions of the *arcana imperii* and of *esprit fort* were of crucial importance. Success depended on the combination of the magical elements that he considered inherent in political action with unusual psychological strength on the part of those who carried out political action. Donaldson makes an important addition to the picture that Meinecke has given in the chapter on Naudé in his *Machiavellism*.

Machon, in his *Apologie pour Machiavel*, accepts the view that to Machiavelli evil was an inherent element in political action. But he defends Machiavelli by declaring that a king's model must be God. As such he is allowed to do what is forbidden to other people. Thus, Machiavelli was correct when he stated that in certain circumstances a prince must "act against faith, against charity, against humanity, and against religion."

As different as these writers are, as disparate their interests and aims, Donaldson shows that there is a common bond among them: the disquieting and mysterious feelings with which they observed the gradual emergence of a bureaucratic state.

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DAVID BOUCHER. *The Social and Political Thought of R. G. Collingwood*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 300. $44.50.

Rooted in the British tradition of applying post-Hegelian idealism to political thought, David Boucher excels as a methodologist. In his earlier book *Texts in Context: Revisionist Methods for Studying the History of Ideas* (1985), Boucher assessed, with exquisite care, the appeal of three recent British historians of political thought—W. H. Greenleaf, J. G. A. Pocock, and Quentin Skinner—and related Skinner in particular to R. G. Collingwood's "preoccupation with the intentional and purposive aspects of human activity" (*Texts in Context*, p. 198). Pursuit of Collingwood's intentions in writing *The New Leviathan* (1942) underpins the book under review.

Boucher writes with all the more assurance because he has digested Collingwood's unpublished manuscripts and letters (deposited mostly in the Bodleian Library, Oxford). An example of how Boucher uses unpublished material to resolve controversy concerns Collingwood's failure in his *Autobiography* (1989) to acknowledge the influence of Giovanni Gentile. Boucher argues, from an examination of unpublished letters, that Collingwood deemed Gentile's influence too obvious to require mention (pp. 15–23). Quotations from letters and manuscripts enliven every chapter.

Boucher interprets *The New Leviathan* as the culmination of a life's work and not a hasty reply to World War II. By summarizing his own intentions before and after each chapter, Boucher makes his exposition a model of clarity. Chapter 3 shows how Collingwood's political theory advanced beyond that of Thomas Hobbes by positing that antisocial elements persist in every society and need continually to be socialized. Collingwood denounced as "barbarism" the rebellion of such "nonsocial" elements against the values of civilization. The only disappointing chapter is the one grandiosely entitled "The Development of the European Mind."

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Here Boucher grounds Collingwood's theory of mind not in the entire Western tradition but simply in Hobbes, Locke, and Collingwood's own *Principles of Art* (1938). Chapters 5 to 8 comprise the core of the book, presenting *The New Leviathan* as a defense of liberal politics, of civilization, and of the indispensability of expressing emotion.

The final chapter states Collingwood's diagnosis of what went wrong in early twentieth-century Europe: "Natural science, although invaluable in the civilizing process, threatened to destroy civilization because of its denial of any form of knowledge that was not its own" (p. 233). In particular, "pseudoart," which is defined as art that offers merely amusement (p. 234), looms as a corrupter of consciousness, which by preventing emotion from being known tempts people into irrational attacks on civilization. Barbarism attacks civilization from within; Collingwood believed that such attacks flourish partly because in a scientific age emotion finds too few healthy outlets. Surprisingly, *The New Leviathan* ends on a note of optimism because Collingwood believed that all barbarisms (such as the Nazi one) succumb in the end to the civilizing process (p. 241). In chapter 10, Boucher endorses Collingwood's plea for active defense of civilization through education that cultivates all sides of the personality.

By its very excellence, Boucher's book invites scholars to venture a next step in studies of Collingwood. This would involve comparing Collingwood's thought with that of such like-minded contemporaries as the Austrians Hermann Broch, Hans Kelsen, and Friedrich von Hayek, whom Collingwood appears never to have read. They displayed a range of mind, depth of historical analysis, and boldness in synthesis that bear comparison with Collingwood's. Boucher makes a start in this direction when he aligns Collingwood's notion of civilization as process with that of Norbert Elias (pp. 206–08). In this regard he might also have mentioned Hannah Arendt. A step forward in studies of Collingwood will be to look beyond British tradition in order to place him among Continental allies whom he may never have noticed. Boucher has facilitated that task immeasurably.

WILLIAM M. JOHNSTON
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CAROLE FINK. *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 371. $29.95.

Carole Fink has chosen a fitting subtitle for this work, with its double meaning of Marc Bloch as a writer of history and as a man very much embroiled in the history of his time. He spoke of himself as one who belonged to the end of the "Dreyfusard generation," with all of the commitment to liberal values that that term implies. In each of the world wars, he won the *croix de guerre*, among other decorations, and near the end of World War II, he was murdered by the Germans for his participation in the Resistance. To present such a life with intelligence, balance, and sensitivity is a task that Fink has managed to perform without succumbing either to hero worship or to popularization. Bloch would probably have approved of much of what she has done. He wrote, "If, in dealing with a man or a place, one fails to present the backdrop of human realities, quite frankly one sounds a hollow note. In the eye of the historian a fact exists only in its relationships. To be precise is to stick with what is concrete, not diligently to label empty drawers" (p. 13, n. 3). The drawers that Fink labels are far from empty. They are filled with material from documents, both French and German, from myriad publications, and from personal interviews that she has conducted over the last decade with those who knew Bloch. Her research cannot be faulted. The man Bloch is presented with his aches, his struggles, and his joys. What is missing is some of the essential foreground. The work is superior to that genre of history known as "intellectual biography," which seems so often to float in air, and with Fink we can approach Bloch the man better than ever before. What we cannot do through this work is understand the springs of his creativity, the vivacity of his genius, and the workings of his mind.

Bloch's life would be of interest had he not been a genius at innovation. But he was. That part of his being should be treated not only against its backdrop but also in the context of what enables a person to stand in advance of his or her contemporaries, depart from the safe grooves of the tried and true, and blaze trails through woods that others do not even see. Bloch believed that he practiced a science, albeit an inexact one. It is perhaps as a scientist or as an artist that he should be approached. Although his probably does not rank among the germinative minds of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, his creativity and imagination are closer to those of an Emile Durkheim or a Max Weber than to those of run-of-the-mill academicians. Bloch's thought deserves to be treated in all of its originality and liveliness. Despite the very great merits of Fink's work, which include a tracing of the history of the *Annales* school in its several phases, the task of penetrating the creativity of the man and the movement remains open. If the rest of us cannot emulate this creativity, we can at least be led to a better appreciation of its sources and expressions. Fink's work, at the very least, will provide an essential backdrop for that task.

LAWRENCE D. WALKER
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PETER GAY. *Reading Freud: Explorations and Entertainments*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1990. Pp. xvi, 204. $24.95.

Yet another book about Freud by Peter Gay! Gay anticipates the reader's exclamation—though not my

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amazement at his productivity—in his preface to this volume. Of the eight papers, five were written prior to the publication of *Freud: A Life for Our Times*, which Gay calls his "substantial biography" (p. xv). (Surely it is more than that.) The essays were, the author notes, "in their original form progress reports" on his "search for Freud" (p. xvi). And, in the best essays, the reader can discern a biography in the making or, more precisely, can glimpse a conscientious biographer fashioning a model of his subject's mind.

The notoriety of one essay—the "forgotten" review of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, purportedly published in a little-known Austrian medical journal in 1900, which Gay claimed to have unearthed and translated—may obscure the main thrust of the volume. The review was not "forgotten"; it did not date from 1900; it was fabricated by Gay in 1981 for *Harper's Magazine*—not exactly the place where one would expect a discovery of such importance to surface. So deft, however, was Gay's fabrication that a number of Freud scholars accepted as genuine what he viewed as mere spoof. Rather than making a systematic effort to enlighten those he had led astray, Gay continued to consider the matter a joke. One can only regard this episode as an uncharacteristic lapse from his usual scrupulous adherence to the norms of sharing information within a scholarly community.

In an essay entitled "Freud and Freedom," which first appeared in a *Festschrift* for Isaiah Berlin, Gay invokes Berlin's contrast between the hedgehog, who knows one big thing, and the fox, who knows many things, to get a fix on Freud. Freud may look like a hedgehog, that is, like a theoretician who propounded "essentially simple generalizations," but appearances are deceptive. "Rather, he was a fox, a fox who at times affected hedgehog clothing" (p. 84). The notion of a mixture—a fox in hedgehog clothing, or a hedgehog in fox clothing—enables one to get a fix on Gay's perception of how Freud's mind worked.

Freud's foxiness emerges in "Reading Freud through Freud's Reading," an elegant essay devoted to Freud's response to a request from a Viennese bookseller to name "ten good books." The list included two novels, a fictionalized biography, formal essays, a history of Greek philosophy, and a "collection of humorous sketches" and "inventive tales about savage animals and little less savage men" (p. 97). Although Gay discerns common themes among the items, he refrains from attempting to reduce their marvelous heterogeneity to a harmonious whole. Here one can glimpse the man who paid attention to hysterical symptoms, dreams, and verbal slips—a man with a genius for free association.

"Six Names in Search of an Interpretation" is the most finely wrought essay. The six names are those of Freud's children, in each case given by Freud himself. Contrary to usual Austrian domestic practice, his wife gave him free rein. Their interpretation thus offers Gay an opportunity to sketch Freud's "social habits, religious stance, and scientific commitments" (p. 63)—and to probe his psyche as well. The sons were named after two scientific mentors and an English revolutionary, the daughters after female relatives of men who had obviously stood to Freud in the role of father. In fact, Gay convincingly argues that "ultimately all his children's names lead back to one figure, and to Freud's long-standing struggle with it: his father" (p. 63). It is at this point that one suspects Freud may have been something of a hedgehog.

Along with being a hedgehog goes a certain obstinacy. And Freud could be obstinate. In the longest essay, "Freud and the Man from Stratford," which was written after the biography appeared, Gay examines Freud's attachment to the idea that it was Edward de Vere, seventeenth earl of Oxford, who wrote Shakespeare's plays. Gay resists the obvious temptation to castigate Freud's judgment and instead focuses on what one might call his intellectual style: his compulsion to solve riddles that had come to torment him. "Conundrums," Gay writes, "did not just fascinate him; they tortured him. He spoke of them in the vocabulary of suffering, like a man pursued by demons who cannot rest until he has found a way of appeasing them" (p. 40). And "to move from the indistinct figure of the man from Stratford to the presumed solidity of the earl of Oxford" (p. 52) was just such an act of appeasement. With this subtle portrayal Gay goes beyond the hedgehog-fox dichotomy and manifests his own continuing progress in a protracted search.

JUDITH M. HUGHES
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PETER HOMANS. *The Ability to Mourn: Disillusionment and the Social Origins of Psychoanalysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 390. $34.95.

Peter Homans has written a book that provides little pleasure in the reading. The structure is clear enough; the paragraphs follow each other in an orderly sequence; it is the sentences that grate. They are clotted and cumbersome, and their meaning too often remains elusive. Add to that the abstractness of both argument and presentation, and it is no surprise that the reader's patience is sorely tried.

Is the little pleasure compensated by much profit? That judgment depends in part on the reader's subjective response to the hopes and aspirations that guide, indeed drive, Homans's work: his wish "to reformulate the proper object and method of a psychologically informed approach to contemporary culture" (p. 305). Sigmund Freud, according to Homans, made a start, and, hence, Homans is not obliged to begin *de novo*. He merely has to solve the problems that Freud "created for us" (p. 8). The problem that looms largest is what Homans sees as Freud's "total break" with the past. The purpose of Freud's "cultural texts," Homans writes, "was to announce this break and to interpret the past psychologically" (p. 9). And it is the purpose of

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Homans's book to undo that break, to find some process by which to take possession of the past. The process is given a name, "individuation"—"the ways the self can remain integrated and psychological while also appropriating meanings from the past in the form of the cultural symbols which infuse it" (p. 9). The process receives extended treatment in the third part of the book; its meaning, however, does not become less diffuse.

The reader's appreciation of the first two parts is less contingent on sharing the author's concerns. The second part, which Homans considers the center of his work, makes a number of assertions about the social origins of psychoanalysis—assertions rather than substantial claims. Homans freely admits that his study is an essay, a speculative one at that, and the historian-reader who may be dismayed by the thinness of his sources still owes it to Homans to take him on his own terms. On those terms, how novel, how insightful, how plausible is his argument? It is a mix of the suggestive, the sensible, the banal, and the pretentious. What Homans means by the social origins of psychoanalysis is roughly that Freud, as well as Carl Jung, Otto Rank, and Ernest Jones, underwent an introspective experience, which involved for Freud "his sad giving up of the ideals of political liberalism . . . and the ensuing conflict between his earlier Jewish identity and an emerging psychoanalytic" one (p. 111). Jung, Rank, and Jones were also "uprooted from a religiously formed common culture by industrialization and urbanization. Detached, anomic, and marginal to a heritage of received common meanings, they too turned in on themselves and struggled to understand the depths of their own alienated sense of self-consciousness" (p. 112). The mention of industrialization and urbanization points to the chief difficulty of these vignettes as social history: Homans lapses too readily into the generic.

The social origins of psychoanalysis, Homans insists, are of intrinsic interest; beyond that they provide a context for Freud's writings on culture. The writings in question announce the loss of a "consoling, communal structure" and at the same time "attempt to heal and overcome it by relating developmental processes to historic form" (p. 113). This last statement is opaque, and Homans does not engage in the kind of close analysis of texts that might clarify its meaning. The issue of how to locate Freud's writings on culture within his corpus, of how to read them alongside his metapsychological and clinical work, is an alive one, and Homans at least deserves credit for raising it.

In his first part, Homans also raises the issue of how to locate these texts within Freud's own biography. He concentrates on the years from 1906 to 1914, on the years of Freud's friendship with Jung, rather than on the earlier period of friendship with Wilhelm Fliess, which is generally considered Freud's most creative period. It was "the figures and forces active" in the subsequent period, Homans writes, that "compelled Freud to initiate what became a serious and systematic struggle to insert his psychoanalysis into the indifferent, even hostile, world of Western cultural values" (p. 17). Drawing heavily on Heinz Kohut, Homans works out his psychological argument in considerable detail. Here—at the outset of his book—he both fastens on an alive issue and manages to handle it in a fresh fashion. Unfortunately, what follows is, for the most part, downhill.

JUDITH M. HUGHES
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CYNTHIA EAGLE RUSSETT. *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. 245. $25.00.

The sexist assumptions underlying what had passed as unbiased science in the area of gender during the Victorian era have never been so thoroughly analyzed as in Cynthia Eagle Russett's book. Drawing on earlier work by Rosalind Rosenberg, Elizabeth Fee, Ruth Schwartz Cowan, and Stephanie Shields, Russett has provided a clear yet complex analysis of the ways in which evolutionary and physiological theory were used to "prove" women's presumed inferiority. The normal cast of characters—Charles Darwin, G. Stanley Hall, Cesare Lombroso, and Havelock Ellis—are present as well as a score of other major and minor commentators. (Most of the commentators Russett includes are from the United States; a few are European.) Russett has followed their works through both scholarly journals and more popular publications. She carefully reviews familiar misogynistic arguments about the link between women's smaller brain size and their lesser intelligence, about the greater physiological variability of males and their monopoly of genius mentality, and about the popularity of the evolutionary "recapitulation" theory and its assumption that women "recapitulated" only primitive evolutionary phases.

Russett fully explores the "conservation theory" used by Edward Clarke and others to argue that women's limited store of energy would not allow them to successfully pursue both advanced education and potential reproduction. She shows the ways in which the biological, body-oriented methodology that dominated Victorian scientific discourse served only to fetter that science until the rise of the social sciences at the turn of the century forcefully raised environmental considerations.

The most interesting (and most frustrating) portion of the book is the last chapter in which Russett explores the possible psychosocial reasons for Victorian scientific misogyny. Here she takes existing scholarship in a new direction by attempting to explain why Victorian scientists adopted such curious ideas about women. She concludes that scientists themselves were suffering from a deep malaise, a "cosmic nightmare," with regard to the value and efficacy of their pursuits. This malaise indelibly colored their conclusions about

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women, who then became scapegoats for the ills they were personally experiencing. This thesis is compelling, but it needs further theorizing and evidence. For example, Russett might have worked with the ideas of a "crisis in masculinity," the existence of which men's studies scholars have been positing for some years. And any definitive statement about the personal mind-set of scientists in this era requires research in their personal papers, which Russett has not done. I suspect that such research would yield a compelling companion volume to this fine monograph that Russett has produced.

LOIS W. BANNER
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DANIEL PICK. *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, ca. 1848–1918*. (Ideas in Context.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. 275. $39.50.

The target of Daniel Pick's book is the long shadow of Michel Foucault's writings on bio-power. In particular, Pick contends that late nineteenth-century ideas about degeneration were used by psychiatrists and other medical men to frighten society into giving them power or, at least, to establish their new professions. Jan Goldstein, Robert Nye, and Ruth Harris, among others, have demonstrated the usefulness of this analysis in recent monographs.

Pick's main purpose is to broaden more than to overturn this interpretation, that is, to show the pervasiveness of ideas about degeneration, their complexities, and the sincerity of those who employed them beyond the narrow and immediate goal of professionalization. He also seeks to break the simple association of degeneration theory with only right-wing, Nazi ideology. To accomplish his purposes, Pick employs two analytical tools: comparison to show the broader geographical impact of ideas about degeneration in France, Italy, and England; and discourse analysis to place degeneration in context by examining the interaction among theorists, novelists, and social critics such as Augustin Morel, Emile Zola, Max Nordau, Cesare Lombroso, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Henry Maudsley.

The choice of topic is timely, given the recent spate of works on perceived and real disorders in the late nineteenth century, which argue that concern with degeneration was both a symptom and a cause of deeper fundamental problems in modern society. Typically, these studies have begun with discussions of perceptions of decline and degeneration before presenting more detailed accounts of eugenic, demographic, moral, or medical reform movements that grew out of them. Pick's book is different in its attempt to examine the idea of degeneration itself, and the comparative framework offers a broader perspective on work in countries such as France and England that have received more attention, while including lesser known work on Italy.

Unfortunately, for two reasons, the book does not fulfill its promises. First, in concentrating on perceptions of degeneration, Pick loses sight of the link between criticisms of degeneration and hopes for regeneration. Inescapably, Pick alludes to some reform proposals when talking about individuals such as Zola or Galton whose writings on degeneracy were justifications for broader social reform, calls for repopulation, and eugenics. But this linking of perceptions of degeneration with proposals for reform was not unusual. Few critics talked about degeneration without already having a plan for regeneration in mind. Even someone presumably as scientific as Lombroso was interested in identifying the degenerate "born criminals" in order to isolate and neutralize their effects.

A second shortcoming, albeit one more of degree than of kind, is the author's failure to present a systematic analysis of ideas about degeneration from 1848 to 1918. Too often Pick excuses jumps of chronology or use of anecdotal references with the aside that the idea of degeneration itself was ambiguous and contradictory. Simply giving the name "discourse" to expressions of concern about degeneration does little to advance our understanding of them. On the other hand, when Pick identifies a trend of reaction at the turn of the century in France and Italy against ideas of degeneration or when, from time to time, he mentions the specific effects of the Paris Commune, Italian unification, or the Boer War on perceptions of decline, he is far more helpful than when he points out "discursive continuities" or "intertwined signifiers of cultural crisis" (p. 43).

The book also demonstrates some questionable judgment about emphasis and organization. Thus, there is not enough about the ideas of major characters such as Morel and Lombroso to constitute a new interpretation of their work, but Pick includes far more than is necessary to summarize these well-known founders of schools of thought about degeneration. As it stands, the book, and especially its bibliography, is useful as a summary of recent work and helps make the argument for the significance of the subject. We will have to await another book, however, to serve as a guide to understanding the complexities and evolution of the idea of degeneration in the context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

WILLIAM H. SCHNEIDER
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HIRAM CATON. *The Politics of Progress: The Origins and Development of the Commercial Republic, 1600–1835*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 627. $49.00.

Latter-day Western materialism comes in many disguises, not the least posturing as anti-Marxism. One of its most convoluted manifestations appears in Hiram Caton's long book on what he calls the origins of "polytechnic rationality." As far as can be determined, this means modern science from Francis Bacon to Isaac

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Newton and the Enlightenment. Its materialist origins lie, however, not in economic circumstances or class interests but in what Caton calls "the polytechnic brain" (p. 185 n). Out of this purely biological entity that developed only in the West came modern science. To claim otherwise is to engage in "the amusing historiographic scandal" (p. 184) occasioned by much contemporary writing on the social origins of modern science from A. R. Hall onward.

The Western brain, postulated by Caton, is the result of biological evolution, as indeed is much else, in particular, the emergence of the exchange of commodities and political society. "Spouse exchange" facilitated the emergence of commodity exchanges much to the benefit of "male elders" (p. 8). Such behavior, we are told, is universal. Only in the West, however, did this biological necessity lead to extraordinary progress; only in the West did both science and the "commercial republic" emerge. Predictably, given the author's theoretical framework, science was the work of waves of genius, a sudden blossoming of mathematical talent. Aided by amateurs "who distinguished between science and crackpot ideas," the first scientific practitioners freed science from "mimics and predators" (p. 75). Into this project women were also occasionally enlisted, and (without the slightest attention to the gender-based recent historiography of science) "the encouragement of women to assert themselves as rational beings has scarcely been noticed by students of this phase of cultural history" (p. 86).

The polytechnic rationality of the new science also manifested itself among its first political practitioners in seventeenth-century England, the Netherlands, and France. Under Caton's model, Jean Baptiste Colbert and John de Witt display "Cartesianism in action" (p. 237 n). Yet only in eighteenth-century Britain did the new physics generate a "polytechnic intelligentsia" (p. 531) and with them industrialization. The religious associations of both science and the state had to be firmly disavowed. In this account Newton becomes a pious atheist. The progenitor of the science and Puritanism thesis, that is, Max Weber, fares no more accurately. He is simply a "neurotic sociologist" (p. 184). While science and atheism led to progress in England, the Enlightenment came undone with Jean-Jacques Rousseau in France. All that can be said of the French revolution and its contribution to modernity is that it gave "the word *revolution* . . . an enormous positive emotional valence . . . the modern superstition serviced by a priesthood and believed by millions" (p. 406).

Some familiar themes are present in this book as are the large questions about the roots of Western hegemony, the rise of science, and its links to political culture and industrialization. Unfortunately, almost none of the answers given satisfy contemporary criteria of historical explanation. There are moments of lucidity, for instance, the discussion of the antirepublican implications of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Yet these are invariably marred by the author's unique, and at moments disturbingly naive, version of mechanistic materialism. Beginning with biological determinism, the book predictably ends with a meditation on the threat posed to biology by a science-induced liberalism. In the final irony, Western liberalism calls into question the biological imperative. By the search for equality between men and women, which ignores their separate reproductive functions, liberalism threatens the biological order.

The eternal fascination with the origins of modern science and modern politics has produced books that tackle these large themes, often from eccentric theoretical perspectives. Thus, this book belongs to a genre of metahistorical writing currently threatened with extinction. That possibility is enough to render some readers, at least temporarily, into Darwinians.

MARGARET C. JACOB
New School for Social Research

BRUCE MAZLISH. *A New Science: The Breakdown of Connections and the Birth of Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 333. $35.00.

The dust jacket of Bruce Mazlish's new book shows the famous Sistine Chapel panel of Adam leaning forward to receive the divine touch of life. Age has added cracks that run the length of the fresco and suggest the fragility of human aspirations toward a transcendent source of meaning. Mazlish studies the history of sociology as a nineteenth-century response to such a moment of "breakdown of connections." Sociology, he argues, was born out of the breakdown of the Great Chain of Being, a collapse of intellectual order that left society as the isolated medium of meaning for the individual and the human species. Although numerous able interpreters have attempted syntheses of the sociological tradition, Mazlish is the first to search so boldly for its ultimate intentions. The discipline's founders made empirical scientific status for sociology their professional goal, but beyond this they sought to determine the possibilities of a meaningful human existence in a world devoid of natural or supernatural purpose.

Two theses link together Mazlish's story. The first is that the "cash nexus" appeared to nineteenth-century culture makers to be the new form of connection displacing the Great Chain of Being. The second is that men and women of letters were the first to comment on this breakdown of the old order, setting the mood for the makers of sociology. Part 1, "Breakers and Lamenters," sketches the language of lament in a series of late eighteenth-century to Victorian thinkers and artists: Edmund Burke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, William Wordsworth, Elizabeth Gaskell, Benjamin Disraeli, and George Eliot. They bewailed the coldness of human relationships formed by cash and urged as remedy on their middle-class readers an expansion of sentimental attachments. Part 2 considers some of the major sociologists: Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel, and Max Weber. The theme of the

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breakdown of connections gains cumulative power as Mazlish explores each thinker's use of it. The connections to the writers discussed in the first part of the book remain somewhat tenuous, however, and the more immediate literary connections of the theorists (for example, to Theodor Storm for Tönnies, to Stefan George for Simmel and Weber) receive only incidental mention. Further exploration of these relationships might have confirmed the book's theses of the "breakdown of connections" and literature's role in nurturing the sociological sensibility.

Robustly irreverent toward his subjects, Mazlish relishes displaying his own sociological credo. He is an affirmer of modernity; he thinks the lamenters exaggerated the comforts of the old connections, the bumpiness of the transition, and the discomforts of modern society. His conclusion confesses an evolutionary view of humanity as a species divided between primordial longings for the countryside and a natural predilection for "change." Specialists will regret the lack of closer contextualization but may wish to reflect on the book's challenging theses. Beginning students will find this a stimulating, wittily written introduction to the history of sociology.

HARRY LIEBERSOHN
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ROBERT MARC FRIEDMAN. *Appropriating the Weather: Vilhelm Bjerknes and the Construction of a Modern Meteorology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, in cooperation with Uppsala Studies in History of Science. 1989. Pp. xx, 251. $34.95.

Robert Marc Friedman has written a lucid and engaging narrative of the career of Vilhelm Bjerknes and his "Bergen" school of meteorology, originators of the concept of the weather front. The book's significance, however, reaches well beyond the history of meteorology. It provides a fine illustration of the influence of both technology and the social context on careers and theories in science.

Bjerknes began a promising career in physics in the 1890s as a disciple of Heinrich Hertz, a man famous for his experimental demonstration of electromagnetic waves. Under pressure from his father, however, Bjerknes abandoned Germany and Hertzian waves and returned to Norway to help complete his father's lifework on the hydrodynamics of ether. This subject, part of an attempt to establish a mechanical basis for physics, was growing rapidly out of fashion, and Bjerknes seemed condemned to a career on the periphery—both geographically and scientifically speaking.

Bjerknes's work in hydrodynamics, particularly his circulation theorem discovered in 1897, attracted attention from an unexpected quarter, however. Meteorologists saw the potential of the circulation theorem for atmospheric physics and pointed out applications to the Norwegian fishery and to the rapidly growing field of aeronautics. Bjerknes's forays into meteorology met with immediate success: he received funding from the Carnegie Institution and calls to the University at Christiania (1907) and Leipzig University (1913) to found a geophysical institute.

The Bergen school of meteorology was born when Bjerknes, in the deteriorating wartime situation, left Leipzig in 1917 for a professorship at the Bergen Museum. Although he was again at the periphery, profits from Bergen's wartime shipping business, the emergence of Norwegian commercial and military aviation, and a threatening famine presented opportunities for meteorology. Prompted by Bjerknes, the Norwegian parliament established a weather service in 1918 under his direction.

The concept of the polar front emerged at Bergen in 1919 and 1920. Friedman demonstrates the crucial role of technology and social needs in this theoretical development. Aviation both promised upper-air observations essential for the three-dimensional theory of weather fronts and demanded the more detailed short-range forecasts that the theory provided. The wireless telegraph permitted rapid transmission of the denser set of weather observations that was necessary for the new theory; the telephone allowed immediate communication of resulting forecasts to farmers and fishermen. The Bergen meteorologists, Friedman argues, built up the concept of the polar front ad hoc to meet forecasting needs and to take advantage of technological and social opportunities. Scientific theory was based on practice and built on opportunity.

Friedman has done a fine job in bringing to light the influence of the social and technological context on the progress of meteorology. In doing so, however, he has allowed almost no role for the scientific ideas and problems that inform and drive forward scientific research. In particular, he implies that Bjerknes throughout his career was motivated not by scientific curiosity but by discipline building and scientific entrepreneurship. For example, the concept of the polar front "arose from Bjerknes' desire to establish a forecasting system for aviation that could enable him and his assistants to achieve dominance in international meteorology" (p. 179); the Bergen school in the 1920s aimed "to appropriat[e] the weather as professional property" (p. 240)—hence, the book's title. These and similar assertions lack supporting documentation in a book that is otherwise well researched. Friedman's study would have been better balanced if he had given the search for knowledge its due, especially in a man of Bjerknes's stature. But if Friedman has not quite told the whole story, he has skillfully woven together early twentieth-century meteorology with contemporary developments in agriculture, fishery, warfare, and communications. The result is a significant contribution to the history of science and will hold the interest of anyone concerned with the role of science in modern society.

THEODORE S. FELDMAN
University of Southern Mississippi

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ANNA BRAMWELL. *Ecology in the Twentieth Century: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 292. Cloth $40.00, paper $16.95.

Ecology is that branch of biology dealing with the mutual relationships between an organism and its environment. This book, despite its title, is not a history of that science in the present century. Rather, Anna Bramwell treats what she calls "political ecology," arguing that it is a new "political box," or ideology, distinct from traditional ones such as liberalism. She emphasizes her point by using "ecologism" frequently, and "naturism" occasionally, as synonyms for political ecology.

Today ecologism is espoused by the Green parties, and Bramwell's focus is the expression of ecologist thought from its beginning to the present. Assuming that ecologism has constituted a movement, she establishes its roots in the late nineteenth century with the German zoologist Ernst Haeckel. She finds the principal ecological thinkers to have been liberal and Protestant and to have lived in Britain, Germany, or the United States. Although she states that ecologism, like other "-isms," has meant different things at different times, her selection of earlier ecologists is founded on a consideration of the tenets of current ecologism. Those tenets include belief in the essential harmony of nature, in an absolute responsibility for one's actions and for the world in general, and in the maxim that everything has a cost (p. 16). Bramwell contends that "today's Greens, in Britain, Europe and North America, have emerged from a politically radicalized ecologism, based on the shift from mechanistic to vitalist thought in the late nineteenth century. It was the fusion of resource-scarcity economics with holistic biology that gave force and coherence to ecological ideas" (p. xi).

A weakness of the book is that it does not persuade one that we are dealing here with a movement, which my Webster's dictionary defines as a series of acts and events moving toward some definite end and illustrates by referring to the prohibition movement. Another weakness is that the reader is required to work hard to perceive overall organization, whether of individual chapters or of the book as a whole. Following a rough chronological order, the author discusses holistic biology, energy economics, the commune "movement," the "literary ecologists" Henry Williamson of England and Knut Hamsun of Norway, and ties between ecologism and fascism, but the subjects lack the interconnectedness that one would expect of a true movement. Nevertheless, the author contends that the "ecological movement" flowered during the 1970s with the appearance of the Greens.

Bramwell is at her best in exploring the relationships between fascism and ecologism. She has previously published *Blood and Soil: Walther Darre and Hitler's "Green Party"* (1985). Although she finds that Nazis gave strong support to organic ideas, fascists in other countries were generally technocratic in outlook.

Bramwell concedes that her book will not be the last word on the history of ecologist thought. One is left with the impression of an important subject having been treated in a hasty manner. Careless mistakes reinforce the impression. Did Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* appear in 1962 (p. 121) or in 1967 (p. 225)? Is it Caroline (p. 26 and index) or Carolyn (twice on p. 27) Merchant? One also winces to read of "a man-made bacteria" (p. 66) in a book published by Yale University Press.

WILLIAM MCGUCKEN
University of Akron

ZACHARY GUSSOW. *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health: Social Policy in Chronic Disease Control*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1989. Pp. xiv, 265. $25.00.

Zachary Gussow's book accomplishes goals that are more often advocated than achieved. The book is interdisciplinary, skillfully employing the methods of history, anthropology, sociology, and epidemiology. Moreover, the author's findings lead to considerations of some import for public policy. The book's flaws are minor and do not distract from its substantial merits.

For most of the book, Gussow analyzes what people thought they knew in the past 150 years about the condition we now call Hansen's disease and the implications of their knowledge for medical care and public health policy. He describes how this knowledge was derived from laboratory and clinical research, epidemiology, and sociopolitical ideas and events. In eight tightly written chapters about the United States (and its territories), Norway, Britain, India, and China, Gussow convincingly challenges the conventional historiography of leprosy. He argues that it is wrong to attribute "continued attention to leprosy to the influence of tradition" and the maintenance of stigma to the continuing power of "biblical description and proscription" (p. 202). Instead, "attention to leprosy has been sustained [since the nineteenth century] by powerful social and political events, forces and institutions" (p. 201). These sustaining factors, he persuasively documents, include racism and imperialism, the self-interest of missionaries and their associations, and the internal history of various public health agencies, including the United States Public Health Service.

Gussow blends historical method with structured interviews and field observation in several chapters about the federal leprosarium at Carville, Louisiana, now called the National Hansen's Disease Center. He distinguishes between a "colony" in which care is voluntary and the residents have considerable freedom to manage their lives and the more familiar (and better researched) acute hospitals and "total institutions." Perhaps his most interesting counterintuitive finding is that, in conflicts between patients at Carville and officials of the Public Health Service since World War II, the patients' allies have included national veterans organizations, conservative members of Congress, and both the local and the national press. Political conser-

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vatism, contrary to myth, is not entirely compatible with medicalization and the authority of physicians.

Gussow's findings about stigma, based on his own survey research and a careful review of the social science literature, should be instructive to people concerned about Hansen's disease as well as such afflictions as HIV infection, cancer, and mental illness. Stigma, he demonstrates, is malleable—at least as it applies to leprosy. In his words, "where fear and aversion were found, stigma was often the result of the Western practice of isolating lepers" (p. 196).

The book has a few flaws. The history of United States Public Health Service policies and administrative practices at Carville could have been improved by examining documents in the National Archives. Much of the work on the book seems to have been completed a decade and more ago, since there are very few citations to pertinent literature written in the 1980s. Gussow's last sentence should be disregarded since it contradicts, no doubt inadvertently, his argument about the inextricability of physiology, medicine, religion, politics, and social forces. Negative stereotypes are diminishing, he says, and "[n]ow the disease remains" (p. 228).

DANIEL M. FOX
State University of New York, Stony Brook

URS BITTERLI. *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800.* Translated by RITCHIE ROBERTSON. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. 215. $34.50.

The structure of Urs Bitterli's book is straightforward enough. The first chapter presents the three "types" into which Bitterli believes all cultural encounters fall; these are contacts, collisions, and relationships. By contact, Bitterli means "an initial, short-lived or intermittent encounter between a group of Europeans and members of a non-European culture" (p. 20). Collision is a type of encounter "in which the weaker partner, in military and political terms, was threatened with the loss of cultural identity, while even its physical existence was jeopardized and sometimes annihilated altogether" (p. 29). And, by relationship, Bitterli intends "a prolonged series of reciprocal contacts on the basis of political equilibrium or stalemate" (p. 40).

The six ensuing chapters provide various examples of these types. The second chapter treats Portuguese commercial activities in Africa and Asia during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a system of limited contacts. In the seventh chapter, Bitterli considers the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French and English voyages in the South Seas as a subtype of contact—contact as "scientific challenge." The third chapter is the only one devoted to a collision, that is, the Spanish genocide of the Tainos of Hispaniola subsequent to Columbus's arrival there in December 1492. Chapters 4 and 5 treat two instances of what Bitterli calls a "cultural relationship": the missionary work of French Jesuits among the Micmac, Huron, and Iroquois peoples in the seventeenth century and William Penn's "Holy Experiment" with the Lenni Lenape. In chapter 6, Bitterli discusses another sort of relationship, namely, the "controlled relationship," wherein the non-European other, in this case the Chinese, determined the nature and extent of contacts with Europeans throughout the seventeenth century.

The book that results may have been intended as a kind of sampler of Bitterli's wide-ranging interest in the cultural history of colonialism. But the connections between the types or models set forth in the first chapter and the incidents surveyed in the chapters that follow are announced and then assumed rather than established through analysis and interpretation of pertinent sources. So it is perhaps not remarkable that the contents of the individual chapters do not penetrate beneath the traditional narrative skein that shapes them to the deeper matrices of the encounters that are their referents.

More problematic than these internal difficulties is the author's apparent lack of familiarity with the important recent work of scholars such as James Axtell, Rolena Adorno, Inga Clendinnen, Anthony Pagden, and Jonathan Spence, to name but a handful. Their studies, and those of others as well, have demonstrated that the encounters of Europeans with Asian and Amerindian peoples involved complex and continuing mixtures of actions and motivations. This emerging picture of the multivalent nature of the mentalities and discourses of colonialism, which Bitterli tells us is his central scholarly concern, would seem to require considerable nuancing, if not revision, of the three types of encounter around which he builds his book. As it stands, this volume is curiously dated. Indeed, it seems rooted in attitudes that prevailed in the post-Enlightenment philosophy, ethnography, and travel literature of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is perhaps not coincidental that these attitudes are the subject of the final chapter of the book and that they blend empathy and detachment in ways that secure the Eurocentric perspective. But this obfuscates the presence and dynamics of other compelling criteria for understanding encounters of diverse peoples and their cultures.

PAULINE MOFFITT WATTS
Sarah Lawrence College

O. H. K. SPATE. *The Pacific since Magellan.* Volume 3, *Paradise Found and Lost.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1988. Pp. xxii, 410. $59.50.

The publication of *Paradise Found and Lost* completes the three-volume history of the Pacific Ocean begun by O. H. K. Spate more than fifteen years ago. The principle objective behind Spate's impressive project has been the "pursuit of the whole" (p. ix) or the understanding of the forces that caused the Pacific to become

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an area of global commerce, rivalry, and cultural exchange. Acknowledging the modern Pacific as a European artifact, the eminent geographer turned distinguished historian has endeavored to provide a grand synthesis that examines the complex interaction of political, social, economic, and intellectual forces that led Europeans to explore, chart, name, exploit, and colonize the vast expanse of ocean between the known continental rims of the East and West. In this final volume, Spate focuses on the explorations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and on the extension of the global economy into the Pacific area via the activities of whalers, traders, sealers, and fur merchants. The result is a prodigious work of scholarship that provides a comprehensive history of the region to 1825, debunks some cherished myths, questions certain standard interpretations, and reminds readers of the vital importance of overlooked, seemingly insignificant developments in the Pacific past.

The two and one-half centuries that separated the voyages of Ferdinand Magellan and James Cook witnessed as many as four hundred fifty European crossings of the Pacific. The actual geographical knowledge gained from these explorations, however, was "not much" (p. 57). Sounder ships and the development of more sophisticated nautical technology such as John Harrison's spring-driven chronometer made possible the second great age of Pacific discovery that began with Commodore John Byron's circumnavigation of the globe between 1764 and 1766. Much attention is given to an assessment of Cook and his three voyages. Unlike the British explorer's biographer J. C. Beaglehole, Spate views Cook's recorded observations of the transit of Venus taken at Tahiti during the course of the first voyage as significant, if not quite as precise as desired. Although a believer in the man's greatness, Spate sees Cook not as the discoverer of a cure for scurvy but as a practitioner of already known, proven dietary methods for its prevention. In assessing the intellectual impact of the islands on Europe, Spate notes, and rightly so, that what was thought or dreamed about the Pacific often proved as important as what actually happened. The concept of the "noble savage," however, was not of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's making. Spate demonstrates that romanticism, the emotions it evoked, and popular misconceptions of Rousseau's general ideas created a literary misnomer that is more accurately understood as the "good savage," a philosophical concept concerning man in nature with a pedigree that extends back to classical times.

Spate makes no claims for his work as a history of the Pacific peoples of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. Despite this disavowal, the book begins with chapters that summarize the extant literature on the peopling of the Pacific and on the nature of island societies just before contact with the Euro-American world. Later parts of Spate's work deal with the myriad issues involved in the contact between Islander and European and the misconceptions that influenced (and still influence) these historical encounters. All too real were the disease and death that occurred on many islands as a result of contact with the West. Spate believes that future investigations will show the current estimates on nineteenth-century depopulation in the Pacific to be too low.

As in other recently published works by longstanding, highly respected Pacific specialists such as Douglas Oliver and Bernard Smith, there is a sense of closure that permeates Spate's writing. An era of intellectual inquiry during which scholars were more certain about what they knew and how they knew it has come to an end. Spate, however, is not insensitive to the uncertainties of a postmodernist age with its preoccupation with the contexts that shape modes of discourse. With specific reference to further studies on Cook but with broader implications for future Pacific research, Spate writes that "the seas which still await more thorough charting are those of psychology indigenous and intrusive and their interaction; the social and geoeconomic consequences, within and without the Pacific, of the great opening; aesthetics; the history of ideas" (p. 149).

Like the two volumes that preceded it, this book will quickly establish itself as an essential, though not necessarily first, reference for students of Pacific history. Some readers may struggle with Spate's Latin phrases, his classical metaphors, and his sometimes abrupt, incomplete references to important debates in Pacific studies. These minor quibbles aside, however, Spate has demonstrated convincingly, and with wit and eloquence, that what we call the "Pacific" past is the product of global developments that include, for better or worse, the activities of Euro-American intruders whose sphere of influence stretched from Botany Bay to Nootka Sound.

DAVID HANLON
University of Hawaii, Manoa

JACK D. FORBES. *Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race, and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*. New York: Basil Blackwell. 1988. Pp. 345. $60.00.

Jack D. Forbes's theme in this wide-ranging work is the degree to which the relations between "Americans" (that is, "American Indians, Amerindians and Native Americans" [p. 272]) and (black) Africans have been underestimated and their ethnic and cultural implications consequently neglected. The author begins with a brief consideration of American and African contacts across the Atlantic prior to 1500, concentrating on the evidence left by voyages of various kinds. He then looks at continuing connections after 1500, stressing the impact on nonwhites of the slave trade and European imperialism in general. In the seven chapters that follow and form the heart of his book, Forbes carefully examines the definitions and applications in many parts of the world of an array of racial terms—"Negroes," "Blacks," "Moors," "*loros*," "*Pardos*," "mestizos,"

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"mulattoes," "mustees," "half-breeds," "Zambos," and "people of colour"—in the process coming to a number of important conclusions.

Using dictionaries, laws, and a range of other sources, Forbes demonstrates that the terms under examination changed according to time and location, so that it is not safe simply to give them their "current dictionary definitions" (p. 267). In particular, during the early modern period, color and appearance were more important than racial ancestry and the need for group designations, and the influential term "mulatto" evolved in meaning from the equivalent of hybrid to a concept of color, covering both part-Africans and "mixed bloods (or even Native Americans) who had no African ancestry" (p. 219). The words "colored" and "*pardo*" were similarly adaptable and liable to misinterpretation, with "colored" and "Negro" being often and erroneously equated and American Indians "commonly referred to as 'people of color'" (p. 267).

Forbes also makes clear that, in attempting to reduce to a rational order the terms in common use to describe racial types or groupings, classifiers were attempting the impossible. The purposes of the prejudiced and of caste societies might indeed be served, because the elaborate terminology of race was used to exclude nonwhites from rights enjoyed by whites, but racial labels frequently bore "no relationship to reality" and could not be used "in any precise way" because "the ancestry of individuals could usually not be known" (pp. 244, 247). Moreover, Forbes constructs a convincing case for his thesis that racial terminology generally obscured the importance of the American component in racial mixing, not least as a result of using the word "Negro" as a convenient shorthand for nonwhites, especially where African-American mingling was suspected.

Some of the topics with which the author illustrates his arguments are relatively familiar, for example, the red-black interactions in the southern regions of North America. They would nonetheless bear further examination. Forbes also draws our attention to areas of neglect but does not indicate how feasible further study would be: some cases in point are the absorption of Americans and Africans "into the melting pot of the working classes" in "Europe, the Canary Islands, the Azores, and other places"; the "impact of Americans and part-Americans" in "Africa itself"; and the part played by American and African survivors in the eventual "re-peopling of the Americas, that is, the population recovery which followed the declines of the sixteenth century (or subsequent centuries, depending on the area)" (pp. 60, 269).

In spite of the preliminary nature of several of the findings in this study, it is a scholarly work that should provoke considerable debate among all those interested in the complexities of racial contacts and the revealing typology to which they gave rise.

CHRISTINE BOLT
University of Kent, Canterbury

BONNIE S. ANDERSON and JUDITH P. ZINSSER. *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present.* Volume 2. New York: Harper and Row. 1988. Pp. xix, 572. $27.50.

Collaboration has been a feminist goal; collaborative scholarship, a feminist achievement. Since the contemporary emergence of the history of women, the outstanding survey texts in the European field have all been collaborative efforts. The earliest entrant, *Becoming Visible* (1977), was the work of two editors and nineteen additional specialists; the second and recently revised edition, three editors and nineteen additional contributors. An equally compelling contender, *Connecting Spheres* (1987), adopted a similar format with two editors and fourteen collaborators. Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser have accomplished the extraordinary feat of dual collaboration with the completion of the second volume of their survey. Although the work does not rest on original research, the notes and bibliography suggest the breadth and depth of the authors' scholarship. The thematic rather than chronological presentation of material is highly appropriate to the field; the style of the volume is eminently readable. The narrative itself moves seamlessly, evidence of genuine collegiality, and offers many instances of original, imaginative interpretation. Because the two volumes appeared sequentially a number of months apart, the *AHR* elected to review them individually. Although this review addresses the second volume, the reader should be forewarned that the volumes comprise a highly integrated piece of scholarship and should not be undertaken independently one of the other. Early in the first volume, for instance, the authors discuss those traditions that have subordinated women and those that have empowered women historically; these traditions not only governed the lives of women in ancient times but also conditioned their experience into the present.

The assumptions undergirding the present volume are stated in its opening pages: the authors' convictions that gender, rather than era, class, or nationality, is the most important factor shaping the lives of women—significantly more so than in the case of men—and that, further, all women have been defined by their relationships with men and women's work has been habitually valued less highly than men's. Anderson and Zinsser place themselves in the tradition of Christine de Pizan in reclaiming the lives of women as women rather than as men have seen them and in that of Louise Otto that women will be forgotten if they forget their own history. Substantively, the volume begins with a discussion of women of the courts, one that examines the lives of female monarchs and courtiers in the early modern period. (Women on the land, in the towns, and in the churches are included in the first volume.) The role of the salon is examined both as an institution critical to the exercise of intellectual power by privileged women and, at the same time, as one incapable of altering traditional female stereotypes on the part

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of the male philosophers who frequented their meetings. As the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth, economic growth generated first by commercial capitalism and then by industrial capitalism permitted increasing numbers of women to employ servants and enjoy a leisured domesticity with its attendant restrictions. Anderson and Zinsser analyze the impact of the new ideal of the lady on the law and on scientific thinking where the distortion of reality approached the absurd. The preponderance of this volume is devoted to "Opportunities and Limits . . . in the Twentieth Century" (p. 197) and their sources in the past. Vibrant examples illustrate the changes and continuities in family and work life. The volume concludes somewhat triumphantly with the equal rights movement in Europe, embracing the early modern liberal political revolutions, the evolution of feminist socialism, and the women's liberation movement of the present.

This book should persuade any lingering skeptics that the history of women does not fractionalize conventional history but rather offers a more inclusive historical vision. The study, taken in both parts, demonstrates that one could successfully teach "Western civilization" from the perspective of women's experience without in any way neglecting such topics crucial to both genders as well as to the format of the conventional survey: the rise of the modern state, class formation, and the impact of modern warfare. This study is equally successful as an introduction for the inquiring nonacademic reader.

CATHERINE M. PRELINGER
Yale University

DAVID A. WILSON. *Paine and Cobbett: The Transatlantic Connection.* (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas, number 12.) Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1988. Pp. xx, 218. $27.95.

Contending that the careers of Thomas Paine and William Cobbett "display remarkable similarities and interconnections that have never received the attention they deserve" (p. ix), David A. Wilson proposes to elucidate the parallels between these two important figures in British radicalism. Comparative biographies can provide new perspectives on familiar subjects, but, as with so many examples of this genre, Wilson's brief monograph reads more like two discrete essays than a systematic comparison of his subjects. More important, aspiring to be neither "comprehensive" nor "definitive" (p. xvi), Wilson's analysis offers little original insight into either Paine or Cobbett. Much of what he has to say has been more thoroughly and effectively articulated in Eric Foner's classic study of Paine and in biographies of Cobbett by Daniel Green and George Spater.

Notwithstanding the work of scholars such as Colin Bonwick, Wilson asserts that "historians have largely ignored the important role that America, or the myth of America, played" in the development of British radicalism (p. 89). Maintaining that their American experiences were "pivotal" (p. xvii) to the ideological development of Paine and Cobbett, Wilson focuses on this common denominator in their careers.

Despite the paucity of data on the issue, Wilson insists that Paine's radicalism was "latent" in England (p. 32). Agreeing with Foner, Wilson roots Paine's radicalism in Real Whig ideology rather than in scientific deism or the writings of certain philosophes. Noting that Real Whigs were a decided minority in England, Wilson debatably characterizes their views as a "majority outlook" in prerevolutionary America (p. 41). Once in this congenial milieu, Wilson contends, Paine virtually flowered overnight into "an internationalist and a republican" (p. 19) who provided "an important link in the transmission of English Civil War republican ideology to the radical edge of the American Revolution" (p. 45). After his return to Britain, Paine's vision of America as a republican model "resonated deeply" in his "consciousness" and served as a significant reference point in his writing of the *Rights of Man* (p. 71).

In contrast, Cobbett's American experiences initially "turned him from a Paineite republican" (p. 99) into a "John Bull High Tory" (p. 184). His gradual disillusionment with the British government following his return to England led Cobbett once again to embrace elements of Paineite radicalism. His attitude toward America also changed. He "oscillated between qualified approval" of America as "an inspiration and example for British reformers" and "straightforward fear" of "American imperial power" (p. 177).

In the course of delineating the American dynamic in the careers of Paine and Cobbett, Wilson does make one significant point that warrants emphasis. The interplay between style and substance was crucial to both men's impact. But, taking issue with Foner, Wilson appropriately asserts that neither Paine nor Cobbett should be credited with creating a new literary style. Rather, both represent particularly effective examples of an eighteenth-century rhetorical revolution that was underway prior to the publication of *Common Sense*. Popular in America before Paine ever put pen to paper, this "new rhetoric" rejected the convoluted and contrived in favor of clear and forceful prose. And, as demonstrated by the publications authored by Paine and Cobbett while in America, the "new" style was used to enunciate widely divergent political views.

In his introductory chapters, Wilson tilts with various historians and an occasional straw man in an effort to establish the distinctiveness of his analysis. But his chosen turf has been well trod by others. In another day, his observation that both Paine and Cobbett were significantly affected by their American experiences would have generated an article. Today's academia mandates that dissertations become monographs. Wilson can hardly be faulted for taking 211 pages bound

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between hard covers to say what could have been more succinctly expressed in another medium.

CARLA H. HAY
Marquette University

GARY MARKS. *Unions in Politics: Britain, Germany, and the United States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 277. Cloth $35.00, paper $13.50.

In this book, Gary Marks harnesses a shrewd grasp of the logic of trade unionism to the most subtle exposition to date of comparative labor politics. In clear and orderly prose, Marks builds his primary case for looking at labor politics as an aggregation of "union" politics, determined in turn less by overarching national variables than by the specific labor market contexts and organizational strategies employed by discrete occupational groups over time. His emphasis on individual union behavior and industry-specific, cross-national similarities pointedly separates Marks's work from a tradition of comparative labor political history operating at the national party level.

Union political activity, Marks argues, is historically conditioned by two sets of variables: the first being the organizational strength of the union; the second, its ability to control the labor market. "Closed" unions (Marks uses the printers as his prototype) tend to develop where workers possess both organizational capacity and effective leverage over labor markets. So long as this restrictive, self-help strategy works, such skilled craft unions tend to disdain a political strategy (Marks allows that in Germany workers had first to adopt a political course via the Social Democratic party in order to create a union right of way). "Open" and more politically aggressive unions result where the sense of occupational community is strong (coal miners are the prototype here) but where market control and an acceptable quality of work life are impossible without outside help. Marks neatly compares British Chartism and the American Knights of Labor as examples of labor political radicalism driven by well-organized, occupationally cohesive groups facing declining market power. Although generally endorsing the current wisdom linking worker radicalism to earlier traditions of community organization, Marks warns that "this conception . . . [may have] carried the day too completely." Eruption of the previously inert German steelworkers in World War I and the militancy of the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States remind Marks that revolt is "the other face" of disorganization and political apathy (p. 36).

Although giving primary attention to sectoral elements within the labor body politic, Marks does not neglect the larger institutional-juridical framework as a determinant. Treatments of the differential effects of legal repression on union development and of the "organizational revolution" encompassing monopoly enterprise, state mediation, and bureaucratic trends within the labor movement after the turn of the century permit Marks to operate at the national as well as the subnational level of analysis.

A masterful concluding essay on American exceptionalism demonstrates Marks's skill in moving from his building blocks of individual unions to the subject of national party-level politics. A key factor in the lack of development of a U.S. labor party, he argues, was the configuration of the labor movement in the crucial decade before World War I. Whereas industrial or "open" unions generally supported political initiatives in the United States just as they did in Britain, their weight in the American Federation of Labor was much weaker in this period than it was in the British Trades Union Congress. This fact itself, allows Marks, was not a permanent "given" but a historical product of the defeat of the earlier "open" Knights of Labor and the lessons learned from that defeat by those who survived its passing. The federal political structure, particularly the veto power of the courts over social legislation, also acted, in his view, to undercut further the rationale for an activist party political strategy. Finally, Marks takes note as well of the influence of contemporary actors; the unwillingness of American socialist leaders to settle for a less ideological, independent labor political formation, he suggests, may have driven the final nail into the political project.

Historians may kick at Marks's attempt to impose a model of political behavior necessarily based on generalizations that smooth over contemporary countercurrents. Marks, for example, is unable to give much attention to politics at the local level, which was often of primary importance to the unions. His account doubtlessly also underplays intraunion conflict. Perhaps more important, the character of labor movement culture and working-class ideology (except as pointed calculations of economic group interest) receive short shrift. A kind of structuralist bias (where the designated variables inevitably determine the outcomes) may accompany any effort like this one. But Marks's garment is appropriately loose fitting and seldom obstructionist. He has arranged a valuable body of material in a compelling and useful way.

LEON FINK
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

HANS OTTO SCHÖTZ. *Der Kampf um die Mark 1923/24: Die deutsche Währungsstabilisierung unter dem Einfluss der nationalen Interessen Frankreichs, Grossbritanniens und der USA*. (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, number 68; Beiträge zu Inflation und Wiederaufbau in Deutschland und Europa, number 9.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. Pp. ix, 205. DM 88.

How do nation states protect their domestic economic and political interests as they formulate their foreign policy goals? Hans Otto Schötz addresses this vast question as he looks at German, French, British, and

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American ambitions in the months immediately following the end of the German hyperinflation after World War I. In the process, he challenges many of the underlying assumptions made by contemporary historians of international relations.

Diplomatic historians of the old school were often accused of simply recording what one clerk in the Foreign Office said to another. A cynic might suggest that the great revolution in the history of "international relations" in the past fifteen years has been to record what one clerk in the Finance Ministry said to another. The tendency among historians of international relations to assume that all foreign policy is really economic policy has gone too far, and Schötz, sometimes unintentionally, makes it clear that the "primacy of economics" is not always the key to understanding the past. Economic and political ambitions do not always mesh, and attempts to fit their complex interplay into a rigid theoretical model may undermine our understanding of the processes involved.

As Europe struggled to reshape itself after World War I and Germany's hyperinflation, national foreign policy priorities often had limited economic content, even when the disputes turned on economic issues. In looking at French efforts to found an independent Rhineland bank, Schötz makes it clear that issues of national importance were at stake. In attempting to use the bank as the economic center of an independent Rhineland, the French government was pursuing its political goal of trying to protect itself from German military power. In opposing the independent bank, the German government was fighting to preserve German national unity. The conflict took economic forms, but the issues were national security and independence.

In late 1923 and early 1924, French officials hoped that, by introducing a special currency to the Rhineland, they could separate the Rhineland economically from the rest of Germany and then follow this with political separation. German bankers believed that they could make economic concessions to the French that would end the inflation and allow economic reconstruction without making the political concession of an independent Rhineland. In putting this story together, Schötz demonstrates that many larger issues turned on the apparently small issue of currency reform.

In the ensuing struggle, Schötz shows the ways in which both France and Germany depended on other states for support. But it is revealing that the major outside actor was Great Britain and not the United States. While both German and French leaders agreed that the new Rhine mark should be defined in terms of dollars, American officials played no part in making that decision. Rather, the American dollar, as the one stable currency in the world, offered advantages that transcended American political influence. The notion of Europe as a "penetrated system," first developed by Werner Link and still employed by Schötz, offers no insight into this process.

Schötz focuses on French efforts to create an independent Rhenish state, yet that effort seems to have been remarkably anemic. French leaders in Paris always made it clear that they would neither allow the franc to be undermined nor sacrifice French financial health to pay for Rhenish separatism. This well-considered judgment emasculated French policy in the Rhineland and allowed a determined Germany to regain the initiative and preserve its unity.

Schötz sets his analysis within a theoretical context that is often unconvincing. He uses the concept of "hegemony" as developed by American economists and political scientists to suggest that each of his four main actors—France, Germany, Britain, and the United States—sought to create a hegemonic system. But when four states contend for power and each has to make compromises to protect what it regards as most valuable, we are dealing with a balance of power system and not with anything that could accurately be termed a hegemonic system. Schötz suggests that, because the Dawes Plan experts had political motives, the plan was not really an experts' plan at all. But what serious historian has suggested that it was? Finally, Schötz seems surprised that states do not seek "peace and security" but instead seek to promote their own power within the international system. Is it a positive reflection on our own times that we can hold policy makers of the 1920s to this standard?

WILLIAM C. MCNEIL
Barnard College

MAURIZIO VAUDAGNA, editor. *L'estetica della politica: Europa e America negli anni Trenta.* (Biblioteca di cultura moderna.) Bari: Laterza. 1989. Pp. xiv, 237. L. 35,000.

During the world depression of the 1930s, industrialized nations in Europe and the United States appealed to a remarkably similar set of symbolic resources in order to shore up popular faith in the regnant political and economic orders. Maurizio Vaudagna's anthology emphasizes the political relevance of image in democratic, communist, and fascist regimes and follows George Mosse's lead in locating structural linkages between resurgent nationalism, mass politics, and the aesthetics of politics in Europe and the United States between the wars.

These broadly comparative essays address two distinct spheres of analysis. In the first sphere, scholars probe the symbolic and iconographic apparatus of one or more governments in order to decode political messages and identify the modalities by which they were instrumentalized for political ends. Within this group, some authors consider specific artifacts (murals, comics, films), whereas others assess more general symbolic programs. Loretta Mannucci's account of the exploitation of the eagle and the turkey and Marcello Flores's discussion of the trajectory of myths about the USSR among professionals in the United States, particularly engineers and industrialists, offer unusual perspectives on familiar icons and symbols, even rendering them faintly ridiculous to American eyes. To

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their credit, these scholars refrain from cheap ridicule with a measure of restraint normally absent from American and British treatments of Italian fascist political rituals.

Vaudagna's own essay on the political symbols of the New Deal best exemplifies a broad analysis of a symbolic program, providing a fresh and penetrating view of familiar New Deal material. The aesthetic intensification of American political life raised the conflict to a mythic, almost fantastic plane, Vaudagna argues, where the struggle appeared to be more over the control of national symbols than over gut political and social programs. New Deal inventions such as Social Security, the Wagner Act, and the National Recovery Administration thereby generated opposition on the grounds that they were un-American and derived from foreign "-isms" such as socialism, fascism, and communism. Although not based on a systematic comparison of the United States with other countries, Vaudagna's insights derive from an understanding of European symbolic programs and potentially challenge the pervasive belief in American exceptionalism.

A second group of essays tackles synthetic analyses of topics such as self-representation, the political awareness of the bourgeoisie, and propaganda. Though typically comparative in scope, these chapters focus on Italy, the United States, Germany, and Russia and largely omit other European and East European nations. Always provocative, the arguments are not always convincing.

In his essay on self-representation, for example, George Mosse argues that, while fascist governments and the United States shared a predilection for evocations of preindustrial myths of rural paradises (exemplified in regionalist paintings by Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton), in the United States a second parallel and ultimately predominant impulse of a more individualistic stamp emerged, in particular in documentary photographs celebrating the heroism of common men and women. Mosse specifically refers to the sharecroppers rendered heroic and famous in Farm Security Administration stills. From another perspective, these documentary photographs could be read as voyeuristic bourgeois evasions of political confrontation. Of all social and economic groups, sharecroppers and migrant farm workers were among those most in need of empowerment during the 1930s, but Mosse fails to note that ameliorative New Deal policies helped rob them of organizing force and, specifically, denied them union organization under the Wagner Act.

Other authors make similar moves toward separating the politics of symbols in the United States from those in European nations. Among the exceptions is Gian Piero Brunetta's account of Benito Mussolini's fascination with the United States and vice versa. Based on his analysis of obscure short stories and newspaper accounts, but especially on films and documentaries (including one documentary by Lowell Thomas), Brunetta argues that a strong and positive pro-Mussolini following existed in the United States. So troubling is this thesis that Italian state television (RAI) has stalled since 1985 a documentary comprised of archival footage that documents Mussolini's reciprocal rapport with the United States.

This collection has many provocative strengths, not least of which is a refreshing perspective on the United States. Therefore, it is unfortunate that most authors shrink from acknowledging that the United States was not so exceptional after all and that, indeed, fascist and democratic countries had more in common than wartime and postwar propaganda has led us to believe. Similarities in symbolic agendas go hand in hand with profound parallels at the level of social and economic programs. These essays help demystify the agendas, but the parallels still await serious scholarly development.

DIANE GHIRARDO
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DIANE GHIRARDO. *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 223. $35.00.

In this well-researched and beautifully illustrated study of new communities in the 1930s, architectural historian Diane Ghirardo finds significant similarities between Italian new towns and U.S. cooperatives, migrant camps, and subsistence homesteads. Her comparative analysis emphasizes how government bureaucracies in both crisis-ridden capitalist nations sought to reclaim citizens as well as land through back-to-the-land projects that displayed a ruralist faith in the restorative powers of property ownership. Architecture served to legitimate the policies of both Mussolini's Italy and Roosevelt's America, functioning as an agent of social control and ideological hegemony.

Between 1928 and 1940, Mussolini commissioned thirteen towns and over sixty other rural settlements; the most prominent were the cities reclaimed from the swamps of the isolated Argo Pontino. The New Deal promoted some ninety different communities. Planners and architects in both countries created political symbols out of indigenous styles. The Italian new towns mixed the orthogonal grid and civic piazza of imperial Rome with the commanding tower of the medieval Italian commune. New Deal communities often reproduced the regular grid of the frontier settlement and relied on local building materials.

On the Italian communities, this study is revisionist history at its best; we will never again associate fascist architecture only with monuments. Ghirardo chides those who refuse to consider these new towns as twentieth-century embodiments of the ideal city tradition because they were products of the fascist state. She takes them seriously "as arms of . . . cultural and social policy" (p. 20) that embody that regime's ambivalent embrace of traditionalism and modernism, a rationalism in plan wedded to vernacular and historical forms. Through excellent discussions of the reconstruction of

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Il Duce's hometown of Predappio Nuova, the town hall of the regional capital of Littoria, and settlements in Ethiopia, Ghirardo combines a wide knowledge of architectural precedent with shrewd readings of fascism's symbolic forms. Thus, the single family house with numerous bedrooms stood for the fecundity that the regime promoted, while planners placed monuments apart from other buildings to show the fascist state fulfilling the glory of the imperial past. She understands that design both reflects and shapes gender ideology and behavior, although more could be done with this insight. Here Ghirardo successfully suggests "the political relevance of a large group of buildings which are often relatively undistinguished architecturally" (p. 23).

Her handling of the New Deal programs is less satisfying, in part because she moves away from close readings of plans and buildings to a more internal history of the bureaucracy. A good exception is the discussion of the hexagonal plan of southwestern migrant camps where placement of the entrance, manager's quarters, and office "favored control by the management and the separateness of the community from neighboring towns" (p. 152). Throughout the book, Ghirardo emphasizes the undemocratic hierarchy of New Deal officials and their attempts at "Americanizing" settlers. If Italians created elaborate stages for shaping character through politics, the Americans furnished plain settings but relied on the character of their inhabitants, closely screening applicants. The Italians used their towns to ship off to the provinces political and social undesirables and anyone else who could be forced to "volunteer."

This emphasis on social control neglects more recent scholarship on the New Deal that, although hardly celebrating its liberalism, takes the construction of a welfare state on its own terms much as Ghirardo does for the town plantation policies of fascist Italy. Viewing government agencies as fashioning environments to corral migrant labor misses the self-activity of "the Okies" within the borders of the Farm Security Administration camps; considering agricultural cooperatives as a means to quell social unrest obscures that Social Security, the Wagner Act, and other New Deal programs—despite their flaws—did increase the social wage and unleash mass insurgencies. Because she remains locked within the New Left interpretation of the New Deal as simply the savior of capitalism, Ghirardo misinterprets as much as she clarifies, equating for example the fostering of monopoly under the National Recovery Administration with the stymieing of collective bargaining.

Ghirardo's contextual framework testifies to the new historicism that is overtaking formalistic analysis in many disciplines. But this attempt at comparative understanding flounders on an undialectical reading of the New Deal.

EILEEN BORIS
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ANCIENT

CYRIL ALDRED. *Akhenaten: King of Egypt*. New York: Thames and Hudson. 1988. pp. 320. $35.00.

Over two decades ago Cyril Aldred wrote *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study* (1968) and followed it shortly with *Akhenaten and Nefertity* (1973) and a chapter on the Amarna period in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (vol. 2, part 2). These three works have justly taken their places as the most definitive treatments of the momentous period of thirty years that intervened between the reign of Amenophis III and the usurpation of Horemheb. Because Aldred is an art historian of the first rank, his works excel in the treatment of the astounding style of art that made its sudden appearance at this time. But Amarna studies, no matter what else may be said of them, are never static. Since 1968, work has been resumed in the excavations at Amarna by Barry Kemp, with gratifying results, and the work of reconstruction of relief scenes by Ray W. Smith's Akhenaten temple project has proceeded apace. In addition, the dismantling of the ninth pylon (west wing) at Karnak by the Centre Franco-Egyptien and my excavations of the Gempaaten temple at the same site have produced thousands of new *talatat* and other artifacts. And so Aldred has deemed it advisable to "update" his work of 1968 and has produced the book under review.

Although this volume is not, understandably, a complete rewriting of the original, the author has included most, if not all, of the significant evidence that has come to light since the first edition was published. Thus, the new Karnak *talatat* gain a brief assessment—emend "Ray *Winfield* Smith" on page 81—and the important results from the x-raying of the royal mummies have been included. Aldred maintains his view that Amenophis III and Akhenaten enjoyed a lengthy coregency (pp. 169–82), although very little new evidence has come to light recently (the estimates of age at death of Cairo mummy 61070 do not inspire confidence). It is gratifying to read cogent remarks against the theory of J. R. Harris that Nefertity after year 14 turns up as a male coregent of her husband (pp. 228–30). (Presumably the evidence from the Ulu Burun shipwreck and the papers at the Amarna conference at the University of Chicago in 1987 appeared too late to be included.)

Much remains to be done in Amarna studies, but Aldred is to be congratulated on a most judicious and authoritative evaluation of where we are now in the subject. I personally can only crave from the author's pen a new treatment of the art of the period; the finds at Karnak and Saqqara have provided much new and representative material.

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L. RICHARDSON, JR. *Pompeii: An Architectural History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1988. Pp. xxviii, 445. $49.50.

After a history and general description of the town of Pompeii, L. Richardson, Jr., presents his treatment type by type and building by building, according to four generally accepted eras starting about 200 B.C. and ending in A.D. 79. Public buildings, houses, "villas," and tombs serve as the types of structures. The two appendixes might have stood as introductory or summary chapters since the author discusses stones and building techniques in the first and the development of the Pompeian house in the second. That the subjects are relegated to the status of an annex implicitly underscores what kind of "history" Richardson intended. His accomplishment is that he has walked us through scores of ruinous buildings while he talks to us about what we are seeing and, sometimes, what he is feeling. Given the division of the subjects and the author's reference to the traditional references to buildings, the ground plans (plus two key plans) have no ready usefulness because they are borrowed from another's work and do not supply the user with a clear indication of the region, blocks, and houses by which we normally traverse Pompeian streets in books. Richardson does not refer to these town plans, to the photographic illustrations (uniformly of poor quality), or, for the most part, to the building plans.

The author apparently envisages a Roman world of partial purdah where, in his quaint phrase, the women ate in "ladies' diningrooms" (pp. 156–57, 164–68; also see pp. 392, 398). The scant literary evidence for such segregated dining does not justify his statement that it "probably" was a ladies' dining room early in the work or his affirmation that it "clearly was going to be a ladies' diningroom" toward the end (p. 309, 441). Among other unheard of institutions that Richardson presents are the ornamental ruin, that is, architecture built as a ruin (the "Triangular Forum"), and the villa as a spa or sanatorium (the Villa of Oplontis).

Akin to these wonders are the peculiarities of the author believing the Sammite Palestra to be a temple of Hercules (with doubt about the character of a *vereiia*, normally taken as Latin *iuventus*, athletic association of young men); of his omission of the normal use of a basilica, evidently because he wants to install the law courts in the comitium; of his deeming the "so-called Sacellum Larum Publicorum" on the forum a public library, whereas Eugenio La Rocca and others in their archaeological guide still consider it to be a temple; and, finally, of Richardson's belief that the central baths were designed for the "young and vigorous" while the older Stabian Baths were frequented by the "middle-aged and elderly" (p. 289).

Students familiar with the furnishing and wall decoration of Pompeian houses will find little attention paid here to those subject matters. Richardson rigorously adheres to a history of naked architecture that often is further reduced to the single room or single building. The author seems to compel our gaze on what he sees. To this effect we would have to stand amid the ruins themselves.

ROBERT E. A. PALMER
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MIRKO D. GRMEK. *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World*. Translated by MIREILLE MUELLNER and LEONARD MUELLNER. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 458. $45.00.

Mirko D. Grmek's study of diseases in Greek antiquity is a brilliant demonstration of the best in medical historical writing. Grmek's presentation is a multifaceted approach that treats subjects as difficult as the origins and evolutionary development of microorganisms (for example, rhinovirsuses, eteroviruses, protozoa, and bacteria) during a period when their existence was neither known nor attested. Grmek calls his approach "pathocoenotic dynamism."

In the first section dealing with literary testimonial allusions to diseases, his methodology appears conventional, or at least familiar enough, when he speculates about what the pathological realities might have been. But, even when examining Linear B tablets, Homer (whose descriptions deal with the causes of death of about two hundred individuals), and Hesiod, Grmek relates carefully drawn philological findings with the paleopathological evidence—a kind of "linguistic archaeology" (p. 17)—with results that are a model of the best in historical writing. The English translation preserves his exciting flair together with his technical mastery of biological facts.

The first part of the next chapter summarizes a history of the development of paleopathology, beginning with Rudolf Virchow's nineteenth-century concerns only with racial classifications of skulls to important recent contributions of the American pathologist John Lawrence Angel. Grmek recognizes the importance of nutrition and diet as factors in understanding the dynamics of diseases.

A prodigious control of complex data is displayed in the section that examines whether syphilis was present in the classical world. After reviewing the pathologies of various syphilitic entities, Grmek produces a synthesis of various theses and argues that the organism for "venereal" syphilis began in the rain forests of equatorial Africa, spread throughout the world, and was genetically muted in the New World only to return via Columbus's crew in its virulent form in the late fifteenth century. Yaws (and not pinta), Grmek concludes, was the manifestation of the microbial group during antiquity.

The same comprehensive approach is applied to leprosy and tuberculosis during antiquity. Heretofore, speculation about the evolution of muted microorganisms in various animal and human populations was the province of physicians, biochemists, and microbiologists, each of whom knew the subject within the prov-

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ince of his or her respective fields. Grmek knows well medicine, the ancient languages, the modern languages needed to interpret medical anthropology, and cultural history. Equipped with these tools, he argues persuasively that tuberculosis did not evolve from the organisms causing leprosy before leprosy's infection of large populations. He postulates that leprosy (*Mycobacterium leprae*) infected human populations around the beginning of the second millennium B.C., whereas tuberculosis (*M. tuberculosis*) spread from bovines to humans in the Neolithic period (about 7000 B.C.) and was present in classical Greece. It reached the most virulent phase only in the nineteenth century.

The toxic effect from the broad bean, a condition known as favism, has long been a controversial subject because the broad bean was a common food and Pythagoreans avoided it. In inexplicable conflict to the reality of science, Greek medical texts seemingly did not describe its syndrome. Grmek gives a "nuanced yes" (p. 242) to the question of whether the Pythagoreans recognized the physiological reality of favism together with its causation. They did through their emphasis on sacred dietetics. Other pathological entities discussed in the volume are porotic hyperostosis, anemias, malaria, blackwater fever, and influenza.

Grmek concludes with a "Melian dialogue" between himself and Fernand Robert in which they discussed certain cases in the Hippocratic *Epidemics* as examples of how a classical philologist can team with a physician to engage in constructive dialogue in order to understand the texts. For those who teach the history of medicine, Grmek's pathfinding book on pathology provides two sections readily adaptable to classroom instruction: one on the history and use of paleopathology and two chapters on the reconstructions of Hippocratic case studies, which help one judge what the ancient physicians were describing. My only quarrel with Grmek's work is that he explicitly excludes from examination ancient therapeutics because he says that they could not possibly have been pathologically beneficial. How could the ancients have made such intelligent observations about diseases and have always been wrong in how to treat them? In cutting himself and us off from this added data, he neglects important insights. Indeed, on page 165 he notes the mild therapeutic agents used to treat Hippocratic *lépra* as an argument that *lépra* meant only various dermatological afflictions, chief among which were psoriasis and eczema. But, even though a discussion of therapeutics would have added to his work, this volume is in my opinion one of the most significant studies in classical medical history, and now, happily, it is in excellently fashioned English.

JOHN M. RIDDLE
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VICTOR DAVIS HANSON. *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*. Foreword by JOHN KEEGAN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1989. Pp. xxi, 244. $19.95.

The conditions of combat for the Greek hoplite soldier have not been the subject of a focused and popularly accessible study, so a book both honest to the disparate ancient evidence and within reach of the nonspecialist is warranted. And the enthusiasm of John Keegan's introduction to Victor Davis Hanson's work provides promise that this might be that study. Unfortunately, the promise is realized only in part.

Hanson's book is coherently laid out, divided into five parts, the latter four of which detail the physical and psychological exertions of hoplite combat on the individual soldier, from the preparations for battle, through the moment of engagement and the grind of battle, to a concluding review of the fate of the wounded. The opening section offers justification for the focus of the study and argues the imprint of the ethic of Greek hoplite warfare on Western military thinking. The writing is clear and lively, and there is much detail. Hanson takes special pains to focus attention on the plight of the men who engaged in hoplite combat. It is this focus that is the book's distinctive feature, although Hanson's criticism of those who have approached the study of hoplite combat from perspectives other than his own is unnecessary.

For the Greeks of the later archaic and classical eras (ca. 650–400 B.C.), warfare was the prerogative chiefly of those landowners sufficiently wealthy to afford the panoply of weapons: helmet, cuirass, greaves, thrusting spear, sword, and shield (called hoplon). Opposing phalanxes, massed typically eight ranks deep, met on level plains and attacked, frontally and without subterfuge. Strategy was simple and tactics virtually nonexistent. What we should recognize in this—and what is inadequately explored by Hanson—is that ancient hoplite warfare was essentially elitist in character, conducted significantly on the very fields that determined the status (economic, social, and political) of the combatants, and waged in a manner that approached ritual. Thus, by contrast, the radical character of Athenian democracy in the fifth century B.C. was largely a function of that city's subscription to the primacy of naval warfare, with triremes manned by two hundred rowers and crew who overwhelmingly were of an economic and social status inferior to the hoplite. It was these thousands of men who controlled the Athenian assembly and the popular courts.

In failing to explore in detail the ideological basis of hoplite warfare, Hanson's study falters on two counts. We miss a true picture of the network of institutions, practices, and values that helped shape the ethos of the ancient hoplite and thus made him different from, or similar to, his counterpart subsequently in history. With this, any claim that the ethic of hoplite warfare has been imprinted on Western military thinking remains conjecture. Furthermore, an understanding of ideology would enhance appreciation of why for centuries the hoplite fought as he did, when alternate

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modes of combat were known to him. Without his ideology, the individual whom Hanson would have us know escapes us.

There is much information in this book, and the focus is novel and not without merit. Nevertheless, W. Kendrick Pritchett's *Greek State at War*, volumes 1–4 (1971–85), remains the authoritative study on virtually all matters, to be supplemented now with Robin Osborne's "The Field of War," in *Classical Landscape with Figures* (1987), pages 137–64.

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PETER GARNSEY. *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 303. $39.50.

This is a provocative book. Peter Garnsey looks afresh at Greco-Roman society's vulnerability, and responses, to food crisis. A fundamental distinction is made, based on textual analyses, between food shortages and mortal famine, and one key conclusion from Garnsey's survey of recorded food crises in the Greco-Roman world is that food shortages were endemic whereas genuine famine was rare. Food shortages were a natural consequence of fluctuating yields in all areas of the Mediterranean, even those renowned for grain exports, and, at base, interseasonal climatic variability was to blame. But distributional inequalities exacerbated crop failure, so that one symptom of real famine is evidence that the wealthy succumbed alongside peasant and proletarian. Institutionalized mechanisms for local government to stabilize food supplies for ordinary folk failed because of the political dominance of the wealthy classes. Thus, a city faced with shortage had either to encourage traders to improve imports or to press the major landowners to release hoarded grain stocks. Responses to food crises were therefore usually ad hoc. Exceptions to these generalizations were the imperial capitals of Athens and Rome, where particular arrangements were made to facilitate food supplies.

The special needs of Athens and Rome arose from abnormal population growth, which far outstripped the capacity of their natural supply regions. Garnsey attacks one orthodox view, however, by suggesting that the fertility of the Attic countryside has been seriously underestimated and that Athens, because of that fertility, was reasonably self-sufficient until its population peaked in the climax of empire in the late fifth century.

Moving beyond these plausible conclusions, one is less satisfied with the methodology employed. Although showing some willingness to introduce data and models from other disciplines (for example, the history of climate), Garnsey remains a historian of traditional mold, building up arguments through a medieval process of cross-questioning the ancient written sources. Often, as in his discussion of the Athenian grain supply, Garnsey's criticisms of traditional textual readings leave one doubting whether any firm viewpoint can be extracted from such ambiguous information. Furthermore, in his treatment of the sources for early Republican Rome, Garnsey would have us believe that he can separate fiction from fact, yet, by acknowledging no alternative evidence to resolve his dilemma, he often has to appeal to what is more probable, usually his preferred model.

Garnsey seems little aware of the necessity for historians of antiquity to broaden horizons and join with other specialists in analyzing the dynamics of the ancient world. When a scholar buttresses an argument on the potential fertility of Attica by reference to a German geographer of the turn of the century, I want to know why that scholar is content to mull over the question in the bleak corridors of a university library and does not get out to south-central Greece (ideally with the advice of a specialist on hand) to find out for himself or herself. He or she would then be in for additional surprises. Leaving ambivalent texts behind, the scholar would discover that German archaeologists have revealed dramatic rural expansion and contraction in the Athenian countryside in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Threshing floors, terracing, and well-built farmhouses imply a major impetus in food production, followed by abandonment for one thousand years. Evidence of this nature is flowing in from every province of the Greco-Roman world, revolutionizing our data base for understanding what actually occurred in ancient societies.

Garnsey decides that Polybius is totally unreliable and that his description of population decline and economic collapse in Hellenistic Greece can be ignored. If we consult that eminent historian F. W. Walbank, however, we read: "Polybius was a sane and balanced writer." Resolution comes from a recent archaeological survey of the towns and countryside of Boeotia, where the dramatic emptying of farmers from the countryside and contraction of towns fully bear out Polybius's account.

Garnsey paints a picture of a static society beyond the imperial capitals, prone to food scarcity from perennial factors. Restricted to the preoccupations of the ancient sources, he lacks a sense of trends operating at different time scales and out of phase from region to region of the ancient Mediterranean. The existence of agro-demographic cycles, which may take five hundred years to run their course, is clearly brought out by archaeology and a reading of ancient history informed by Annaliste approaches. Integrated textual and archaeological studies of provincial trade and settlement shifts have demonstrated how regional economies rose, fell, and diversified in responses to both internal cyclical pressures and changing modes of interregional interaction.

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HENRI CROUZEL. *Origen: The Life and Thought of the First Great Theologian*. Translated by A. S. WORRALL. San Francisco: Harper and Row. 1989. Pp. xvi, 278. $39.95.

This volume is a translation of *Origène* (1985), a magisterial work by Henri Crouzel, a lifelong Origenist. Crouzel has been a regular contributor to the corpus of literature that seeks to understand and evaluate the significance of the Alexandrian Christian father since his *Théologie de l'image de Dieu chez Origène* (1956). This new work will replace Jean Danielou's *Origène* (1948) as the definitive biography.

The first part of the volume is a survey of the life of Origen based on the most contemporary sources available, including book six of the history of Eusebius of Caesarea and book one of the *Apology for Origen* of Pamphilus of Caesarea, which has survived in a Latin translation. Crouzel also relied heavily on Gregory Thaumaturgus's homily in praise of Origen preached when Gregory left his studies under the master, who was then teaching in Caesarea in Palestine, in order to return to his homeland in Pontus, where he later became bishop of Neocaesarea. The second part is an overview of Origen's exegetical method and is followed by an extensive discussion of his notion of spirituality. Origen's spiritual theology is a point of integration for his exegesis, his view of the material and immaterial structure of humanity, his epistemology, and theological and ethical themes such as grace, martyrdom, virginity, and marriage. The fourth and final division of the work discusses elements of Origen's theological system such as apologetics, his doctrine of God, the preexistence of souls, his notion of the church, and his eschatology. There are indexes for modern authors, ancient authors, and other individuals, and biblical references. Indexes for subjects and passages of Origen's works cited should also have been included.

For many reasons Origen is significant in the history of Christianity. His Hexapla was the first serious attempt at biblical criticism in the church, and his commentaries and scholia were broadly influential. *De Principiis*, probably his most important work, was the first attempt at a systematization of Christian thought, as well as a significant work of speculative theology. His apologetical work against Celsus saw him doing battle with the best among the church's adversaries. Finally, his works on martyrdom and prayer were spiritual classics in their day. Crouzel integrates cogent observations on all these works and their contexts into his analysis of Origen's contribution and place in the history of the church. His theme of the church as the vehicle to look at Origen's views on preexistence, the church age, and the future apocatastasis correctly unifies elements of Origen's thought too often left in isolation. His theme of spirituality as the link, which explains Origen's anthropology, epistemology, and the role of virginity and martyrdom in the Christian life, is also well explicated.

Aside from the need for further indices and more bibliographic notes on secondary sources, this volume has few weaknesses and many strengths. It will be well used and clearly shows that Origen's thought was closely integrated around significant theological themes.

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MEDIEVAL

ROBIN CORMACK. *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1985. Pp. 270.

The "new art history" is potentially of much more use to historians than the traditional art historical studies that focus largely on the artistic works as objects unto themselves, *œuvres* to be located on a continuum of iconographic or stylistic development. The "new art historian" prefers to deal both with the role of art in society and with the meanings that objects had, that is, the messages they conveyed in the time of their creation: art as artifact and art as primary source. Such an approach is particularly welcome among historians of Byzantium, a field notoriously source-poor, albeit art-rich, and this beautifully produced and lavishly illustrated book is meant specifically to analyze visual material for the insights it offers into Byzantine life.

In a set of essentially independent chatty essays that concentrate on moments where preserved written and artistic sources happen to coincide, Robin Cormack considers the role of art in Byzantium. He notes the various ways art appears and sacred images are used in the life of a late sixth-century provincial ascetic. On the basis of the *miracula* of St. Demetrius, he interprets the arrangement and decoration of the Thessalonican basilica dedicated to that saint as an attempt on the part of the local power structure to enhance its position while creating a powerful heavenly patron for the second city of the empire. He discusses the role of imperial patronage of building and decoration in the monasteries of Constantinople as public relations activities meant to create specific images of emperors. From the architectural arrangement and commissioned fresco cycle decoration of a lair, he analyzes the view a Cypriote hermit seems to have had of himself. Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are those devoted to Byzantine iconoclasm and its immediate aftermath. Here the author focuses with considerable subtlety on changes of imagery on coins in order to study both the messages the coins were meant to convey to a mass public audience and the power of the image as a legitimating force in Byzantine society. He also draws some fascinating conclusions about the role of art in Byzantine life from the so-called Letter of the Eastern Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilus.

Many of Cormack's interpretations are insightful, provocative, and intriguing; his idea that the icon replaced the holy man in Byzantine life comes to mind. Some of his ideas, however, are rather odd. For exam-

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ple, he suggests that one of the reasons for iconoclasm was the jealousy emperors felt for religious images, which, unlike the remote and secluded emperors, were easily accessible to the people. Unfortunately, many of Cormack's generalizations are stated or assumed rather than argued, and the lack of footnotes makes it difficult for the reader to examine his evidence or consider the opinions of other writers. This lack of scholarly apparatus is a serious flaw in a pioneering attempt to analyze the functioning of art in Byzantium and to read the "writing in gold," that is to say, to decode the meaning of the images that were so important in Byzantine society.

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BERNICE M. KACZYNSKI. *Greek in the Carolingian Age: The St. Gall Manuscripts.* (Speculum Anniversary Monographs, number 13.) Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America. 1988. Pp. x, 164. Cloth $15.00, paper $8.00.

As Bernice M. Kaczynski observes in her excellent small book (the text proper runs to 116 pages), the root of the medieval interest in Greek, one of the *tres linguae sacrae*, lay in Scripture. This was particularly the case in the Carolingian period, where knowledge was gained from and transmitted by means of books. As Kaczynski establishes indeed, knowledge of Greek itself came not from the contemporary Byzantine Empire directly, as is usually simplistically assumed, but, at Saint Gall at least if not elsewhere, from the Bible, patristic commentaries, or school texts of late antiquity still used in the ninth century.

Kaczynski's study is admirably and lucidly presented with, at the outset, a discussion of the hold that the Greek language had in the imagination and hearts of scholars in the Middle Ages, followed by a brief account of the abbey of Saint Gall in the eighth and ninth centuries. It is a pity that the erroneous impression of Saint Gall as an Irish foundation is preserved. Despite the attractions of the abbey for some Irish exiles in the ninth century, as both Johannes Duft and Kaczynski herself acknowledge, there is limited evidence of Irish influence at Saint Gall; from its formal foundation by Alemans at the beginning of the eighth century on the site once occupied by the hermitage of Gallus, a Continental disciple of the Irishman Columbanus, it was emphatically an Alemannian monastery. Chapters deal in turn with the different manifestations of knowledge of Greek in transcriptions, orthography, and use of Greek letters; in grammars, glossaries, and word lists; in Greek and Latin biblical manuscripts from Saint Gall—no less than nine contain whole or fragmentary bilingual biblical texts, and three codices of the Latin Gospels have Greek marginal notes—and, above all, in the liturgy, where the status of Greek as a sacred hieratic language is enhanced. A concluding chapter draws together this diverse evidence, and the appendixes provide precise details of the manuscripts of Saint Gall, forty-four in all and many of them musical manuscripts, in which Greek appears. It is a valuable register, especially for the fascinating information about the Bamberg Psalter (Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Msc. bibl. 44 [A.I.14]) and the rediscovery of the Minden Troper once in Berlin and now safe in Kraków (Biblioteka Jagiellonska MS 783).

The advantage of Saint Gall as a focus for a study of Greek in the Carolingian age is its unbroken history; its library suffered few losses, not even, Kaczynski suggests, in the overzealous and unscrupulous raids that Poggio Bracciolini and his companions made during the Council of Constance in the early fifteenth century. Nevertheless, although there can be no doubt that the acquiring of Greek in the ninth century was an essentially bookish activity in other monasteries in addition to Saint Gall, one is left wondering to what degree Saint Gall was typical in the Carolingian age. Only detailed studies of Greek manuscripts from other centers on the exemplary model provided by Kaczynski, which also tackle the important and specific questions that she has both raised and answered, will tell.

ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK
Cambridge University

KATHLEEN BIDDICK. *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 230. $30.00.

This is a slim but important book. Economic historians until now have paid little attention to the management of pastoral resources on medieval estates. In seeking to redress the balance, Kathleen Biddick discusses the decisions made over two centuries by the monks of Peterborough abbey regarding the numbers and disposition of different kinds of animals on their estates. In the twelfth century, the monks' main concern was to produce food for their household. They kept cows in order to breed the oxen needed to pull the demesne plows, and the sheep were kept as much for their milk as for their wool. Over the next century, however, two major changes occurred as the abbey took over direct management of its estates. First, through the greater use of fen pastures, the abbey was able to increase the size of its flocks of sheep and focus more on wool production. Second, the number of horses kept on the estates tripled, and, by the early fourteenth century, the Peterborough monks were keeping more working horses than other demesnes in the same area. Yet, as Biddick carefully points out, the monks did not follow the market orientation of so many ecclesiastical institutions and produced primarily for consumption with only selective participation in the market.

In the second part of the book, Biddick uses demesne accounts from three years in the first decade of the fourteenth century to discuss how the monks balanced the numbers of animals needed for reproduc-

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tion, consumption, and the market. She stresses that herd demography can be understood only within the confines of the estate as a whole, not by looking at individual manors. The abbey, for example, managed two types of flocks of sheep: an intermanorial flock on its home and western Northamptonshire manors and self-contained manorial flocks on its northern manors. The abbey also maintained two cattle-breeding manors with large numbers of cows and young animals, and elsewhere it kept just a few cows or none at all. But the picture, carefully elucidated and buttressed with voluminous data in the appendixes, is essentially static. Yet strategies employed during the first decade of the fourteenth century with its high inflation may not be typical and may have been abandoned in response to different economic circumstances. For example, did Peterborough abbey continue to organize its sheep husbandry around wool production when trade was disrupted and wool prices slumped in the 1330s? Did cattle-breeding strategies change in response to the outbreak of cattle murrain from 1319 to 1321? It is unfortunate that data are not available to answer these and similar questions. One is left with the sense of being presented with a mere snapshot and not a detailed blueprint for the permanent running of the estate.

Biddick is to be congratulated for tackling a topic so long neglected by historians, and her analysis of herd demography will undoubtedly guide other historians engaged in similar exercises. But I wish that she had been more willing to tackle difficult questions raised by her evidence, even if she could not supply definitive answers. The maintenance of a large herd of horses, for example, was very expensive. The abbey expended over 50 percent of its annual harvest of oats on transport animals on the estate. In addition, cart horses needed to be shod. The iron-bound carts had to be constantly repaired, and carter specialists were usually employed. Thus, the transport costs exceeded the plowing costs between five and nine times over (p. 120). Yet this investment in speedy haulage occurred at a time when the bulk of the abbey's produce, both grain and stock, still went to supply the household and not the market. Did the benefits really match the costs? Such questions, however, underline the need for more work to be done on all aspects of pastoral husbandry. Now that Biddick has led the way, it is hoped that other scholars will follow.

MAVIS MATE
University of Oregon

CAROLE LEVIN. *Propaganda in the English Reformation: Heroic and Villainous Images of King John.* (Studies in British History, number 11.) Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 1988. Pp. xi, 303. $59.95.

Fulfilling the program implicit in its subtitle, this study traces the vicissitudes of the reputation of John from its first delineation in the medieval chronicles through the sixteenth century, during which John's public face underwent one major transformation along with several lesser variations. John himself, of course, provided good clay for the ideological sculptors. By the time of his death in 1216, John had lost the patrimonial holdings in France (and seemingly murdered his nephew and rival Arthur of Brittany in the process), had lost his struggle with Innocent III, and had capitulated again in a not dissimilar episode at Runnymede.

The sixteenth-century fascination with John had little to do with the Magna Carta. Rather, the central episode was John's struggle with Innocent over the appointment to the see of Canterbury, the resultant interdict, and the crisis's resolution at the price of making England a papal fief. The medieval chroniclers had seen John as an unmitigated catastrophe—a moral monster whose murder of Arthur, insolence toward Innocent, and abusiveness toward his subjects were all of a piece. But Henrician propagandists recast John as a hero, a defender of the realm against the machinations of the pope and his grasping hierocrats. When the urgency of the break with Rome was succeeded by the need to defend Elizabeth, later apologists found a polemical use for moral ambiguity, viewing John as "a flawed king against whom it was still wrong to rebel" (p. 260), as if John's life was a proof text for obedience amidst the dissatisfactions and imperfections of the Elizabethan settlement. Predictably, Elizabethan Catholic controversialists revived the villainous John, thereby matching their commitment to holy resistance; as is well known from other studies, the twinned growth of antiquarianism and constitutionalism led to the seventeenth-century John, a figure bounded by the Magna Carta story.

Carole Levin developed her story from a vast array of printed sources for the medieval and sixteenth-century John; her seventeenth-century treatment is spottier. Although much of her presentation is not radically new, she has been conscientious and energetic throughout, particularly in the use of the secondary literature. She has not, however, been well served by her publisher, who has left the blue pencil entirely in the author's hand. The book is too long almost by half; every major text is overwhelmed by a potted and usually largely irrelevant biography of its author. John Foxe's treatment of John is in no way better understood, for example, by virtue of an excursus into his compassion for victims. And, although Levin's manuscript is probably in no worse shape than most that end up on a professional editor's desk, for a published work it is riddled with infelicities, stylistic inconsistencies, and even errors of grammar and orthography. It is saddening to see a scholar with something to contribute so indifferently treated.

MICHAEL MENDLE
University of Alabama

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G. L. HARRISS. *Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline*. Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. vi, 448. $79.00.

Winchester, one of the wealthiest ecclesiastical provinces in medieval Europe—ruled by such statesmen or politicians as Swithun, Dunstan, Henry of Blois, William of Wykeham (founder of Winchester School, New College, Oxford, and the mind behind the longest gothic church in the world), Henry Beaufort, and Thomas Wolsey—exercised a political and intellectual importance that its relative size might belie. This soundly researched and important biography of a central figure in fifteenth-century royal and ecclesiastical politics helps us to understand the diocese and its rulers, although the see obviously is not the book's focus.

Henry Beaufort (1375–1447), natural son of John of Gaunt (and thus half-brother of King Henry IV) and bishop of Lincoln at age twenty-three and of Winchester at twenty-eight, served long periods on the royal council. He was chancellor in 1403–05, 1413–17, and 1424–26 and thus served under the kings Henry IV, V, and VI; directed diplomatic negotiations with the Burgundians and the French between 1403 and 1411; and led the English delegation to the Council of Constance in 1418, where his influence helped secure the election of Odo Colonna as Pope Martin V and receive as his reward the red hat as cardinal priest of St. Eusebius. Beaufort also first enunciated and then orchestrated the myth of Agincourt: in the English victory in Artois in 1415, God demonstrated the invincibility of England's cause. G. L. Harriss considers this "perhaps the most far-reaching of his achievements as Henry V's chancellor" (p. 85).

Contemporaries considered Beaufort to be the wealthiest prelate in Christendom. That wealth, derived from the diocese of Winchester, from Beaufort's sale of wool, and from his huge patronage power as chancellor and cardinal, was spent to advance the goals of the Lancastrian dynasty. Between 1417 and 1426 alone, Beaufort was the leading creditor of the crown and loaned it the prodigious sum of £51,000 while holding the crown jewels as collateral. The money went to pay for the war in France. These loans gave Beaufort virtual control over royal finances and policy. But the goals of his foreign policy—European recognition of the Lancastrian right to both the French and the English crowns and acceptance of England's conquests in France—were not achieved, and the policy was a failure. Although William of Wykeham (1367–1404), Beaufort's immediate predecessor in the see of Winchester, spent the revenues of the diocese on education and learning, Beaufort used his wealth primarily on war and the advancement of his family.

Harriss displays an admirable command of the vast and complicated primary sources of the period, and the book is based on them. He also knows well the recent literature on conciliar government, royal justice, and finance during a crucial stage in their institutional development. This book will prove a corrective to some of that literature, including the work of K. B. McFarlane. Although, as Harriss points out in his preface, biography is not the focus today of the historian's craft, nevertheless students of the tangled aristocratic family history, war financing, and ecclesiastical politics will have to consult this felicitously written study of "the Cardinal of England," probably the most important ecclesiastical politician of fifteenth-century England.

BENNETT D. HILL
Georgetown University

ROSEMARY HORROX. *Richard III: A Study of Service*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 11.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 358. $49.50.

Richard III is the only English king who has a special periodical named for him and dedicated to the study of his life and times. For this we may thank a group of Tudor writers and dramatists who, through their malign characterizations of the last Yorkist king, provoked centuries later the efforts of twentieth-century historians who believe he has been wrongly portrayed.

It is refreshing that Rosemary Horrox has directed her attention to the more important question of how a monarch who usurped a throne created and retained support for his unconstitutional act. Her study therefore illuminates the central dilemma not only of Richard but of other fifteenth-century English kings. She approaches this problem through a close analysis of fifteenth-century lordship and the "affinity" or "connection" through which lordship provided patronage and patronage returned service. The system had been in place for centuries but in milder and different forms, and perhaps the major reason for its strength and intensity in fifteenth-century England was the uncertainty of dynastic hold on power.

The creation of Richard's affinity began in 1469 when the brief rebellion of Warwick and Clarence opened offices in Wales that Edward IV needed to have filled. Warwick's second conspiracy, which resulted in his death at Barnet in 1471, provided greater openings to power for Richard. Already constable and admiral of England, he then acquired his great base of patronage when the king made him chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster. This office, with the northern lands of the late earl, made Richard the greatest lord in England after the king.

The traditional view of Richard's seizure of power has it that he came to the throne as an outsider, using the vast resources and influence of his northern affinity, as Warwick had used them for an assault on the office of the king. Horrox believes that this view is not consonant with the available evidence and that Richard's original intention as protector, and as king, was to put himself in Edward's place and to continue his brother's good government. She shows that of twenty-nine of Edward IV's known household knights, twenty-

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four entered Richard's household or received commensurate status. The other five eventually became rebels. Of the grants of office and land made in the ninety days after his coronation, Richard's own men formed a minority of the recipients, whereas most of the grants went to men identified as having been in Edward IV's service.

The rebellion of 1483 showed Richard that his affinity had failed to become national, and it located the opposition in the southern counties from Kent to Cornwall. His frantic efforts to correct this opposition by placing household personnel in local offices also failed, for the localities saw his action as autocratic imposition. Richard's ultimate failure was his inability, after the October rebellion, to rely on any but the servants of his northern affinity.

FRANKLIN J. PEGUES
Ohio State University

CHRISTINE WEIGHTMAN. *Margaret of York: Duchess of Burgundy, 1446–1503*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1989. Pp. x, 244. $35.00.

Christine Weightman summarizes Margaret of York's position in modern scholarship epigrammatically: "she has tended to disappear into the chasms which have been excavated between the fifteenth century and the early Tudors and between English and European history" (p. 218). Hence, this new biography of Margaret, the first in English, is particularly welcome, and Weightman is particularly well suited to have written it because residence abroad has familiarized her with archival resources in Brussels, Malines, and Lille and with secondary scholarship published in the Low Countries. Weightman's archival exploration is especially valuable in revealing both the economic realities of Margaret's position as dowager duchess of Burgundy and her efforts at reform of religious institutions, based on her sympathy with the *devotio moderna*. The treatment of Margaret as bibliophile is perhaps a bit less satisfying, depending as it does on older authorities such as William Blades and neglecting more recent work on William Caxton such as George Painter's, N. F. Blake's, and Lotte Hellinga's. (Hellinga's suggestion, based on bibliographical evidence, that Margaret might have been the original dedicatee of Caxton's *History of Jason* [1477] would certainly have interested Weightman.) Nonetheless, bibliographically as well as historically, the author makes available continental studies and much obscurely published work. It is astonishing to learn, for instance, thanks to the research of Muriel Hughes and G. Dogaer, that Margaret owned at least twenty-five books, certainly an important collection by the period's standards.

The author is forced to summarize much well-known historical and political narrative in order to indicate Margaret's part in these events, and here Weightman's real gift for clear exposition is most evident. Her central thesis is that Margaret acted always as a faithful servant of Burgundian interests. Although her verdict on particular episodes may not much alter our perspective—Margaret's undisputed endorsement of the Yorkist pretenders, for instance, is only modified by Weightman's reminder of how convenient both Henry VII and Maximilian of Austria found it to shift blame for this episode—the author nevertheless provides a newly detailed understanding of Margaret's place in these political realities.

In doing so, one of the book's main strengths is manifested: it suggests how much unrecognized political work aristocratic women must have performed, and it indicates the nature of such work. Similarly revealing is Weightman's clear presentation of an aristocratic woman's sources of wealth and the responsibilities of governance expected of her, thanks to the archival documents that reveal how such elements shaped Margaret's existence.

The book might have profited by a sterner copyeditor (there are many comma-separated sentences and some typos: "form" for "from" (p. 87), "cites" for "cities" (p. 164), "dependant" as an adjective (pp. 118, 177), Tondel for Tondal (p. 207), Campden for Camden Society (p. 221). Nevertheless, St. Martin's Press has given the book a beautiful production, including sharp reproductions of almost all of the paintings that the text makes us long to see, a very useful map of the Burgundian Low Countries, 1468–1503, and genealogical tables. The presentation thus enhances this useful and accomplished piece of work.

MARY C. ERLER
Fordham University

ART COSGROVE, editor. *A New History of Ireland*. Volume 2, *Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. lxii, 982. $135.00.

The novelty of this volume is highlighted by comparison with the work that it effectively supersedes, A. J. Otway-Ruthven's *History of Medieval Ireland*, published in 1967. The novelty lies mainly in three features. In the first place, it lies in the multi-author nature of the enterprise. In that respect, the volume brings a degree of expertise to bear over the entire range of the subject, which Otway-Ruthven could not possibly achieve for all of her vast erudition and careful scholarship. Here Art Cosgrove is to be congratulated on assembling a team of contributors whose magisterial authority in their area of specialization is well established: F. J. Byne on the political culture of early medieval Ireland; F. X. Martin on the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman invasion; James Lydon on the development of the medieval lordship in the thirteenth century; J. A. Watt on the emergence of the problem of the "two nations" in the fourteenth century; Cosgrove himself on the so-called phase of Anglo-Irish Home Rule in the fifteenth century; and D. B. Quinn on the phase of "recovery" in the half-century that preluded the epochal transformation

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of the 1530s. A second novelty is reflected in the volume's structure and organization. By contrast with Otway-Ruthven's narrative framework, the narrative chapters here are complemented by a series of schematic studies on topics that could not receive adequate treatment within the framework of a mainline political survey: historical geography by Robin Glasscock; socio-economic structure by Kevin Downey; overseas trade by Wendy Childs and Timothy O'Neill; Irish language and literature by James Carney; Anglo-Norman and English language and literature by Alan Bliss and Joseph Long; architecture and sculpture by Edwin Roe; manuscripts and illumination by Françoise Henry and Genevieve Marsh-Micheli; and coinage by Michael Dolly. The most significant novelty that the comparison brings to light, however, relates to the conceptual frame of reference. In that regard Otway-Ruthven's volume represents a historiographical tradition that stemmed from the work of Goddard Orpen in the opening decades of the century, a tradition in which the Anglo-Norman invasion of the twelfth-century and the introduction of the Normans' version of feudalism are presented as the forces of modernization and a tradition that, in consequence, tends to conceive the history of medieval Ireland thenceforward as the history of the lordship established under the crown of England. By far the most important historiographical innovation of this volume is to present an alternative to such a reductionist conception. What is attempted is an integrated account of the history of the "two nations"—the indigenous Gaelic and the Anglo-Irish—whose destinies became inextricably intertwined by virtue of the twelfth-century invasion. In that respect the volume represents the revival of a project launched by Edmund Curtis in 1923 and subsequently sidetracked under the impetus of a revisionist reaction against nationalistically inspired historiography. This new history reflects a growing maturity in Irish historical scholarship, its development beyond the callow revisionism that characterized much historical writing over the past half-century, and a new awareness of the need to construct an interpretive frame capable of accommodating all of the ethnic groups who have molded the history of the modern Irish nation.

BRENDAN BRADSHAW
Queens' College
Cambridge, England

WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN. *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians.* (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 369. $39.95.

As an administrative historian, William Chester Jordan was drawn to study the accomplishments of the Capetian monarchy in shaping the disparate peoples and lands of former Gaul into a unified entity, the precursor of the modern French state. These accomplishments were quite impressive. Capetian military expertise enabled rapid territorial expansion outward from Paris and the Ile-de-France. Even more significant were Capetian administrative skills in managing these far-flung conquests in the north and south, all with varied populations.

Why investigate royal policy on Jewry if administrative history is the prime interest? French kings had many adversaries, not only abroad but inside the kingdom. War was waged against the English rulers of France's southern territories; there were constant conflicts with the cities over the royal right to taxation and with the church hierarchy over territorial rights. Capetian policies toward these interest groups could have provided Jordan with ample material to illustrate the internal state building of France. But alone of all the constituent groups of Capetian society, Jews were an isolated, powerless group without allies in the state structure. Totally dependent on the will of the king, they could be freely exploited for religious, political, and financial purposes. Thus, Jordan argues, Capetian attitudes toward Jews reflected the Capetians' pure political theories and practices, uninfluenced by the need for tactical compromise with other forces. Because Jews were the only population group to live in northern as well as southern France, in almost every estate owned or conquered by the Capetians, the monarchy had to formulate a quasi-national administrative policy toward them. Therefore, according to Jordan, "to study [Capetian] policy toward the Jews, its formulation, application, and effect, is to explore at once the essence of French state-building, and to some degree, the essence of state-building in the West" (p. 128).

The Capetians developed a range of greater and lesser coercive measures to enforce their will on the Jews, including restrictive legislation, forced taxation, seizure of debts or appropriation of Jewish properties, attempts to convert Jews, or, if they refused, outright expulsion. Although there was something inexorable about the development of Jewish policy from Philip Augustus to expulsion under Philip the Fair, Jordan nevertheless shows that the road from restrictive legislation to total expulsion in 1306 was neither linear nor consistent. Some restrictive legislation had only limited effects; expulsions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were followed by recalls. Although not revealing previously unknown sources or events, Jordan convincingly demonstrates the logical sequence of familiar facts, refusing to explain early actions by later developments.

Jordan places the restrictive policies toward Jews in their broad geopolitical context, thus illuminating French history of the period. This work is a significant contribution to the political and social history of medieval French Jewry as well, because Jordan, in an extremely refined analysis of royal records, reassesses much data brought by Jewish historians from Hebrew sources.

ROGER S. KOHN
Jewish Theological Seminary of America

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JAMES F. POWERS. *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000–1284.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 365. $45.00.

For twenty years the colleagues of James F. Powers have valued his pioneering articles on Spain's medieval town militias and looked forward to this book. Their patience has been rewarded with an exhaustive, well-documented narrative with thematic coverage from Portugal to Catalonia during the central three centuries of the urban warriors' rise and flourishing. The topic has been sadly neglected. These were not the feeble auxiliaries historians encounter in northern European feudalism but a central defense of the realm, so formidable that James the Conqueror could threaten his nobles in 1264: "All the towns of Aragon and Catalonia are on my side against you, and they are as skilled as you in warfare" (p. 3). Although he has assiduously worked the archives and leaves no evidence unturned or secondary work unread, the author's fundamental source is the municipal codes, the *fueros*. Consequently, he examines law as much as war and the interaction between the two that shaped urban evolution on this permanent frontier. The result was a behavioral model these townsmen eventually carried into the New World. Although he plays the *fuero* elements in dazzling combinations, Powers does not neglect Arabic and Hispanic chronicles or the Islamic influences resonant in militia terminology.

Three rather demanding chronological chapters narrate the militias' origins and multifarious evolutions in every Spanish realm. Five chapters thematically detail the mutual shaping of Spain's urbanization and its institutionalized warfare: constitutional limitations protecting the town warrior (how often, how long, how far, how many, how armed); militia towns as an in-depth defensive network and as long-distance offensive aggressors; spoils as an economy, a lifestyle, and veterans' compensation; and severe military justice and laws of war framing the whole (hanging, exile, branding, perhaps scalping). The treatment of arms, horses, and procedures is original and fascinating. An epilogue stresses the unique range and independence of the militias and their later transformation into both vigilante and nonfrontier forms.

It is not easy to criticize such a knowledgeable author. Having a stronger orientation toward non-Mediterranean Spain, he seems more comfortable with the Castilian-Aragonese model than with the Catalan-Valencian. Townsmen naval power is absent. (They helped take the Balearic Islands by massive amphibious landings and the Valencian kingdom by naval flanking and logistical support; the Catalan counts regularly assigned galleys to be built and manned by various towns at town expense.) The role of Jewish and especially Mudéjar militia contingents in Mediterranean Spain does not appear, nor do the dogs of war that locals used to reinforce watchtower garrisons. The comparisons with Italian and Occitan town armies are shrewd and intriguing, although disappointingly brief. Such subjects may not fall under the author's deliberate focus, however, and stand less as a criticism than as a call to further exploration. This volume is a model of its kind and a pathbreaker in its field. Both in English and in the Spanish translation, this book will long remain the standard treatment and a benchmark for successors.

ROBERT I. BURNS
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DENIS MENJOT. *Fiscalidad y sociedad: Los murcianos y el impuesto en la Baja Edad Media.* Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio. 1986. Pp. 388.

With this collection of eight essays, Denis Menjot has made a valuable contribution. Although most have been published, the essays have appeared in journals and conference proceedings that have limited circulation and are difficult to obtain. Moreover, most of the chapters complement each other, and Menjot has emphasized this aspect through helpful cross references.

Menjot groups his essays into three sections: a detailed study of municipal fiscal administration and its ties to the royal treasury, an analysis of the types and incidence of taxation, and a topical examination of the fiscal system's impact on the economy. Since Menjot investigates fiscal matters because of their centrality to any political community, one learns a great deal from his essays about a Castilian region in the late Middle Ages.

Two aspects of the book make it particularly important. First, the southeastern Spanish city of Murcia preserves one of the richest documentary collections available for research on Castilian history in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Murcia was the capital of a sparsely populated kingdom of the same name that was sandwiched between the sea and the kingdoms of Aragon (Valencia) and Muslim Granada. The records of its council meetings exist in an almost complete series beginning in 1364, and these are complemented by registers of royal correspondence and the municipal account books for ten years (plus another partial one) spread over the period from 1391 to 1460. Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada's important work on the fifteenth-century Castilian treasury was based on normative documents found mostly in the royal archive of Simancas. Menjot's use of sources has allowed him to explain the development of the fiscal system under the early Trastámara monarchs, to show how limitations on central authority often meant that local reality deviated from the royal norm, and to undertake a statistical study of taxation. Because he consistently compares his data with what is known about other areas of Castile and Western Europe in the same period, Menjot's insights go beyond the particularity of Murcian history. On the latter subject, his most interesting conclusions deal with how a regional elite

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used the fiscal system to solidify its power in the face of royal intervention and popular hostility and how fiscal administration contributed to the demographic and economic stagnation of a region already ill-favored by its natural environment and frontier location.

Second, the book is an exemplary guide for this type of research. Menjot makes careful use of his documentation and provides clear explanations of the work of various officials and of the taxes collected. The author has packed into these pages a great deal of useful information about a period when fiscal matters were acquiring a preponderant place in the preoccupations of authorities and individuals.

Of course, these articles assume a knowledge of late medieval Castilian history, but even specialists may be puzzled by Menjot's vague references to factional conflicts. He has avoided a specific study of these because they have been the focus of the books of María de los Llanos Martínez Carrillo.

J. B. OWENS
Idaho State University

RICHARD C. TREXLER. *Naked before the Father: The Renunciation of Francis of Assisi.* (Humana Civilitas, number 9.) New York: Peter Lang, under the auspices of Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. 1989. Pp. xii, 129. $22.95.

Richard C. Trexler first argues that Pica, the mother of Francis of Assisi, had been widowed before she married Pietro Bernardone and that she had a son, Angelo, by her former husband. Angelo's son, Piccardo, *procurator* of San Francesco (1256–84), used property inherited from Pica to enrich the basilica. Second, Trexler analyzes the renunciation accounts. According to Thomas of Celano and Bonaventure, Pietro possessed the money before he and Francis went to the bishop so that Francis could renounce his paternal inheritance. Because, according to the Three Companions, Francis still had the money when he came before the bishop, Trexler suggests that in their view "Francis . . . left the world to spite Pietro, after being warned by the prelate that he could not both emancipate himself and give to the church the money he had earned off his father's goods before that emancipation" (p. 43). Trexler thinks that Celano used the story of Bernardo of Quintavalle as a model for those joining the order, intimating that they should give their goods to the poor, especially the friars themselves (p. 46). Third, Trexler examines the visual tradition from the Bardi Master (c. 1235) to the sixteenth century and argues that the presence of Pica in the Bardi and Sienese renunciations indicates that Francis renounced his maternal as well as his paternal inheritance and that Pietro was primarily concerned with Pica's property. Later scenes of the renunciation depicted generational conflicts between Tuscan males over women's dowries. The thirty-two illustrations are in black and white, but most are sufficiently clear to enable the reader to use them to evaluate the author's arguments. The key literary texts are given in an appendix.

Trexler has written an important and provocative book. He recognizes that his evidence is often thin and subject to different interpretations. Much of his sociological evidence comes from Florence and must be compared to other evidence from Tuscany, because comparable studies from Umbria are lacking. Trexler errs when he says that the Spiritual and Conventual parties were close to schism by 1260 (p. 40). That was only true after 1305 when Clement V agreed to hear the dispute and Ubertino assumed the role of speaking for the rigorists. Trexler speaks as if all of the Spirituals were Joachites, which is not borne out by the evidence (p. 41). Trexler has, however, raised important issues that scholars who study Francis and the history of the order will have to consider. Historians interested in the familial aspects of the later Middle Ages will find the book interesting, not least because it uses art as evidence for understanding social issues.

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DAVID BURR. *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the* Usus Pauper *Controversy.* (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 211. $29.95.

This book provides a history of the Franciscan poverty controversy from 1279 to 1299 with special emphasis on Peter John Olivi. Focusing on Olivi, David Burr has provided a series of wonderful books and articles about Franciscan apocalypticism, sacramental theory, and biblical commentary. This book is about the early history of the "spiritual party" within the Franciscan order.

The early history of the Franciscan poverty controversy is inseparable from the history of Olivi's trials and tribulations. Hence, Burr's earlier work, *The Persecution of Peter Olivi* (1976), dealt with much of the same material covered in this volume. In both studies, Burr avoided the temptation to read the events of 1279–99 anachronistically by seeing Olivi as Franz Ehrle did in the terms set by the Council of Vienna of 1311. But this book deals more masterfully with the Olivi material and broadens its scope to deal with other aspects of the controversy and other protagonists.

Angelo da Clareno is treated here in some detail, and Burr engages in good-tempered and informative discussion of the works of Lydia von Auw, the modern authority on da Clareno. Hugh of Dinge is characterized as a man "venerated and cultivated for his occasional diatributes, the sort of man whose eloquence wins him not persecution by dinner invitations" (p. 188).

Burr introduces a useful distinction between the poverty dispute in Italy and southern France: in Italy the issue was at first restricted to practice, and in France the dispute focused on the nature of the vow.

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Burr does not restrict his discussion to issues in intellectual history. He describes the actual conditions in 1279, pointing out that the Franciscan order had grown from a group of twelve men in 1210 to an order of thirty thousand men in 1250. He uses a fascinating series of wills made by novices when they joined the order to trace developments in the practice of poverty. Several novices willed themselves and others large book-buying budgets; one such budget was fifteen times the amount necessary to provide for a woman's annual support.

Burr contrasts Olivi's sufferings—unfair hearing procedures and the loss of his books—with the sufferings of those persecuted after his death, most notably Pons Batugat. Batugat was jailed for resisting the order to give up Olivi's writings. He had none. But he said that if he had had any, he would have given them up only to the pope. In punishment for his defiance, Batugat was "so tightly fettered in prison that he sat ill in his own urine and excrement until he died; . . . his body was largely eaten away by worms" (p. 126).

All parties to the dispute agreed that poor use was virtuous and that superiors could demand any particular poor practice. Why was there such savage controversy over the relatively minor question of whether poor practice could also be vowed? Burr provides an interesting hypothesis. He suggests that the *Correctorium* controversy may have sensitized officials in the order to the danger of indeterminate vows. Why was Olivi opposed to requiring only determinate vows? Burr explains that Olivi saw the vow as the beginning of an adventure. "The vow points [a Franciscan] toward a goal and encourages him to travel in that direction. It does not offer a cookbook religion in which all the necessary ingredients are measured out to the nearest quarter-teaspoon" (p. 145).

Burr suggests that Olivi's apocalypticism did not make him more radical. Rather it made him more willing to accept changes in the order (p. 179). Olivi's apocalypticism was characterized not by pessimism about the church but by optimism about the role of the order.

This is a fully developed portrait of Olivi. Burr points to the fact that Olivi had a very sophisticated understanding of contemporary business practice and economic theory. He shows how much Olivi had in common with his major opponents. Finally, Burr discusses in detail the harsh attitude Olivi displayed when writing about those drawn into error in 1295 on account of zeal for poverty. One minor criticism is that Burr should have discussed Olivi's role in originating the doctrine of papal infallibility. Brian Tierney's *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150–1350: A Study of Concepts, Infallibility, Sovereignty, and Tradition in the Middle Ages* (1972) should have been cited.

Olivi was one of the sharpest Franciscan philosophical theologians. He was also among the most talented biblical exegetes writing in the late thirteenth century. It is to be hoped that this fine book will stimulate others to further research on the life and works of Peter John Olivi.

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DANIEL R. LESNICK. *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 306. $40.00.

The rise of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century concomitant with the expansion of European commerce, the rise of new urban classes, and, particularly in Italy, the emergence of cultural forms identified with the Renaissance suggests a tantalizing array of possible causal relationships. But complex methodological issues and a teasing sparsity of documentation make them difficult to pin down. In a microstudy of one of the foci of change, Florence from 1290 to 1310, Daniel R. Lesnick has now attempted to add new precision by distinguishing Franciscan and Dominican lay constituencies and illustrating how preachers tailored their messages to accommodate them. Both orders, he argues, responded to social and economic change by exalting the individual's role in pursuing salvation. But politically the Dominicans addressed themselves to Florence's upper bourgeoisie, offering them a rational, orderly, and civic view of religion that facilitated their consolidation of power in the community, whereas the Franciscans' emphasis on emotion and direct experience was attuned to the aspirations for social and political advancement of their artisan and immigrant audience.

Lesnick's argument proceeds through a trilogy of dichotomies. Drawing on earlier studies, he first delineates the emergence of two new social classes: the *popolo grasso*, international bankers and merchants who had displaced the feudal aristocracy as Florence's ruling elite, and, rising behind them, the *popolo*, prosperous and often immigrant artisans and minor professionals prepared to challenge them for a share of political power. Lesnick next connects these classes to the membership of the mendicant houses, and by inference to the audiences for their preaching, by comparing a list of 162 Dominicans resident at Santa Maria Novella between 1290 and 1310 compiled from the convent's well-known necrology to a valuable list of 273 Franciscans resident or visiting Santa Croce between 1293 and 1310 gleaned from three notarial registers of Ser Obizzo de Pontremoli. Although it is a delicate process to draw sharp lines between Florentine social classes and to assign their members' origins on the basis of family names and toponyms, Lesnick assembles statistics that broadly support his conclusions that "the Franciscans chose to serve a population moving from ruralism to urbanism" (p. 53), whereas the Dominicans were "an urban order, a Florentine patrician order, a markedly *popolo grasso* order" (p. 65). It is the latter point he wants to emphasize. His statistics clearly

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demonstrate the *popolo grasso*'s strong preference for the Dominicans but are also arranged to enhance what was really their 17 percent constituency at Santa Maria Novella. Auxiliary arguments downplay (plausibly) the role of the *popolo* and (less plausibly) of the aristocracy, the urban elements of whom also favored the Dominicans and outnumbered the *popolo grasso* by substantial margins.

Lesnick then turns to analyze the preaching of the Dominican Giordano da Pisa within "the social world the Florentine merchant-bankers and Dominicans together sought to build" (p. 122). Acknowledging that Giordano did not speak directly to economic and political developments in Florence (pp. 107, 122), he turns to the gestalt theory popularized by Erwin Panofsky to argue that, "regardless of the specific content of individual sermons," the use of sermonic *divisiones* (divisions), *distinctiones* (distinctions), and *rationes* (arguments) taught "self-control and social dominance through the principles of rational structuration" (p. 96) and that "the Dominicans chose to do this by providing tools that were also useful to the urban haute bourgeoisie in their pursuit of socio-political hegemony" (p. 99). The persuasiveness of his argument that "the structure of loyalty to God which was fostered by the Dominican preacher-confessor promoted loyalty to the state and acceptance of greater business liability by the individual" (p. 130) thus will depend heavily on his readers' predilections. No Franciscan sermons survive from this period in Florence, but Lesnick finds in the emotional appeal of Giovanni de Caulibus's widely circulated *Meditations on the Life of Christ* a rejection of "the use of knowledge as power" (p. 152) characteristic of "hegemonous clerics or haute bourgeois audiences" (p. 155). Although addressed explicitly to a "dear daughter" among the Clares, a Franciscan order of nuns, Lesnick advances class over gender distinctions in order to argue that its activist epistemological model "aided the *popolo* in its quest for a greater share of the social and political power enjoyed by the *popolo grasso*" (p. 173).

Lesnick's lists and tables clearly distinguish the rural and urban, artisan and well-to-do leanings of Franciscans and Dominicans in Florence, providing a welcome complement to studies of Florentine mendicants by Anna Benvenuti Papi and Charles M. de la Roncière and illuminating theses advanced by Jacques Le Goff, Lester Little, and John B. Freed. But his efforts to tie each order more narrowly to a social class are less convincing, and his analyses of sermons rely heavily on extrapolation and the leading use of portentous but undefined terms such as "hegemony." The effect is to isolate Franciscans and Dominicans from the rest of Florence's growing religious establishment and to undervalue the degree to which strains of mendicant piety also interacted in the precocious Florentine environment. Dante, after all, was already brilliantly confounding the Dominican love of structure with the Franciscan insistence on direct emotional experience. Lesnick's emphasis on Dominican complicity with Florence's ruling elite indeed recalls the scholastic source of the Aristotelian *bene comune* (common good) that by the end of the century had become a staple in the rhetoric of that elite's humanist exponents. But it leaves unexplained (and unasked) why these humanists in turn led the attack on the scholastic forms of analysis that he regards as essential to the elite's preeminence.

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DIANE FINIELLO ZERVAS. *The Parte Guelfa, Brunelleschi, and Donatello.* (Harvard University Center for Renaissance Studies, number 8.) Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin. 1987. Pp. xviii, 471.

In this book Diane Finiello Zervas demonstrates that she is an excellent researcher, demanding and correctly cautious. Her archival investigations are exemplary as she culls the tiniest clues for insights into the Parte Guelfa and, in particular, its patronage of Filippo Brunelleschi and Donatello during the first decades of the fifteenth century. That said, some questions might be raised about the ultimate purposes and accomplishments of this handsomely produced and elegantly printed book.

A somewhat elusive organization functioning in late medieval Florence, the Parte Guelfa appears to have been at once a private corporate entity and a communal body. Its actual function by the fifteenth century is difficult to pin down, although many of the leading citizens seem to have been associated with it. Apparently similar to a semi-secret organization within the state, this elitist and oligarchic "party" sought to gain power for members and to keep its Ghibelline enemies out of power. In the previous century, it functioned, according to Zervas, "as the aggressive collective spokesman for the oligarchic, papal and Angevin policies of its aristocratic members" (p. 47). On the other hand, a main purpose appears to have been honorific ceremonies and rituals, which were, as such, self-generating, especially by the fifteenth century. Of course, its membership was inevitably composed of powerful men, and they were frequently selected for the most prominent positions in the *reggimento*. Included in their membership were many Standard-Bearers of Justice, the supreme executive positions in the Florentine republic. A modern analogy with members of a prestigious suburban country club, who might be bankers, businessmen, state legislators, and community leaders, could be drawn. Yet was it the country club membership that lay at the heart of their power? Perhaps what I am saying is that a precise definition of the Parte Guelfa does not arise from the book, and it may not even be possible to appreciate its functions fully with the knowledge at our disposal.

Zervas is trained in the history of art and of architecture, and one of her goals was to define the Parte Guelfa's connections with leading artists of the early Quattrocento: in particular, Brunelleschi and Dona-

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tello. Both were patronized by the organization, and both contributed important works: Brunelleschi, the organization's palace, or at least its expansion and remodeling; Donatello, a monumental statue of Louis of Toulouse, the group's patron saint, and the niche that Zervas sees as "framing" the statue on Orsanmichele (p. 100). If the statue is something of an *unicum* for Donatello, as a large bronze, partially cast and partially constructed of sheets of the parcel-gilded metal, the tabernacle is a remarkable statement of the new *all'antica* vocabulary of architectural devices used for decorative effects. Quite rightly, the tabernacle forms the object of careful study, and the author uses measurements to suggest modules that were also operative in the statue itself. She sees Donatello as its author and, furthermore, that the tabernacle embodies proportional systems related to the golden section. The quantitative process of working with measurements is more precarious than one might expect, and tiny discrepancies and the roundings out, when expanded to the larger dimensions of the works, can bring ambiguous results. Furthermore, moving back and forth from the contemporary measures in *braccia* to modern meters can raise more problems than answers. These for me are the dangers in Zervas's method, together with a somewhat forced rapport advocated between the St. Louis tabernacle and Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo.

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MODERN EUROPE

JEAN DELUMEAU. *Rassurer et protéger: Le Sentiment de sécurité dans l'Occident d'autrefois*. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 667. 160 fr.

Jean Delumeau begins his long, typically wide-ranging, and erudite excursion into one aspect of the religious mentality of the early modern period with an interesting discussion of the evolving meaning of the word "security" and its cognates. Before the fifteenth century, security was not commonly understood as reflecting a material or physical condition; rather, it denoted a state of mind or a general feeling. "Safety," or *sûreté*, addressed the actual condition of being secure, safe from peril. It was only with the Renaissance and the Reformation that security came to express the modern notion of both feeling secure and being safe. And it was thus during this period that religious belief and practice came to reflect a pervasive "need for security," a need that in turn gave rise to much religious innovation.

One problem with Delumeau's otherwise rich and often brilliant study is that, like some other investigations into *mentalité*, it tends to lack a clear temporal focus and a sense of its historical boundaries. "L'Occident d'autrefois" can mean anything from the fourteenth century, or even before, to the postrevolutionary period. This would not matter much—indeed, it makes sense when investigating something as pervasive as a psychological need and its fulfillment—if Delumeau did not ask at the beginning of his book whether "the need for security did not increase in the course of the period we are going to study" (p. 28). For he is not very exact about the bases for this increased need. Coping with a threatening environment in a largely peasant society, which was governed by dearth and bereft of scientific knowledge and technological capabilities, was surely one cause but not limited to Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. The plague was another, but he does not make much of an effort to connect such historically specific miseries with more refined coping mechanisms. In fact, he invites some confusion—of which he seems to be aware—about whether the growing need for security derived primarily from social and natural conditions or whether it resulted from Christianity's increased emphasis on hell, purgatory, the devil, damnation, and other such terrors. That the increased need for security, which Delumeau posits as his governing assumption about the early modern period, may have been chimerical, that is, man-made and religiously inspired, is not an idea that he considers worth pursuing.

But he does pursue, diligently and masterfully, an investigation of the full range of beliefs, rituals, and holy figures that sustained people in times of need. Delumeau is one of the few historians comfortable with both counting masses and commenting on learned Latin texts, and his virtuosity yields one of the most complete portraits of religious experience in the early modern period—one to be placed next to Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). There is no fuller treatment of saints and processions, and, if these sections tend to read like catalogues of local practices, they nevertheless serve as a nominalistic caution against a functionalist generalizing that explains all religious exercises in terms of their purposes. As might be expected, Mary looms large in the book, but her presence is framed by informative discussions of confraternities, guardian angels, the rising stature of Joseph, the rosary, scapulars, indulgences, and other insurance policies offered by traditional and post-Tridentine Catholicism.

Delumeau's treatment of Protestantism may trouble some historians. Here is where his thesis relating the need for security to virtually all religious experiences becomes a bit procrustean, leading him to underplay the severity of much Reformation theology. In Delumeau's view, the Reformation, although it denied its followers recourse to the constellation of Catholic protective figures and rituals, did offer them reassurances of a different sort: prayer, grace, and the fundamental consolation of justification by faith. Delumeau emphasizes Luther's warm-hearted God, plays down the uncompromising aspect of Calvinism's predestination, dismisses the hypothesis—put forth by Thomas and others—that the Reformation provoked an increased reliance on magic in the wake of its decimation of Catholicism's more reassuring features, and chooses, in

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general, to draw out the more consoling aspects of Protestantism, especially as articulated by those seventeenth-century theologians who, turning predestination on its head, argued for a God of universal salvation. From there it was but a step to the well-known formulations leading to the "decline of hell." "God in the West had begun a new career," notes Delumeau in a telling phrase. "He became once again reassuring" (p. 522).

Readers will find in this account of religious experience and belief across the centuries a wealth of information delivered by a master of the genre. On reflection, they may find themselves a bit surprised, for this is a historical account of religion with crisis and upheaval read out. The Protestant Reformation does not disrupt a Catholic world. The Counter Reformation does not turn on traditional practices and beliefs. Even the Enlightenment appears to evolve without strife from a milder version of Christianity. For Delumeau, the need for security serves as a historically ecumenical theme in religious life, cutting across the sectarian differences and conflicts that have put Christianity asunder. Perhaps it also reflects people's ultimate indifference to religious formulas as long as they can "reassure and protect."

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PIERO CAMPORESI. *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*. Translated by DAVID GENTILCORE. Foreword by ROY PORTER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. 212. $27.50.

What is Piero Camporesi getting at in this book? He has written it in a rhetorical, impressionistic, and anti-analytical vein. Yet we are meant to read it as history, not as imaginative literature. Or is his parade of literary effects a method of conveying historical lessons about the horrors of poverty, plague, famine, disease, squalor, and malnutrition in early modern Europe? These are the themes that underlie and finally overwhelm his subtitle, *Food and Fantasy*.

Most of Camporesi's nineteen chapter headings illustrate his rhetorical bent: for example, "They Rotted in Their Own Dung," "Collective Vertigo," "Hyperbolic Dreams," "Artificial Paradises," "Putrid Worms and Vile Snails," and "A City of Mummies." These short chapters are so studded with large chunks of quotations from medical and pharmacological writings, selected plays, treatises, recipe books, and contemporary observations that the book verges on being an anthology. Perhaps this is why the author assumed that no analysis was required: anthologies speak for themselves. On these grounds, we may assert that this is a book about the poor, preeminently in Italy: about their hunger, maladies, vermin, filth, and stench; about their supposed dreams and hallucinogenic bread concocted from rotten grains, beans, and assorted herbs; and about responses to all of this from contemporaries in holy orders, government, and the upper classes. This subject matter could have made for exciting history in the new social, narrative, and anthropological mode, and I have no doubt that Camporesi's charitable instincts were at work in this book. In the same spirit, he even dedicates the book to his students. As history, however, the trouble with the study is that it conveys no sense of time or change. The year 1500 is just like 1750. The pain, squalor, smells, and diseases of the wretched are unchanging; the poor inhabit a timeless world, as do their tormentors or foils, the official and upper classes.

I am prepared to accept that Europe's early modern poor folk lived, as it were, outside of time, but I want the matter to be argued. This would require the sustained analysis of documents replete with hyperbole, anger, aversion, and censure. It would require descriptive prose that seeks to decipher, not to echo or rival, the stress and tropes of documentary sources. It would mean that Camporesi would have to consider whether or not his chief witnesses—G. C. Croce, G. B. Segni, and O. Montalbani—are in the least representative or typical. It would mean not suddenly hopping around among three or four different centuries without giving some warning to the reader. And it would require evidence showing that the author had done some research in the large bank of modern scholarship on Europe's poor, as recently scanned, for instance, in Christopher Black's *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (1989). If Camporesi would follow these suggestions, he would then get enormous attention and sympathy for a subject that is too important and tragic to be dealt with by mannered writing rather than by research and analysis.

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CATHERINE DURANDIN. *Révolution à la Française ou à la Russe: Polonais, Roumains et Russes au XIX^e^ siècle*. (Les chemins de l'Histoire.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1989. Pp. 346. 165 fr.

This appealingly impressionistic book is certainly timely, if ultimately somewhat disappointing. The theme is the image of the French revolution and the outreach of French revolutionary intellectuals in the 1840s and 1850s, on the one hand, and the responses of various Polish, Romanian, and Russian revolutionary émigrés during these same years, on the other. The book includes brief and familiar summaries of the Romanian and French revolutions of 1848 and the Polish agitation of the 1860s. It rests primarily, however, on the revolutionary concepts of Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, and to an extent Victor Hugo and the writings in French of Aleksandr Herzen, Mikhail Bakunin, Adam Mickiewicz, Ion Bratianu and others in exile.

The book's timeliness is coincidental; there is no evocation of contemporary revolutionary legacies in

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Eastern Europe. There is, however, an analytical thrust. The two central problems emerge: first, what French revolutionary intellectuals thought about revolutionary world mission and Eastern Europe in particular and how the crushing disappointment of 1848 figured in both categories; and second, the ways various émigré figures related their revolutionary thinking to the French magnet or tried to pull away toward a separate, more nationalistic, or Slavic, imagery. The combined message is that French intellectuals could not preserve their nation's revolutionary leadership after the June Days as Eastern European leaders tended to graduate toward their own revolutionary conception, the end product of which was the thinking of Bakunin.

En route, a number of interesting subsidiary issues are taken up: the complexities that Polish émigrés faced in dealing with Russian revolutionary claims as the French star faded from 1850 onward; the relationship of revolutionary thinking and French colonialism; and the problems that sympathetic French intellectuals grappled with as they encountered Eastern European religious thought. On these and other topics the author offers some interesting insights and some fresh data from her perusal of the émigré literature.

The book is annoyingly unsystematic. Romanian concerns cluster around 1848 itself with a brief 1850s postscript; they are dropped as attention turns increasingly to Russia. French blinders operate throughout despite some critical assessments of nationalism. Only work in French is considered; German cultural influence in Eastern Europe is sedulously ignored (and Karl Marx might as well not have been alive); and Eastern European intellectuals, although given full marks for a rich future, are also carefully allowed to recognize the barbarism of their home societies against a French model.

Above all, the lack of firm definitions and boundaries is consistently galling. "Intellectuals" as a term is given brief dictionary treatment, but we gain no sense of group characteristics or, indeed, the workings of the Parisian intellectual community. Chronology is equally fuzzy. The book starts with 1846 because it was then that Michelet and Quinet began to use Eastern European concerns as a part of their effort to rekindle revolutionary spirit in France; earlier interactions are only sporadically referred to, particularly, of course, in the case of Poland. The insistence on ending with Bakunin allows dramatic focus on the new prominence of Russian revolutionary assertiveness in Paris and a distinctively "Russian" style plus the confusion that resulted from a waning of international revolutionary mission in France, but this oversimplifies the tidiness of these developments as a last Russian word on the French legacy and in terms of continuing Slavic émigré diversity alike. What happened next as a result of a generation of debate is left untended, save for a brief excursion on connections with French intellectual malaise since World War II. Finally, this is straight intellectual history based on common-sense summaries of published doctrine. Except for a few impressions about French public opinion on mid-century Russia, there is no attempt to deal with intellectuals' audience, impact, or even relationship with revolutionary outbreaks. Whether and how intellectual styles relate to actual revolutionary methods and forms is not a concern; the study concerns intellectuals reacting to other intellectuals, a process complicated only by the intractable events of 1848.

Within the limits of purely cultural and French-language data, however, the book offers some refreshing insights, relevant both to French and to Eastern European history. The results are not "must read" level, and the secondary excursions strike me as more stimulating than the main argument about Russian replacement of France in revolutionary imagery, where a far more systematic treatment is essential. At a time when Czechoslovakia elects a playwright for president—reminiscent of the role of a French poet in 1848, although one hopes with happier results—the reminder of intellectual interaction in the nineteenth-century revolutionary milieu and some of the central issues involved is a useful addition to the historical literature.

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HEINRICH BARTEL. *Frankreich und die Sowjetunion, 1938–1940: Ein Beitrag zur französischen Ostpolitik zwischen dem münchner Abkommen und dem Ende der dritten Republik.* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa, number 24.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1986. Pp. 396. DM 84.

Heinrich Bartel comments in the preface to his book that the study of Franco-Soviet relations on the eve of the Second World War has been overshadowed by the concern of scholars with Soviet relations with Germany, Britain, and the United States—hence, his concentration on the specifics of the Franco-Soviet relationship, important to both nations and to European politics. He makes extensive use of French, British, and German diplomatic archives, published Soviet documents, and a very wide range of other sources and secondary works relevant to his topic. The documentation of the subject is exhaustive and fastidious and will be immensely useful to future scholarship on the diplomatic background of World War II.

The book has three main divisions: the Munich Pact and its aftermath, the diplomacy of the powers at the time of Adolf Hitler's march into Czechoslovakia (March 15, 1939), and the period from the German-Soviet Non-Agression Pact of August 1939 to the collapse of France on June 22, 1940. The rationale for the divisions is clear. The Munich agreement, Bartel observes, destroyed the credibility of French diplomacy in Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia was the linchpin of the system, both diplomatically and militarily, and the Anglo-French capitulation at Munich seemed to destroy any hope of rebuilding it. Hitler waited a mere six

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months before taking the rest of Czechoslovakia by force, knowing that diplomacy was dispensable now that the links of Czech alliance were severed by Munich and the country was indefensible.

The Franco-German and Franco-British relations of the period, and the way they fit into the broader context of French diplomacy, are very effectively handled, with much new documentation and insight brought into the story. The book is informative on the problems of Anglo-French cooperation and what Bartel calls the tension between "French security interests and loyalty to British policy." He deals skillfully with the complex background of French internal politics, including a special section on the role of the French Communist party. And coverage of each of the main issues in French European diplomacy, and the Soviet connection to them, is very thorough.

The handling of Soviet policy and the Soviet view of relations with France and Germany during these crucial years is less satisfactory. Soviet explanations of policy are generally taken too much at face value. It is easy enough, as many other historians have demonstrated, to make the case for Soviet mistrust of Franco-British aims, specifically Stalin's charge of a plot to turn Hitler's power eastward. But there were concerns on the other side, justifiable doubts about the feasibility of both military and political cooperation with the Soviet Union before and after the destruction of Czechoslovakia. There was also a larger history of Soviet policy with Germany and Poland that suggested a preference for a deal with Germany to turn Hitler westward and gain a substantial slice of Polish territory and the Baltic states.

At best Stalin's Russia was an unlikely ally of Britain and France for the defense of Poland, as Hitler clearly understood. He used Stalin's territorial ambitions to neutralize the Soviet Union, destroy Poland, and turn his arms to the conquest of Western Europe. Soviet historians are beginning to reexamine the background and motivation, as well as the consequences, of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Curiously, they are more critical than Bartel. The pact was less a clever "deal" than a second Munich and its consequences at least as damaging to Soviet interests as Munich was to those of France.

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GEORGES MINOIS. *Henri VIII*. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 555.

This "biography" of Henry VIII in the series by Fayard is the work of an author whose professional expertise is reflected in numerous publications on aspects of French religious and regional history. Georges Minois's book is neither a biography nor a history of the reign in any ordinary sense of the word, however. It belongs instead to that old genre "life and times," in which the author brings together themes from what he himself calls "la 'petite' et la 'grande' histoire" (the particular and the general history) in commenting on the divorce (p. 191).

The book ends with a substantial bibliography of manuscripts and published sources and a long list of secondary works, but it is without a single footnote. Hence, it is impossible to track any single statement either in primary sources or in the modern literature on controverted points. This fact taken together with another, that is, the absence of the most important modern scholarship from the list of secondary works—nothing by G. R. Elton after 1955—makes it difficult to tell for what audience the volume is meant. Minois seems oblivious to modern scholarship even on the subjects to which he is most devoted and about which his work shows the highest shrewdness in judgment. One wants to cry out, parodying the Bard, "Where is Bowker, Guy, Hoak, James, Murphy, Starkey, Richardson, Lehmberg, Bedouelle?" on the crucial matters of the history of the reign in respect to the king, his court, council, Parliament, changes in religion, and on most other subjects. With very few exceptions Minois's reading seems to have stopped in the 1950s and early 1960s.

The shape of the book is determined by the older works of A. F. Pollard and J. D. Mackie. There is a very disproportionate attention to foreign affairs in the four sections: the king's early years and the background of the reign, Thomas Wolsey's ministry, the crisis of the 1530s, and the royal "despotism" resulting from it from 1535 through 1547. The tone is set by repeated references to Henry VIII's despotism, which was "natural" to his character, and the paradox of this despotism that rested on the consent of the nation expressed in the Parliament houses.

The author carefully distinguishes Henry's despotism from the "absolutism" of Francis I: "Plus que de l'absolutisme, il s'agit bien en fait du despotisme; le premier n'est pas limité par un Parlement" (p. 349) ("More than absolutism, [the word 'Henricianism'] signifies in fact despotism. The first is not limited by a parliament"). But Henry VIII was a despot of mind who managed his feat through the Commons, by packing and other strategies, in which the brutal and cynical Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer were his aids. On the controversy over Henrician despotism and nearly every substantial question, this book is ill informed by recent work. The exception is the strong and detailed discussion of doctrinal change in the 1530s.

This book will be of interest primarily to the French reading public who have long supported the series. And it may provide a reading test for graduate students who demonstrate their proficiency in French by translations from such works as this one. It serves no useful purpose for serious scholarship.

ARTHUR J. SLAVIN
University of Louisville

NARASINGHA P. SIL. *William Lord Herbert of Pembroke (c. 1507–1570): Politique and Patriot*. (Studies in British

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History, number 6.) Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 1988. Pp. xix, 186. $49.95.

William Lord Herbert of Pembroke (1507–70) was a typical Tudor courtier and councilor, one of those who served Henry VIII and all of his children in turbulent times and managed to die quietly in bed. This political biography attempts not only to describe Pembroke's career but also to illuminate the character and motivation of a second-rank crown servant. Narasingha P. Sil joins in the current reassessment of Tudor government by rescuing this courtier from the obscurity assigned by previous generations of historians who saw him as a typical uneducated timeserver. Sil argues persuasively that Pembroke was devoted to the crown above all political considerations and was a religious moderate by personal inclination.

The book traces Pembroke's career from his Welsh connections into the court and his advancement from the office of gentleman pensioner in 1526 to regular service as a gentleman of the privy chamber after 1540. As an executor of Henry VIII's will, he moved on to the Privy Council in Edward VI's reign. Although he was involved in the plot to keep Mary I from the throne through the marriage of his son to Lady Jane's sister, he continued to serve on the council under both Mary and Elizabeth I because he was well connected and powerful. In tracing these developments and Pembroke's part in them, the book basically achieves its purpose. It overcomes the traditional picture of this man.

A biography of an individual like the earl of Pembroke presents a basic problem for the historian of traditional Tudor politics. He was typical in too many ways. First, he left very few personal papers, so his portrait must be drawn from official records that tend to leave us with a two-dimensional picture of the man and his motives. Second, his moderate position also leaves him in the middle of the pack of councilors not often thought worthy of specific mention by the foreign ambassadors whose letters supply so much of our information about court life and political intrigue. Sil has done as much as he can with the personal and possibly the political aspects of his subject, but perhaps it would have been better to group Pembroke with other courtiers as Sil did in his original thesis.

There is a limit to the value of this kind of traditional political biography. In light of current research, more questions should have been asked. Did Pembroke play a significant role in local politics? What role did his wife play at court? Since he was in the privy chamber from 1540 to 1547, was he more influential there than later as a privy councilor? Specialists will welcome this competent addition to our knowledge of a man so long involved in Tudor politics, but more research needs to be done.

ANN WEIKEL
Portland State University

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG. *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xv, 319. $49.95.

Stanford E. Lehmberg has written a model study of the Tudor cathedrals, not as architecture but as organic institutions with changing functions. Using a variety of sources from local and cathedral archives, the author has successfully shown the adaptations that allowed the cathedrals, unlike the monasteries, to survive religious upheaval. Sixteenth-century cathedrals were "restructured, renewed, secularized, modernized" (p. 306) and able to take up a redefined position in a Protestant context.

Using illustrations and statistical tables, Lehmberg traces the narrative history of the sixteenth-century cathedrals and analyzes various elements of cathedral life such as finances, music, personnel, and the role these churches played by the end of the century. Lehmberg's rich mosaic of detail gives his picture a convincing reality.

In order to assess the impact of the Reformation, Lehmberg starts by examining the final years before religious change intruded. He stresses the differences between the secular and monastic cathedrals. Some of the contrasts were perpetuated after reform because the monastic cathedrals were given new regulations.

Lehmberg then illustrates how the Henrician stage of reform started slowly but accelerated as the king's need and desire for spoils led to attacks on cathedral wealth. For monastic cathedrals the dissolution produced a complete upheaval, creating new secular foundations and six completely new dioceses endowed with monastic lands and churches. Edward VI's reign experienced theological changes: chantries were abolished, and the funds available to cathedral clerics were slashed just as many were married and burdened with families. Edwardian iconoclasm did great damage to the medieval heritage of art.

Ultimately the new status of cathedrals was defined by the Elizabethan settlement that preserved traditional forms and satisfied neither radicals nor conservatives. Elizabethan cathedrals became centers of instruction for the laity through schools and sermons, not simply places where clerics sang praises to God. It was also an era when financial resources failed to keep up with inflation; by the end of the century, life in the cathedral close was increasingly penurious.

The majority of the people living off these reduced revenues were musicians who maintained high standards in a new format. The higher cathedral clergy composed of canons, prebends, and deans has been used by Lehmberg in a prosopographical study based on a computer analysis of 2,849 individuals. After discussing social status, geographic origin, education, marriage, and career patterns, the author concludes that the higher clergy had enough wealth and prestige to provide rewards to the ambitious who were blessed with scholarship, patronage, and good fortune.

Lehmberg's conclusion argues that although many

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things did not change, much beauty was destroyed by the Reformation, which transformed the rationale for cathedrals. Medieval cathedrals were host to an unceasing round of prayer to glorify God, whereas post-Reformation cathedrals became centers of education and the exposition of God's word. Sacraments were replaced by sermons, and a new vitality emerged. This work recounts these fundamental alterations in a lucid and balanced fashion that is not likely to need revision for a long time.

JOEL BERLATSKY
Wilkes University

STEPHEN L. COLLINS. *From Divine Cosmos to Sovereign State: An Intellectual History of Consciousness and the Idea of Order in Renaissance England.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 235. $39.95.

Stephen L. Collins shares the uneasiness expressed in recent years by Elizabethan historians and literary critics about the concept of order as embodied in the conventional "Elizabethan world picture." Order, unity, and degree, the values inherent in a divinely ordered universe of unchanging law, were as yet largely unquestioned in early Tudor thought and therefore unlikely to generate self-conscious questioning about the meaning of life. By the Elizabethan years, that was no longer the case. The cumulative effect of changes in all aspects of life had begun to intensify an already burgeoning awareness of change that, in turn, raised questions about the relation of the individual to society that could not be satisfactorily answered within the context of traditional ideas about order. The Elizabethans did not give up the old idea of order easily. It still dominated formal discussion, the more so, indeed, as change and relativity eroded its foundations. But many of the more perceptive among the Elizabethans were consciously groping through a fog of ambivalence toward a redefinition of self in relation to society. By the mid-seventeenth century, impending revolution and accelerated socioeconomic change had partially clarified the problem, and the secular concept of a representative sovereign state had emerged as a functioning substitute for the notion of a divinely prescribed order. By then, Collins argues, a change in the idea of order had become also a change in consciousness. "The self defined, articulated, representative order contextualized in the mid-seventeenth century signified the development of self-consciousness. Order now resided in definition, in the conscious naming of things which reduced objective reality to a series of identities. Order was no longer a perception of consciousness; it was now a responsible articulation of the self-consciousness of consciousness" (p. 166).

Collins sees both order and consciousness in a special relation to history. Because consciousness appears as "a quality of perceiving order in things," the history of consciousness becomes "a history of changes in modes of perception; it is thus a history of different 'orders.' . . . The history of consciousness is really consciousness in, or as, history. . . . Indeed, the history of consciousness and of discourse reveals that consciousness reflects *history as order* and that the self-consciousness of consciousness defines *order as history*" (p. 5).

The author is perhaps at his best when dealing with the evidence derived from Tudor drama—which is where, he tells us, he found his initial inspiration. From *Gorbuduc* to *The Tempest*, Collins has been able to trace changes in perceptions of self and order that were often too subtle to be reflected so readily in formal discourse. But he deserves credit as well for his analysis of the political, economic, and philosophical writings of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, of Hooker, Bacon, Selden, Filmer, Mun, and Hobbes, to name only a few of the more familiar names, and for tracing a credible line of interpretation through their varying and often-confusing states of ambivalence to what he believes to have been at least the semifinal solution in the Hobbesian sovereign state.

Not everyone will agree with the emphasis here. And specialists are bound to find holes in a study as broadly planned as this one and as fragile in its subject matter. But the fact remains that it is a generally penetrating and, except when, on occasion, preoccupation with theory tends to clog its arteries, a lucid analysis of sociopsychological change.

ARTHUR B. FERGUSON
Duke University

JOYCE GIBSON. *Hanged for Witchcraft: Elizabeth Lowys and Her Successors.* Canberra: Tudor Press. 1988. Pp. iv, 256. $22.00.

This book, based on both primary sources and secondary works, gives a detailed account of the social, economic, political, and religious influences on the life of Elizabeth Lowys, the first "witch" to be executed in England under the Act of Parliament of 1563 that made "effective" use of witchcraft as a capital offense. Stressing that Lowys was in no way a beggar, Joyce Gibson argues that, as a fairly well-to-do traditional empiric, Lowys simply fell foul of the authorities because, in common with most other traditional medical people in England (who were nearly always women [p. 192]), she had scant respect for religious authority and as such served as an influential example to a far from compliant populace. "The authorities did not remove Elizabeth Lowys to protect her neighbours," Gibson argues; "they removed her as is common with the powerful in history to protect their interests. And as is common they did it ruthlessly" (p. 191). In general disagreement with the well-known theses of Keith Thomas and Alan Macfarlane, Gibson contends that three kinds of women were accused of witchcraft in England: the traditional empiric such as Lowys, women who were neither senile nor malicious beggars but simply on bad terms with the wealthy, and the people's witch—the "old hag"—who was, readers are assured,

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merely a by-product of the witch hunt. Ending only when juries became sufficiently skeptical to acquit most of the accused, the witch hunt lasted long enough, Gibson claims, to make easier "the degrading of all working women" (p. 240). Contrary to received opinion, Gibson concludes, Scottish and Continental witch hunts were no different in kind from the English and are therefore amenable to the same basic interpretation.

The book is clearly, unpretentiously, and often movingly written, particularly the first three-quarters describing the events leading to Lowys's execution. It is extraordinary, however, that Gibson makes no reference to the literature on witch hunting published since 1977. Readers are even told that the literature has seldom commented on the fact that "witches" were nearly always women (p. 5). To say the least, that statement is untrue of the literature of the late 1970s and 1980s. Gibson's conclusion that English witch hunting was no different in kind from Scottish or Continental makes light of the relevance of the sabbat on the Continent, which, she remarks, merely provided the "flamboyant setting" for witch accusations (p. 244). But belief in the reality of the sabbat combined with the use of torture generated witch crazes that never happened in England. Although this book is generally useful for the light it throws on the life and trial of Lowys, it is nevertheless a great pity that before publication the work was not brought up to date by inclusion and assessment of much recent and relevant historical research.

BRIAN EASLEA
Sussex University

NOEL HENNING MAYFIELD. *Puritans and Regicide: Presbyterian-Independent Differences over the Trial and Execution of Charles (I) Stuart*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1988. Pp. xii, 269. $28.50.

The well-traversed but ever-interesting field of English Puritanism has received a new contribution from Noel Henning Mayfield. The focus is on attitudes about the trial and execution of Charles I in 1648–49 as seen through the eyes of English and Scottish Presbyterians and Independents. Many Independents supported these actions, and the Presbyterians generally opposed them. According to Mayfield's analysis, Independents could more easily support regicide at that moment in history for two reasons: first, because they were looking for an earthly millennium and, second, because of their understanding of grace, law, and nature. The author studied Independency by concentrating on seven persons: Oliver Cromwell, Hugh Peters, John Goodwin, John Milton, John Owen, William Dell, and John Cooke, plus a few others mentioned occasionally. The Presbyterian beliefs are drawn from people such as William Prynne and Samuel Rutherford. The differences between Independents and Presbyterians arose from their intellectual world views, not principally from ecclesiology, Mayfield argues, and their debates about Charles I raised "fundamental questions" (p. 40).

The most persuasive part of the book treats the millennial beliefs of Independents. Such doctrines were central to Independent and Congregational belief as a whole. Believing in the literal millennium and the imminent return of Christ made militant Puritans eager and ready to take action to bring in the Kingdom of Christ. One action was the trial and execution of the king, who was identified by many as in league with the Antichrist. Thus, the trial and execution was a "preparation for the millennium" (p. 97).

Mayfield's other argument about the Presbyterian-Independent split, concerning law, nature, and the natural conscience, is not as clear-cut. For one thing, labeling any one Puritan as a Presbyterian or Independent can be tricky. Mayfield argues that the analysis of the two camps should move beyond ecclesiology (for example, independency of congregations, classes, and synods) to more basic issues of continuity or discontinuity between Old Covenant and New Covenant and between nature, law, and grace. His most important "Presbyterian" examples in chapter 4 are Prynne and Rutherford, and he also uses William Perkins (1558–1602) and the "learned doctor" William Ames (1576–1633). It seems to me that Perkins is rather early in the Puritan story for large use here, and Ames, similarly, is not the best example of Presbyterianism. He believed in independent congregations (and New Englanders considered his opinions to be "perfect Congregationalism"; see Increase Mather, *Disquisition* [1716], pp. v–vi). Perhaps ecclesiology should be given more weight.

Apart from problems of labeling and categorizing Puritans into their proper definition, where one must allow for some difference of opinion, the book is interesting and helpful to the study of the intellectual development of Puritanism and the ways in which it confronted revolution.

KEITH L. SPRUNGER
North Newton, Kansas

JONATHAN SCOTT. *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic, 1623–1677*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 258. $49.50.

Algernon Sidney, executed for treason in 1683, a hero of Whig mythology in the eighteenth century, has long seemed an enigma. Indeed, he was a puzzling and contradictory character, one whose own behavior, Jonathan Scott shows, was frequently designed to foster myths. When presented with the signature book of the University of Copenhagen, for example, Sidney, not content with writing his name, added, in Latin, "This hand, always an enemy to tyrants, seeks a little peace under liberty."

Scott's study of Sidney up to 1677 makes an important contribution to our understanding of a major political figure. In addition to describing the evolution

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of his character and the construction of a legend, Scott reassesses Sidney's political thought in the light of recent work, particularly that of Blair Worden, about the understudied influence of classical republicanism compared with that of Puritanism. He rejects the traditional view that Sidney's republican convictions were a product of "the so-called 'Exclusion Crisis'" (p. x) and convincingly locates the development of his republican thought in the period from 1635 to 1677. The Restoration was crucial for this Commonwealthsman in both personal and political terms. Abroad as an ambassador at the time, he thought initially of serving Charles II. The price, he came to realize, was too high: liberty, Scott tells us, "meant never having to say you were sorry" (p. 145). Estranged from his father, his financial affairs complicated by his absence from England, Sidney remained in exile until 1677.

Scott provides a detailed account of the development of Sidney's political thought to which the concept of liberty was central. Sidney's family circumstances, being born a second son, brought him to the view that merit (republicanism) should give title to power rather than primogeniture (monarchy). Worden's earlier work rediscovering the important text of Sidney's *Court Maxims* is generously acknowledged, and Scott's analysis of the *Maxims* shows how Sidney's thought developed and foreshadowed his later published *Discourses*.

This book is the first of a promised two volumes. Although Scott argues that neither will be confined to the stated chronological limits—the second volume will cover the last six years of Sidney's life—the division is not altogether satisfactory to the reader who is referred to the book to follow for many significant points, among them, for example, the reasons why the Exclusion Crisis is "so-called." So my review can be only an interim report.

Although at times Scott writes movingly and eloquently about Sidney's complex and difficult character and the self-conscious transformation in his last months of imprisonment, his prose vacillates between the complicated and the colloquial. Queen Christina, we are told, "was evidently quite a woman" (p. 148); "capricious flirtation" and "doomed handmaiden" (p. 75) refer to Charles I's foreign policy and his ambassador. And it is regrettable that the publishers did not provide a less perfunctory index, since readers have to wait for the rest of the story. Scott's work, however, adds to our growing understanding of the complexities of later Whig history and historiography as well as political life and thought—and whets our appetite for more.

PATRICIA CRAWFORD
University of Western Australia

LORNA WEATHERILL. *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*. New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. xii, 252. $47.50.

This valuable and innovative study identifies the directions in which consumer spending developed in Great Britain between 1660 and 1760 and explores the causes for particular types of purchases by varying social groups. Never before has a work addressed in such a systematic and careful way the timing and the geographic and social locations of material consumption in early modern Britain. Lorna Weatherill has developed an important data source for this book. She sampled probate inventories from eight parts of Britain for the middle year of each decade from 1675 to 1725. To this main sample of three thousand inventories she added three hundred more taken from the probates of wealthier merchants whose wills were filed with the London Orphans' Court.

Weatherill examined the probate inventories for ownership of twenty sorts of consumer goods, chosen to indicate the extent to which their purchasers were able and willing to spend for items that would enhance household activities of cooking, eating, drinking, entertaining, and leisure. The inventories indicate their owners' social status, occupation, and movable wealth, allowing for cross tabulations between those social and demographic indicators, place of residence, and ownership of consumer goods. Data from the inventories are supplemented with fuller descriptions of the ways in which British families made and spent their money. Drawing on account books, diaries, and secondary works, Weatherill analyzes the portions of income and wealth used by different social groups on consumer goods and the extent to which they had the resources for such discretionary purchases. Throughout the book, Weatherill is exemplary in her acknowledgment of the limitations of her and others' data sources. She emphasizes that no source offers reliable information on the spending habits of the poorer half of English families and that it is unlikely that those families spent much on manufactured goods beyond food, drink, and clothing, even after the early eighteenth-century decline in food prices. For wealthier families there is much variation, and diaries merely show types of earning and consumption rather than statistically valid evidence.

Weatherill's statistical analysis of the inventories does allow her to reach some conclusions. She shows that the "consumption hierarchy" differed from the social hierarchy. Tradesmen and professionals held more of most consumer goods than did the gentry, craftsmen more than yeomen. Weatherill's evidence contradicts the often repeated theory that increases in consumption were the result of efforts by lower social groups to imitate their betters. Weatherill shows instead that the purchase of each consumer good was designed to allow for a particular sort of social expression. In a sensitive discussion of the ways in which household activities were conducted, Weatherill draws upon an array of primary sources and secondary works to contrast the attitudes and practices of families from different social groups, thereby explaining how "[m]ovable goods had expressive roles and could be used to draw lines in

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social relationships" (p. 165). Thus, some goods were used for "front stages" on which families entertained friends and business associates. Commercial dealers were the most ostentatious in their display of consumer items. Professionals and gentry were tied into larger social networks and mainly bought goods such as books and clocks that were useful for expressing themselves to a more specialized audience. Goods intended for the comfort of the family in the "back stage" areas of the house were bought more evenly by members of these various social groups.

Finally, Weatherill offers some tentative conclusions that suggest valuable directions for further research. She provides strong, if limited, evidence that some goods were purchased more heavily by people living in towns along particular inland trading routes. For example, implements for hot drinks were purchased mainly in locales where coffee and tea merchants were located. Future researchers will want to trace the establishment of trade networks and their interaction with locally based social groups. Weatherill's study builds a foundation for future work, offering important data and a clear program for studying the halting and uneven development of consumer culture in Britain.

RICHARD LACHMANN
State University of New York, Albany

PETER BORSAY. *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770*. (Oxford Studies in Social History.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xxii, 416. $65.00.

It is customary to view the late Stuart and early Georgian provincial town either as a decaying survival of a once vital medieval urban economy or as a precursor of the later industrial city. Peter Borsay places both the Yorks and the Manchesters firmly in their contemporary context and stresses their social and intellectual significance as much as their economic functions. Penelope Corfield in *The Impact of English Towns, 1700–1800* (1982) divides them into three categories: Barchester, Coketown, and Bath. Borsay argues that all three were acquiring the attributes of pleasure resorts and that the pleasures they offered helped to remake middle- and upper-class civilization.

After a century of decline or stagnation at best, English provincial towns after 1660 grew even faster than London. More important was their qualitative transformation as new housing and public buildings appeared in widened and more regular streets, while aging structures acquired classical façades. If the medieval town had stood in sharp contrast to the surrounding countryside, nurturing a new class with values incompatible with those of the agricultural hinterland, the enlarged and embellished town of the eighteenth century worked to unite the two. Borsay shows how the towns became little Londons, or perhaps more accurately little West Ends, in which the resident bourgeoisie and local gentry adopted the tastes and learned the manners of the metropolis. Even towns we think of as incipient bastions of raw industrialism—Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, and Sheffield—seemed in the early eighteenth century oases of culture and amusement not yet wholly dedicated to muck and money.

Borsay portrays the towns less as engines of production than as centers of consumption and agents of civility. Miniature representations of classicism, cosmopolitanism, and enlightenment, they brought together gentry and bourgeoisie in order to share pleasures and learn behavior as refined and pleasing as the architecture that encompassed them. Here Squire Western gradually became Mr. Knightley.

The towns worked to insinuate bourgeois values in the gentry and genteel values in the citizenry, each imitating the manners and adopting the opinions of the other. They contributed to a new concept of the gentleman, now defined as much by his conduct as by his birth. Borsay suggests that the political stability of early Georgian England, which involved a high degree of cooperation both within and between town and country, was facilitated by the assembly rooms, race courses, theaters, public walks, and a social atmosphere conducive to polite conversation and rational discussion. Rapprochement between aspiring townspeople and rustic gentry was not achieved without cost. For in acquiring a taste for the polite amusements of the great world, both ceased to participate in the traditional and popular local culture: "Though the Urban Renaissance promoted greater cohesion among the upper echelons of the nation, within society as a whole it was undoubtedly a divisive force" (p. 319).

Based on extensive use of unexploited manuscript and printed sources, this book at once illuminates many aspects of Georgian England and offers an approach that urban historians might usefully apply to other periods.

DONALD J. OLSEN
Vassar College

E. G. W. BILL. *Education at Christ Church, Oxford, 1660–1800*. (Christ Church Papers, number 2.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. 367. $75.00.

E. G. W. Bill has produced a second volume in his series of Christ Church Papers, this one a study of the college from the Restoration until the end of the eighteenth century. The period covered is thus one in which we have traditionally been taught to view both Oxford and Cambridge as "unreformed," and nothing in this book will force us to change that assessment. Indeed, in terms of broad issues—the principles of education, the relationship of the university to religion, the role of Oxford in British social life—this volume reveals little that is new or surprising. But, because the archives of Christ Church are extraordinarily rich (one

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of the strongest collegiate collections in either of the old universities), we do encounter here valuable detailed information that sheds light on specific aspects of Christ Church's institutional and educational arrangements.

Particularly interesting is the institution's unique governmental structure. Founded by Henry VIII as both a cathedral and a college, Christ Church was to be governed by a dean and a chapter of canons rather than by a head and collection of fellows. The foundation also provided for one hundred "studentships," financial benefices available to members of the college, most commonly to be held after the taking of the undergraduate degree. As with fellowships at other colleges, teaching or other obligations incumbent on studentships were nearly nonexistent, especially since students were excluded from college governance responsibilities by the existence of the chapter. Designed to provide for the training of the parochial clergy, studentships could be held for life only if the student took ecclesiastical orders within a comparatively short time, and studentships in any case had to be relinquished on marriage or on taking up a church living at any distance from Oxford. These positions obviously provided a steadily revolving resource for college patronage, exercised in cooperation with the Westminster School, with which Christ Church had a close historic link. Because here and in other instances this book presents numerous concrete examples of the patronage system at work, it can be a valuable resource for the general historian of the eighteenth-century political system.

Also of general interest is the Christ Church educational program, which is examined in detail through the evolving reading lists that undergraduates presented for "collections." Eighteenth-century Oxford has long been criticized for failing to provide its students with any systematic scientific training; Bill argues that this failing resulted both from a changing attitude toward Aristotle's writings and from a belief that, because science could be "applied" in new industrial settings, it was not appropriate for the more genteel classes. Unfortunately, neither this educational analysis nor the significance of Christ Church's social role is very much developed; a general reader seeking a deeper understanding of the ideas operating in eighteenth-century Oxford would be well advised to turn to the work of W. R. Ward, Sheldon Rothblatt, or L. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell, in their volume in the new *History of the University of Oxford*.

Overall Bill's book suffers from being written too much for insiders. Little jokes are left unexplained. (Will many readers be familiar with Dean Jackson's "legendary response" to the offer of a bishopric?) Organizational and educational terms need to be defined, especially those unique to Christ Church. There is no discussion of the interaction of the cathedral per se with the college and no mention at all of the bishop. Would not readers benefit from some explanation of this anomalous relationship? And it is frustrating in a work so charmingly written to confront less than careful editing. Nevertheless, Bill has presented us with an extraordinarily rich collection of detailed information, one that will be especially useful for scholars doing further research in educational history.

MARTHA M. GARLAND
Ohio State University

D. W. BEBBINGTON. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. Boston: Unwin Hyman. 1989. Pp. xi, 364. $44.95.

The Evangelical faith has been an important component in British religious life. Despite this fact, there had not been a recent general scholarly study of the subject until the appearance of this book. D. W. Bebbington's excellent work serves to correct this situation. He begins his survey with an explanation of the emergence of the Evangelical outlook during the ministry of John Wesley and traces its spread into the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, and various Nonconformist churches and sects. The study concentrates on broad patterns of change that affected these groups.

An example of how the book brings together many details and interpretations into a cogent synthesis is the thoughtful definition of the term "Evangelical." To Bebbington, Evangelical belief has been marked by four characteristics: conversion, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism (an emphasis on the doctrine of the cross or the atonement). Each of these found expression in different ways in various churches but nevertheless provided continuity within the movement.

Other features of Evangelical opinion, practice, and belief have changed over the years in contrast to those just mentioned. Views on spirituality and eschatology have been particularly subject to reinterpretation. Despite statements to the contrary by Evangelicals, the movement does not reflect a world of eternal and unchanging truth. Rather, it has been bound to the flux of ideas and events within the general culture.

Some of the major changes that found their way into Evangelicalism include the Enlightenment, represented by the thought of Jonathan Edwards; Romanticism, found in the Keswick Movement; and cultural modernism, reflected in the recent charismatic renewal. The author explains that in each era trends were adopted by Evangelicals in order to meet their particular needs. He shows how ideas that originated in the higher levels of society were filtered by the movement to the more humble members of society. Thus, popular Protestantism along with the secular press constituted the two agencies that transmitted new ideas from a small cultural elite to the masses.

Bebbington clarifies many other issues in the course of his well-documented study. For example, he demonstrates the great impact of Evangelicalism on nineteenth-century British society, and he explains how fundamentalism departed from the main body of the movement. Although, as he demonstrates, fundamen-

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talism has been popular with a minority of Evangelicals since the 1820s, it was never unanimously accepted and was particularly weak in the early twentieth century.

This book should be required reading for all who are interested in Evangelicalism, whether adherents of the faith or students of history and religion. The reading public is in the author's debt for a clear, readable, sympathetic, yet objective treatment of a faith that is more diverse and enigmatic than most observers have realized.

ROBERT G. CLOUSE
Indiana State University

MORAG SHIACH. *Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, Gender, and History in Cultural Analysis, 1730 to the Present.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. 238. $32.50.

The introduction to Morag Shiach's work warns us to expect not a book on British popular culture from 1730 to the present but a demonstration of "the ways in which the very recognition of certain cultural forms as 'popular' is already bound up in a set of cultural and social discourses" (p. 3). Those discourses, the terms in which commentators and practitioners recognize and describe "popular" cultural phenomena, we are told, possess remarkable historical staying power: "There are sets of positions, on the nature of culture and of writing, on the relation between technology and cultural decline, or on the identity of 'the people' which are mobilized in different combinations at different periods" (p. 6). The discourse on popular culture thus displays a two-hundred-sixty-year-old "consistency in difference," which Shiach calls both "powerful and theoretically disabling" (p. 6).

Unfortunately, this thesis is more obviously theoretically disabling than powerful. Shiach is so intent on establishing continuities in "the discourse" that she obfuscates the issue of whether or not her numerous commentators are talking about the same thing. There are two reasonable ways of deciding whether a commentator is discussing something called "popular culture": defining "popular culture" at the outset by either choosing an available definition or using one's own; and following the usage of the commentators themselves and letting whatever they call "popular" define the objects of the discourse. Unfortunately, Shiach does neither of these. Instead, she devotes a chapter to definitions of the word "popular" from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), establishing their "shifting ideological terrain" (p. 35), and then uses the terms of the definitions to justify her inclusions.

Her second chapter, for example, is on the "peasant poets" who appeared between 1730 and 1848, even though there is little evidence that they were ever called "popular"; they seem to have been included because the *OED* definitions of "popular" keep making reference to common and uneducated people. Hence, the discourse surrounding poetry that was perceived to be written by self-educated, rural workers (no matter how unique the writers, no matter what the formal traits of their poetry, no matter how refined their intended readership or expensive the mode of production and dissemination) is declared discourse on popular culture. The reception of the peasant poets no doubt contains many of the elements that Shiach attributes to it: for example, an attempt to articulate fears about the overrefinement of the dominant culture, the erasure of gender difference, and the construction of ideologies of "natural" genius, taste, and cultural continuity. But it cannot be concluded that such ideological moments are staples of a continuing discourse on popular culture, within which we also confront such "contradictory" elements as the perception that popular culture is corrupting and a threat to social control. These other components emerge in, for example, discussions of penny fiction and television. Shiach's claim that we are dealing here with one paradoxical but nevertheless self-consistent discourse instead of several discourses about several different things is simply never established.

Shiach would concede that all of this is problematic. Each chapter begins by calling all assumptions into question and outlining the theoretical perils of the discussion to follow; the actual discussions, however, then tend to proceed and conclude as naively as if no caveat had ever been issued. Historical complexities and contexts are blithely ignored; simplistic class analyses, questioned in the preludes, are unrestrained in the arguments. In short, this book's methodological handwringing seems simply a method of distancing the author and the reader from its often hasty and clichéd treatment of the material.

CATHERINE GALLAGHER
University of California, Berkeley

ROY PALMER. *The Sound of History: Songs and Social Comment.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 361. $49.95.

Evidence derived from oral tradition can supply facts and insights available from no other source. Recent psychological and ethnomusicological research into orality has reinforced belief in the validity of so-called right-brain activities—such as music and songs—as paths to the historical understanding of individuals and groups who may have been invisible to past scholarship.

Oral tradition overlaps the ephemeral press, which includes street ballads, the principal subject of Roy Palmer's book. Before their functions were largely absorbed by the commercial tabloid press and its later electronic cognates, ballads and broadsides hawked in streets and lanes or even beneath grim gallows were one of the best and most widespread documentary clues to the sentiments of cultural outsiders.

This book fascinates the reader with authentic voices

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of the people reported in chapters on the country, town, industry, crime, pastime, the sexes, politics, war, and peace. A thorough index, "Titles, Tunes, and First Lines," and a good one on general topics combine with extensive notes, bibliography, and a discography to aid in discovery and tracing. Texts and facsimiles—and often music—are reproduced on topics from adulteration of food products (adultery, too, of course) to war and workhouses.

The book has clear limitations. It is exclusively concerned with the British Isles and preponderantly dedicated to the issues of the nineteenth century, such as the impact of enclosure, industrialization, and urbanization. There are some connections with traditions extending back to the Middle Ages or forward to contemporary times, such as the labor-management strife in the coal industry.

Some of the limitations are defects. The topical approach customarily used to describe folk traditions can slip into a sometimes poetical but often unhistorical juxtaposition of times and places. Thus, one finds confusing chronological jumbles, for example, pages 97–99, which offer data in the following order: A.D. 316, 1825, 1811, 1719, 1674, 1770–1835, 1826, 1815, 1814, 1832, 1848, 1800, 1811, and the 1820s. The resulting eclecticism is all too true to the anecdotal spirit of the material and does not always give a historian the sound of history.

The use of a self-assured generic title for a book with only the scantiest acknowledgment of anything outside the British Isles belies its populist intent. Like public radio folk music programs that are advertised as "music of the world" but celebrate only Britanno-Celtic traditions, this book itself documents the narrow vision of much English-language scholarship on songs and social comment. Historians who desire to locate resources in areas related to music should begin by consulting the comprehensive fourth edition of Michael A. Keller and Vincent H. Duckles's *Music Reference and Research Materials* (1988). Its scope is global.

CONRAD L. DONAKOWSKI
Michigan State University

COLIN SHROSBREE. *Public Schools and Private Education: The Clarendon Commission, 1861–64, and the Public Schools Acts*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1988. Pp. x, 246. $55.00.

This sprightly but angry account of the "origins" of English elite schooling was inspired by a reaction to the social and economic policies of the Conservative party government led by Margaret Thatcher. It must therefore be read with caution.

Colin Shrosbree argues that "privatization" began in the 1860s when a Parliament dominated by conservative and Conservative party interests virtually created the category of "public school" in the form best known today. Consequently, schools that ought to have been a possession of the entire nation, open to local influence and needs, bellwether of educational institutions in a system of far-reaching social opportunity, became enclaves of privilege and snobbery—the "oppressive and divisive consequences of Victorian class interests" (p. 158).

All "progressive" reforms were thwarted. Endowments that rightfully (or should have) belonged to the poor and lowly were channeled into the pockets of the rich. Fee-payers were favored over scholarship boys, boarders over day boys, and "national" interests over local needs. Even an enterprising and successful nonaristocratic school such as Shrewsbury was taken away, too successful to remain merely a town grammar school. The curriculum reflected the same systematic social policy. Classical languages remained dominant, and a chance to join the mainstream European movement towards the teaching of science, technology, and modern subjects was deliberately thrown away.

There are shrewd bits, namely, the politics of appointments to commissions and distinctions between types of commissions. The "theft" of Shrewsbury is well told, and the focus on the House of Lords, the Etonian connection, and Lord Clarendon's reformist views is relatively new. But the general story is so familiar that I wonder why it must be told again.

The fact is that Shrosbree, like most authors whose intentions are political, has read only to prove a point. He is not much interested in historical complexity or in explanatory factors other than social class. The question of the relation of the schools to the "poor" in earlier times (on which differences of opinion exist) is not carefully examined, nor is the religious problem of the nineteenth century, the battle between church and chapel that hampered the creation of a compulsory educational system. Shrosbree is also not especially interested in the problematical. He hints—it is barely detectable—that working-class demand for education was significant, but, as he is essentially a proponent of supply-side economics, the question is never examined. The opposite was more likely the case.

Regarding classical languages, a comparative view would have revealed that instruction in Greek and Latin also remained central to the Continental gymnasium curriculum. But why suppose that classics have no modern relevance or are somehow inherently "conservative"? Recent works by Frank Turner, Richard Jenkyns, and C. O. Brink provide a different and deeper perspective. As for so-called modern subjects, what should incline us to believe that they are automatically free from rigidities and political messages?

Shrosbree favors a national school system that is "participatory," "consultative," and based on consensus. This is the political rhetoric of a decade ago. The words themselves are confusing and the policies implied by them even more so. Can the state—anyone's state—with its attendant bureaucracies create such a system diverse and flexible enough to fulfill the requirements of a plural society? But, whatever the words

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suggest, they are irrelevant to the story of the transformation of the public schools—that is, irrelevant unless we examine the developing private sector of the early Victorian period. There, as Margaret Bryant has shown in an important work on London secondary education, we find a varied, bottom-up system of schooling, precarious but also responsive to local needs and initiative, full of curricular experiment, and servicing a large population diverse in social standing, gender, and income. But the author's patience stops at such ironies.

SHELDON ROTHBLATT
University of California, Berkeley

R. C. J. COCKS. *Sir Henry Maine: A Study in Victorian Jurisprudence*. (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. vii, 221. $49.50.

Sir Henry Maine first enjoyed fame and then endured neglect in his career as a writer on jurisprudence. In this volume, R. C. J. Cocks suggests some reasons for that shift in standing. By careful analyses of Maine's books, especially *Ancient Law*, Cocks shows how Maine interpreted law as a product of milieu. For him, law was not a single set of regulations applicable to all peoples at all times: it was a series of responses, slowly evolving, to changed conditions. This thesis, together with his ideas that law should be intelligible to an enlightened citizenry and that legal education should do more than train technicians, makes him significant beyond the Victorian era.

Influenced by his age, with its fascination for progress amid the turbulence of industrialism and its awe of science as a means to control and to validate, he published myriad essays on English and other societies. Yet, as Cocks correctly concludes, Maine's views never shaped a school of legal thought. Rather, as Cocks traces clearly, Maine's initial attempt to develop a coherent theory was gradually replaced by attention to such specifics as the role of law and lawyers in India, a reappraisal of John Austin's and others' utilitarian approach, and a criticism of democracy. This alteration may have been only Maine's way of adapting, for, as Cocks notes, the 1870s brought a revival of faith in the common law and its practitioners whom Maine had censured. But his particularism cost Maine any leadership that he had in legal reform.

In assessing Maine's impact, Cocks surveys several fields, among them historical jurisprudence, sociology, anthropology, and American legal realism. He demonstrates not only a grasp of the literature but also an objectivity about his man. Cocks acknowledges the accuracy of some of Maine's critics and identifies other flaws that they overlooked. Nonetheless, the author salutes Maine because he tried to expand the horizons of law beyond its professionals at a time when the professions generally were defining, or perhaps redefining, themselves.

Scholars in the diverse disciplines that Maine covered will find this work instructive. Although it contains no bibliography, there are ample footnotes referring to numerous past and present commentaries and a comprehensive index. Cocks also calls attention to topics for further study, such as "nineteenth-century reviews of legal works" (p. 15 n.) and the relationship of history to current legal philosophy. Research in both areas should reinforce Maine's notion that a society's rules must be examined in the context of its experiences. Given Maine's reputation, this result would constitute a major rehabilitation of his place in the development of jurisprudence, a rehabilitation that Cocks has already very effectively begun.

E. M. PALMEGIANO
Saint Peter's College

JOAN PERKIN. *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*. Chicago: Lyceum. 1989. Pp. 342. Cloth $25.95, paper $14.95.

Many scholars of women's history have encountered within their departments the conviction that any female can teach women's history despite the fact that her specialization is wholly unrelated or that she has no training in the field. If Joan Perkin's book is any indication, this belittling and contemptuous attitude has spread beyond history departments to the academy.

Seeking to show "how and why a considerable body of wives, whether contented or dissatisfied with things as they were, came to terms with their lives, provided justification for them, or discovered survival tactics" (p. 311), Perkin ignores or is unaware of the vast body of literature that has grown up within the past ten years that analyzes the status, roles, experiences, and identities of women in nineteenth-century England. A serious, scholarly book on women and marriage would have placed itself within the framework of the issues raised by such works as Joan Scott and Louise Tilly's *Women, Work and the Family* (1978), Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes* (1978), Barbara Taylor's *Eve and the New Jerusalem* (1983), Jane Lewis's *Women in England, 1870–1950* (1984), Pat Jalland's *Women, Politics, and Society, 1870–1914* (1986), Lee Holcombe's *Women and Property* (1983), Judith Walkowitz's *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (1980), and the numerous books on suffrage and feminism that have appeared in the last five years. This one did not. Moreover, Perkin seems to be unaware of current theories of gender such as Joan Scott's "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" (*AHR* 91 [1986]: 1053–75).

Without a scholarly tradition and a theoretical framework within which to operate, Perkin cannot do justice to her material. For instance, in her discussion of the massive popular support enjoyed by Queen

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Caroline against her husband's efforts to divorce her and thereby deprive her of her rights and prerogatives, she quotes (without attribution) a radical newspaper decrying the fact that the nation's business had been suspended "because a man and a woman could not agree" and that "military despotism was considered trifling compared with a decision about whether or not the Queen would be permitted to live at home" (pp. 37–38). Perkin comments—missing the opportunity to analyze this complaint in the contexts of the campaigns for parliamentary reform and the Peterloo massacre—that such a statement "only shows that people often decide for themselves what they think is really important, whatever politicians tell them" (p. 38). She claims that "what absorbed people was the injustice of what had happened, was happening, and was likely to happen to Queen Caroline *as a wife*" (p. 38). In conceptualizing and presenting women and marriage as separate from and untouched by the enormous political, social, and economic changes that occurred throughout the nineteenth century, Perkin perpetuates the separate sphere ideology that characterized the period. She does not see that marriage and gender ideology were not only implicated in but were constitutive of the power relations and contests that marked the nineteenth century.

SUSAN KINGSLEY KENT
University of Florida

GAYE TUCHMAN and NINA E. FORTIN. *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 266. $30.00.

Any reader (or buyer) of novels skimming the shelves of contemporary Western fiction could be forgiven for assuming that no bias exists against women writers. As authors of popular, and commercially successful, fiction, women appear to do at least as well as men. The best-selling novels of Jackie Collins, Judith Krantz, and Catherine Cookson all suggest that women do not face prejudice from the men who (largely) control Western publishing houses. But, if we look away from the shelves of "number one best sellers," then the situation is immediately different; in terms of "high" literature, it is men who are the dominant figures.

Explaining this phenomenon is part of the central theme of Gaye Tuchman and Nina E. Fortin's fascinating and exciting study of the gender politics of the English literary world in the nineteenth century. Tuchman argues that before 1840 the majority of English novelists were women. Little prestige was attached either to writing novels or to the novel as a literary form. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, a dramatic shift had occurred: the majority of critically acclaimed novelists were men, and writing a certain form of "high" novel had become a prestigious task. How, and why, did men colonize the novel?

Material motives for writing fiction in the nineteenth century were hardly elusive. There was a great deal of money to be made out of fiction, and men were not slow to realize this. But the more intriguing questions are about the way in which economic motivation fused with, and informed, critical standards. Part of the achievement of this book is the way in which the authors demonstrate the interplay of the forces at work in English literary history. Making money was important, but so was defining the project of the novel, legitimating its worth, and establishing its proper subject matter.

What emerges from the mass of material collected by Tuchman and Fortin from the archives of the Macmillan publishing house is that men, as authors, agents, and publishers, redefined the boundaries of fiction in order to maximize the economic rewards of writing. Recognizing that financial success and social prestige are not unrelated, Tuchman constructs a tale of commercial and literary chauvinism that is as compelling (and as complex) as anything written by Wilkie Collins or Charles Dickens. This beautifully produced book is rich in its material and its insights. Like the very best fiction, it demands (and repays) complete attention; equally, it leaves us informed and intrigued.

MARY EVANS
University of Kent at Canterbury

BRADFORD KEYES MUDGE. *Sara Coleridge, A Victorian Daughter: Her Life and Essays*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 287. $30.00.

Sara Coleridge is best known as the faithful editor of the literary works of her father, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Her filial role as editor remains central in this new study, but Bradford Keyes Mudge offers fresh insight into the value and meaning of her literary accomplishments. Rather than viewing editorship as marginal scholarship, Mudge argues that Sara Coleridge used her lengthy introductions to her father's works as a means of expressing her own original ideas. As editor she was able to write on philosophy and theology, subjects that early Victorian society considered appropriate only for masculine minds. Under the guise of familial duty she was therefore able to evade the constraints of Victorian womanhood.

Mudge's study is not a conventional biography. Just as Sara Coleridge said that she knew her father only in disembodied form through his ideas, so this book offers an intellectual rather than a flesh-and-blood portrait of the poet-philosopher's daughter. There is very little discussion of the external circumstances of her life, with only brief attention to her fatherless childhood and her marriage to her first cousin. Nor is there an attempt to unravel the complex psychodynamics of the father-daughter relationship, which alternated between long periods of separation and brief periods of intense intimacy. Mudge instead examines the literary and intellectual consequences of Sara's feelings of paternal neglect. Through her work as her

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father's editor, Mudge convincingly argues, Sara transformed his public reputation from that of dissolute poet to respected philosopher and at the same time created a personal idealized image of him as a responsible, judicious patriarch.

Using the extensive Coleridge family papers in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin, Mudge focuses on the long nervous breakdown Sara Coleridge experienced in the early years of her marriage. Mudge interprets this illness as Sara's protest against the submersion of her self into the role of wife and mother. Illness allowed her, as it did so many other talented and frustrated Victorian women, the personal space to pursue her own interests, which included extensive yet purposeless reading in philosophy and theology. Her father's death was the catalyst that freed her from the grip of depression. Taking on the responsibility of ordering and publishing his fragmentary literary remains, Sara found a role consonant with Victorian expectations of female selflessness but one that allowed her an avenue of self-expression. Sara's experience is an example, Mudge points out, of how "a nominal subservience to patriarchal authority can be used effectively to empower the woman writer" (p. 10).

Although deficient as a biography, Mudge's study of Sara Coleridge is a provocative and important contribution to literary criticism and to women's studies. Debunking the traditional literary hierarchy, Mudge shows how the work of editor can be a creative enterprise. As examples of Sara Coleridge's literary achievements, seven of her essays are reprinted in full in an appendix. Although finally concluding that the full development of Sara's intellectual abilities was constrained by her single-minded dedication to her father's works, Mudge convincingly argues that Sara Coleridge be taken seriously as a literary figure in her own right. This revisionist interpretation should also inspire the recovery and reevaluation of other women writers, marginalized by literary canon makers, who developed similar strategies for self-expression in a patriarchal world.

NANCY FIX ANDERSON
Loyola University of New Orleans

CHRISTINE COLLETTE. *For Labour and for Women: The Women's Labour League, 1906–1918*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1989. Pp. 225. $55.00.

Christine Collette's study of the Women's Labour League is an attempt to assess the success of "an historical instance of the conjunction of class and gender politics" (p. 6) by an individual who is a contemporary trade union and Labour party activist. The book has merit in that it is the first full-scale effort to evaluate one of the important women's pressure groups in Edwardian England. Collette correctly sees the league as completing the fabric of early Labour party history; however, her view that the league and its leaders have been ignored (p. 6) is questionable in view of Lucy Middleton's edited volume *Women in the Labour Movement* (1977), which looks at the Women's Labour League as well as at women in post–World War II British politics. What Collette does is provide a more detailed framework for evaluation of the league and its leaders.

The league's history was affected not just by social forces, for which Collette provides a survey (especially in chapter 1), but also by the untimely deaths in 1911 of two of its founders, Margaret MacDonald and Mary Middleton. Collette takes a chronological approach, partly because of the changes in the league after 1911 and partly because of the political changes in Britain during and after World War I. The league faced a period of transition after 1911, which ended when Marion Phillips consolidated her leadership in 1913. Changes in leadership, Collette maintains, brought about changes in league policy (p. 7). Collette says that the era of MacDonald and Middleton focused on child welfare, while Phillips gave "greater priority to the needs of industrial women and to gaining the vote" (pp. 182–83). The final change was the absorption of the league into the Labour party in 1918 when the league "reneged on separatism" (p. 185).

Collette sees the issue of separatism as part and parcel of the early twentieth-century women's movement (p. 34). At the league's formation in 1906, a separate organization for socialist women was an issue with which the league leadership was grappling, partly because of the nascent Labour party's refusal to have an official connection with the league. It was thus the Labour party as much as the league that insisted on separatism before women had the vote. The Labour party did not accept the league's affiliation until 1908 and complete membership as the Women's Section until 1918. This did not distract from the league working to get Labour party men into Parliament.

In this book, Collette provides a detailed narrative of league activities from 1906 to 1918, using the provincial branches as well as those based in London as examples. She examines the interaction between gender and class politics, seeing the change from an emphasis on gender to class politics as occurring in the transition period and paving the way for the league becoming the Women's Section of the Labour party (p. 164). Collette says that, under the leadership of Middleton and MacDonald, women were called on "to act politically according to their traditional gender roles" (p. 91)—hence, the emphasis on school meals and child health problems. This "belief in the value of women's experience" (p. 96) not only occurred among league members but also permeated the social feminist movement of which the league as a socialist group was part. It was this viewpoint that made public concerns out of private issues and that paved the way for much social legislation. The league before 1911, however, did not ignore the suffrage issue (pp. 71–77) and also put class allegiance ahead of gender solidarity when mem-

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bers would only support women running for local offices if a Labour man was not the opposition candidate (p. 99).

Some of the book's general weaknesses lie in factors beyond Collette's control, including the burning of most of Margaret MacDonald's letters by Ramsay MacDonald after her death in 1911 (pp. 1, 154), the destruction of other league documents by Marion Phillips in 1916 (p. 154), and the paucity of some league branch records (pp. 42, 62). Collette, however, could have provided the reader with more footnotes on existing sources and relied less on words and phrases such as "perhaps" and "it would appear" and "may have." In spite of these defects, the work brings to the forefront an important topic in the history of the women's movement. It shows the league and its leading members as forces in early twentieth-century politics, even if the decision to become the Women's Section of the Labour party, a decision that Collette laments (p. 1), was not a wise one.

ELLEN F. MAPPEN
Douglass College

KEITH LAYBOURN. *Philip Snowden: A Biography, 1864–1937*. Aldershot, U.K.: Temple Smith; distributed by Gower, Brookfield, Vt. 1988. Pp. 208. $54.95.

Philip Snowden was central to the second Labour government. He symbolized socialist conviction. Through this frail and eloquent man coursed three great streams of European thought: classical free trade; socialism, at its purest; Christian striving and hope. Snowden deserves a great book.

But this book is an exercise in labeling. The label is "liberal," laid on with a right-winger's zeal, though here applied from the Left. It has other names: Gladstonian, "progressive," liberal-radical. To these "convictions of his youth" (p. 2) and to their core—gold standard, balanced budgets, free trade (not socialism)—Snowden remained true. Liberalism allegedly imparted "fixity of purpose and lack of vision" to the very end, when Snowden's cuts in unemployment aid, and his desertion to the "National" government, earned him "the epithet of 'political blackleg'" (p. 157). Everything fits: his abiding suspicion toward trade unions (pp. 52–53); his silence during the General Strike (pp. 112–13); his hostility to prewar syndicalism (p. 59).

Forcing facts into this procrustean bed seems Keith Laybourn's first duty. Thus, Snowden's electoral accommodation to Liberals is warped into a "move towards the Liberal Party"; his early, unpopular espousal of women's suffrage must be ascribed to fear of his local constituency (pp. 53–57). But some facts resist. He campaigned for the dissident radical Grayson, who disliked him (p. 58), and he defended unions in 1926 against Tory attack (p. 113)—stubborn realities! He endorsed Lloyd George's "People's Budget," using the unorthodox words of the "new liberalism." This action, however, is dismissed as "shallow"; Snowden stays "a faithful adherent to old Liberal shibboleths" (p. 53). Why did he disapprove the Bolsheviks? Snowden, it seems, feared "their violent tactics might offer a viable alternative to his democratic path to socialism" (p. 80). There is here no allowance for human decency—liberal, socialist, or just English. Laybourn's second duty seemingly is to put the worst light on liberalism's influence for good; it must be a taint. By Laybourn's own criteria, Snowden's antiwar stance and his defense of conscientious objectors appear creditable both to him and to his alleged liberalism. But the author seemingly becomes nonplused (p. 68): Snowden "quickly moved" toward a pacifist position, "despite his concern for individual conscience, or perhaps because of it."

The lack of proofs, the triteness of theme, and these absurdities of detail are to me not the only faults. Worst of all is the lack of explanation. Socialism takes many forms: why did Snowden choose one form when similar men similarly placed chose another—or chose neither? Liberalism, too, is protean: it moves men to deeds and doctrines unlike Snowden's. Why? Explanation is not attempted.

A serious historian—espousing even an unlikely hunch—will merit applause if plainly and courageously he or she explicates the ideological framework, states and defends the criteria, and then either shows his or her own premises presumptively superior or disproves rivals (honestly described) or does both by a genuine demonstration leading us through data and linking evidence bit by bit, with compelling argument, to the chosen view. Laybourn's avoidance of the task is regrettable. For honest attention to circumstantial realities in explaining Snowden's life, Colin Cross's remarkable biography remains streets ahead.

PAUL BARTON JOHNSON
Roosevelt University, Chicago

JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER. *Liddell Hart and the Weight of History*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 234. $24.95.

When Sir Basil Liddell Hart died in 1970, his reputation as one of this century's foremost writers on war seemed secure. His name was inextricably linked with the formulation of the strategies of blitzkrieg warfare and the indirect approach; his wide-ranging military histories and contributions to the strategic debates of his day were highly regarded. In this book, however, John J. Mearsheimer asserts that this reputation is undeserved.

The crux of Mearsheimer's case is that Liddell Hart propounded blitzkrieg and the indirect approach in the interwar years as separate and incompatible ideas. He intended the first—the use of massed armor to penetrate deeply into an opponent's rear areas in order to paralyze the forces by disrupting the command and communications—to restore mobility to the offensive and hence decisiveness to war. He intended the sec-

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ond—the use of various means to attack the enemy's civilian population directly, thereby breaking the will to resist—to be "a way to defeat a Continental foe without having to engage his armies" (p. 87). Mearsheimer explains this paradox by arguing that Liddell Hart advocated blitzkrieg while still in the service in the early 1920s when he viewed the army positively and had faith in its ability to embrace new ideas. He turned to the indirect approach after his forced retirement in 1924 made him hostile to the army and led him to believe it was incapable of conducting a successful blitzkrieg. By the 1930s, his hostility was so great that he completely dropped the blitzkrieg and argued that modern weapons favored the defense so much that Britain should rely on naval and air forces rather than a large army to help defend France. After the Germans proved this wrong in 1940, he strove to restore his reputation by overemphasizing his role in formulating the blitzkrieg, falsely asserting that it was identical to the indirect approach and distorting the policies that he had advocated in the 1930s.

This analysis is deeply flawed. Its fundamental weakness is that Mearsheimer simply does not understand the indirect approach. Liddell Hart's most comprehensive statement on the concept, *The Decisive Wars of History* (1929), is a survey of land warfare that argues that the use of the indirect approach by armies against opposing armies has been historically the surest and least costly way to victory. Among the campaigns it examines "in which both the decisiveness and the indirectness of approach are manifest beyond dispute" (p. 142) are those that culminated in the battles of Quebec and Austerlitz. When using the term in this analysis, Liddell Hart clearly means the movement of armies along the least-expected lines in order to dislocate an opposing army's psychological and physical balance. One may debate whether this is synonymous with blitzkrieg (I believe that Liddell Hart designed it as an overarching system that included but went beyond blitzkrieg), but Mearsheimer's contention that it was designed simply to avoid confrontations between armies is untenable.

Mearsheimer's arguments are further weakened by a disturbing number of inconsistencies. First, despite his claim that the blitzkrieg and indirect approach were antithetical, he cites the same books as the "principal" sources for both ideas. Second, he claims in his introduction that in the 1930s Liddell Hart "did his utmost, and with considerable success, to insure that official policy reflect his views" (pp. 3–4) but writes later that he "did not have much influence" at that time (p. 168). Finally, he notes that Liddell Hart believed only "a relatively small army that eschewed conscription" could conduct a blitzkrieg (p. 47), but he then claims that Liddell Hart had to jettison his support of blitzkrieg in the late 1930s lest he encourage the dispatch of a large army to the Continent. This last discrepancy undermines much of his criticism of Liddell Hart's prescriptions for dealing with the Nazi threat before 1940.

These weaknesses are matched by Mearsheimer's failure to substantiate his attacks on Liddell Hart's motives and character. His speculation that Liddell Hart's hostility to the army grew out of his forced retirement is made, by Mearsheimer's own admission, without "hard evidence" (p. 82) and is rendered especially suspect because he falsely asserts that Liddell Hart claimed in his *Memoirs* (1965) that he was forced out of the army because of his views (p. 3, n. 4). Mearsheimer's allegations that Liddell Hart manufactured evidence after World War II to show that his ideas played a significant role in the German victories early in the war are marred by the emotional tone of his accusations and a failure to assess precisely how much influence Liddell Hart's writings actually had.

In short, this work speaks more to the weaknesses of the author than to those of his subject.

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NICHOLAS FISHWICK. *English Football and Society, 1910–1950*. (International Studies in the History of Sport.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1989. Pp. xii, 164. $49.95.

Before addressing what Nicholas Fishwick has achieved in this volume, it should be stated what his book is not. Despite its title, the volume is not a history of English football between 1910 and 1950. Rather, it is an analysis, within a general structure of the game, of three case studies of football in Swindon, Sheffield, and Oxford. In developing his account, Fishwick has used appropriate sources, including the local press and team and other football records. He addresses junior football, the major clubs, the spectators, professional footballers, the press, electronic broadcasting, gambling, politics, and society. By implication, he discusses issues associated with the evolution of contemporary modern society and life; these include leisure hours, the evolution of competition for such hours, the commercialization of amusements, the change of values from amateurism to professionalization, the breakdown of localism (partly through the game of football itself), and the changes in transportation and the mass media and their influence on the attitudes of fans. In these years, football expanded from a regional, often amateur, game to a professional one transcending regions and classes.

In such an account, it would have been tempting to develop a Marxian class analysis of the evolution of the sport, that is, a study of working-class players and their fans whose careers and emotions were controlled and influenced by middle-class club, league, and association officials. Fishwick avoids such simplistic traps. He acknowledges the class backgrounds of the players, fans, and officials, without using his findings in a politicized or ideological manner. For example, he stresses that middle-class club directors assumed their office and duties as a sense of civic responsibility and usually without compensation, while noting that the football

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players' union could not decide if it was a labor organization or a trade association.

The evolution of football in Britain resembles in many ways that of professional sport in the United States. Fishwick's account thus raises issues of certain underlying common concepts related to the games people play and watch, which are independent of culture. Thus, issues in English football parallel those in American sport: the control of players through contracts, concern over the effect of radio broadcasts on football attendance, the use of amateur players or those below accepted standard during football strikes, and the short careers and limited benefits of English footballers. He is depicting English football, however, and his account is related to the culture from whence it sprang. Thus, the players are almost all British, and there are no examples of various racial or diverse ethnic minorities using sport as a springboard to personal wealth and their group's greater acceptance in society.

This is a well-researched and well-written volume. It suffers, however, from several omissions. The work needs a brief survey of the evolution of English football and its organization. Equally important, a glossary would have been helpful to define such terms as "derby," "benefit," "barracking," "association," "league," "the cup," and "traditional areas." Finally, the study ends in 1950. Although the author discounts football violence between 1910 and 1950 as a major social problem, an epilogue with his views on the current scourge plaguing English football would have been appropriate. Fishwick asserts in his introduction that he hoped to write a book where knowledge of the game was not pertinent to analyzing football and its role in English society. He has succeeded admirably. I dislike football, both as a spectator and as a participant sport. I, however, found the volume most informative, and very enjoyable. Fishwick achieved his goal; it is not necessary to have played or to know the game, the players discussed, or the various clubs to derive a most valuable insight into a major element of English life in this century.

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DAVID STEVENSON. *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and Their Members*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 218. £21.00.

DAVID STEVENSON. *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590–1710*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 246.

The First Freemasons and *The Origins of Freemasonry* are complementary studies, the first offering a detailed scrutiny of documents bearing on the membership and organization of particular Scottish lodges in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the second attempting to reconstruct as far as possible the interests and practices of those lodges. Together the two books embody a major initiative in masonic studies. In addition to furnishing much new data, David Stevenson proposes a fundamental rethinking of the historical relationship between English and Scottish masonry.

Stevenson concedes that Scots played only a minor part in the administrative consolidation that marked the rise of the modern fraternity in the eighteenth century. What he seeks to deflate is the myth that "speculative" masonry—so-called to distinguish it from the "operative" craft of actual builders—was the invention of English gentlemen, who adapted the rites of the old, guild-like assemblies to aims partly occult, partly political, and partly convivial but without, in any case, an authentic connection with the ways of stonemasons. It now seems more likely that the speculative concerns originated in a decidedly operative, Scottish context at the end of the sixteenth century.

The pivotal figure in this account is William Schaw, master of works to the crown of Scotland from 1583 until his death in 1602. Stevenson credits Schaw with "grafting onto the traditional lore of the masons enshrined in the Old Charges an organisation based on a new type of masonic lodge, enriching the old lore with late Renaissance themes, establishing (probably on the basis of earlier practices) the two-degree system, and . . . laying the foundation for modern masonic ritual through initiation ceremonies for the two degrees, full of symbolism based on buildings and the mason's materials and tools" (*Origins of Freemasonry*, p. 232). Along with regulating such matters as the annual election of wardens and the number of apprentices that a single master could employ, the "Schaw Statutes" of 1598 and 1599 required that all disputes among masons be settled by the lodges whose members were in conflict and directed that the warden of the "head lodge" of Kilwinning "test every entered apprentice and fellow craft in 'the art of memorie and science thairof'" (p. 49).

Stevenson suggests that the study here mandated for the humblest initiates is an elementary stage of that discipline—based on visualizing an imaginary building—that Frances Yates has shown to be central to the thought of Giordano Bruno. If this surmise is correct, a set of statutes dating from the end of the sixteenth century, and addressing concrete issues of employment and professional cooperation, also assumed the kinship of the builder's art with metaphysical inquiry of the most ambitious kind. Similarly, expertise in military engineering consorted easily with Christian ethics and Neoplatonic metaphysics in the mind of Sir Robert Moray (c. 1607–73), a Scottish general and diplomat whose preoccupation with his masonic mark—a pentacle—verged on obsession.

Stevenson stresses that "in the great majority of Scottish lodges until the early eighteenth century (and in many cases long beyond that) most members were stonemasons" (p. 215) and that nonoperative members were by no means always gentlemen. The rise of purely speculative participation remains rather puzzling.

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Apart from rites and refreshments, what attracted these amateurs? Their eagerness to join, the subsequent impatience of some lodges to be rid of them, and their occasional readiness to found lodges of their own are fully documented in *The First Freemasons*. But neither in that book nor in *The Origins of Freemasonry* does Stevenson devote much space to the social or economic causes of the phenomena that he describes, except where membership yields obvious benefits in terms of livelihood.

It would nonetheless be captious to dwell on limitations in the scope of a pair of studies that accomplish so much. By pointing to Scottish origins for both the esoteric and the democratic emphases of freemasonry, Stevenson has called into question generations of "Anglo-centric" historiography and altered the premises of his fascinating, neglected topic.

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TOM GARVIN. *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland, 1858–1928*. Oxford: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xi, 180. $42.50.

Tom Garvin seeks to analyze the mind-set of the leaders who made the Irish revolution, which spanned the years between the founding of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1858 and the year 1923, when the moderates defeated the fundamental Republicans in the Irish Civil War. Garvin examines the social origins, work, and views of the revolutionary elite, relying on much traditional literature as well as on archival sources in London, Dublin, and Washington, D.C. Special emphasis is placed upon the years between 1890 and 1922—years when these leaders gained such political experience as was afforded them under the British-dominated system.

For Garvin, the Irish revolution was not unique; it occurred within the wider world context and shared similarities with Continental revolutionary activities. Yet it lacked the strong ideological content of other revolutionary movements of these times.

Coming originally from rural or small-town backgrounds, most of the revolutionary elite were motivated less by ideology than by personal circumstances. In their bid for greater social and economic opportunity, their revolutionary zeal was both fed and inhibited by their religion and tempered by the moderate Irish electorate. Thus restricted, they sought public support by promoting a very selective and highly romanticized version of Irish history. They embraced the Irish language revival not from linguistic conviction but as a tool to win support for their cause. As separatists, they believed that removal of English rule would solve all of their problems. As the revolution accelerated after 1916, it broadened its base. Workers and lower-middle-class radicals in Irish cities joined with rural rebels, thus effecting a merger that made it impossible for one clear ideology to prevail. Separatism alone held the revolution together until the great divide in 1922.

That the leaders were better at agitation than at practical administration of government is evident in the type of government that emerged after 1922. Their political inexperience required them to rely on the previously established British-style bureaucracy and civil service well into the 1950s. Garvin sees Eamon de Valera's long tenures based on his reconciliation of the Republican vision with bureaucratic reality and both of these with the more mundane desires of the Irish electorate. His uneasy alliance with British democratic liberalism and Irish Catholicism gave the state its unique form.

There is little that is new here, but Garvin's sophisticated, polished analysis is provocative. It could add much to advanced courses in Irish studies. He is strongest in his analysis of the relationship of the revolutionary elite with the Gaelic League and priests but weaker in his view of the early *Sinn Fein* movement, which did promote much in the way of modernist ideas.

The great diversity within the revolutionary elite over such a long span of years makes it difficult to categorize precisely its mind-set. Not all of the leaders fit easily into Garvin's classification of hysterical opportunists. This he grants in an off-handed way by acknowledging the modernist values of Arthur Griffith and others, which were applied in such schemes as harnessing the Shannon River for power production in the 1920s. The work would have been enhanced by the addition of a formal bibliography.

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XAVIER DE PLANHOL. *Géographie historique de la France*. Assisted by PAUL CLAVAL. Paris: Fayard. 1988. Pp. 635.

The longstanding tradition of geographic interpretations of French history finds a new expression in this book. Xavier de Planhol covers the history of the hexagon from prehistoric times to the present, describing the interaction of soil, geographic features, and human beings that, in his view, has been the principal characteristic of that history. The result is a book that, although necessarily dependent on the works of others, provides flashes of insight into the characteristics of French development over the centuries.

The overall framework of this history is the development of France itself, as an idea and as a political, economic, and social entity, divided into three periods: the origins of the kingdom (up to the high Middle Ages), its "traditional" organization (the late medieval and early modern period), and the centralization and diversification of this geographic space (since 1789). Within this framework, Planhol describes a number of well-known topics in French history. The various groups that settled Gaul and the origins of the king-

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dom receive extensive attention in the first section. The development of a division between a developed north and a backward south, along the famous Saint-Malo-Geneva line, is a major focus in the second. Political centralization, industrialization, the rural exodus, and post–World War II economic development are featured in the third.

At times, this emphasis produces particularly well-turned recapitulations of scholarship on certain topics. In other instances, however, the complexity of an issue is lost. For example, Planhol endorses the notion of the stem family as a cause of social stability, religiosity, and ideological conservatism, an idea asserted a century ago by Frederic Le Play and recently revived by Gabriel Le Bras and Emmanuel Todd (p. 379). But there is no exploration of the transitory nature of stem family organization, the tensions that existed within stem families, or the fact that the geographic conjunction of stability, religiosity, and conservatism could also result from (unexamined) extraneous sources. Similarly, Planhol shows well the centralizing influence of Paris. But his claim that the "idea of France" was present in "popular circles" long before the late nineteenth century is not convincing (p. 483). There is also no doubt that schooling, especially under the Third Republic, was an important instrument of this centralization. It seems, however, particularly optimistic to describe the schooling of French children in this era as "not a fissure, but an initiation," in which "the disappearance of *patois*, the decline of regional languages, the diffusion of common values was not at all traumatic" (p. 322).

Planhol, to his credit, attempts to combat this tendency toward oversimplification by attention to regional or unusual examples. Thus, he describes the unexpected development of the Vendée, politically conservative, strongly religious, but nevertheless socially and economically dynamic. But the book is overly (and overtly) teleological with its emphasis on the development of the "idea" of France, and this leads to a kind of winners' history. Such a narrative may make for clarity and elegance, but it ignores the experiences of many who participated in the project over the centuries.

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GEORGES VIGARELLO. *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*. Translated by JEAN BIRRELL. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press or Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. 1988. Pp. ix, 239. $39.50.

Cleanliness has a history, as Georges Vigarello reminds us in this elegant study first published in French in 1985 under the title *Le Propre et le sale: L'Hygiène du corps depuis le Moyen Age* and now rendered into readable English by Jean Birrell. The modern convention that demands regular bathing in the name of both propriety and health dates only from the end of the eighteenth century; it was one result of what Vigarello, borrowing from Norbert Elias, terms the "civilising process" (p. 2).

Vigarello outlines three stages. The Middle Ages had public baths, but their patrons sought sensual gratifications rather than clean bodies. Etiquette demanded only that one wash the visible parts of one's body, dress well, and show some discretion when scratching vermin. The early modern period witnessed a new concern for cleanliness among an increasingly refined elite but primarily as a social nicety rather than a form of prophylaxis. Paradoxically (to us), bathing declined rather than increased. The public baths, with their promiscuous and turbulent clientele, were closed for fear of disease and disorder. Even private bathing was discouraged on medical grounds, for it was thought that immersion opened the pores and exposed the body to harmful external influences. Cleanliness was achieved instead through "dry" practices, notably the use of fresh changes of linen. Even when bathing reappeared around the middle of the eighteenth century, cleanliness was still not the dominant concern. The bath was a luxurious refinement for the elite or (in keeping with new medical arguments) a tonic; cold water was thought to strengthen the body by stimulating its fibers. The modern concept of cleanliness, finally, resulted in the triumph of bathing as a private hygienic practice. A new emphasis on filth as the cause of disease appeared in the nineteenth century, reinforced at the century's end by the microbiological revolution, which equated cleanliness with asepsis. The concept of cleanliness, then, evolved from an exclusive concern with the external and visible to a preoccupation with the hidden causes of disease.

As even this bald summary suggests, Vigarello's study is much more than a chronicle of changing practices relating to bathing and grooming. The Lévi-Straussian resonance of the original title, "The Clean and the Dirty," portends an essay in historical ethnology. Vigarello, indeed, seeks to analyze the deep social and cultural structures that shape the ways in which people care for and present their bodies: fundamental conceptions of the body that came to define an autonomous and private physical sphere belonging to the self; the organization of public and private space as manifested, for example, in domestic architecture and urban planning; and the relations of social groups. The last concern predominates. For Vigarello, *propreté* (a term richer in connotations than the English "cleanliness") is a social construct, and he locates each conception of it within a social class or class relation. The premodern versions, with their emphasis on appearance and display, were the product of an aristocratic court society. Bourgeois society, increasingly confident of its own strength, criticized the dishonesty of cosmetic artifices and substituted practices promoting natural robustness as well as self-discipline. In the nineteenth century, it attempted to impose cleanliness on the poor, partly out of fear of contagion but also because clean-

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liness had become a token of morality; where the medieval baths had stood for license, the reborn public baths affirmed the social order.

This is the history of *mentalités* in the grand manner. Such an approach has its limits. There simply is no room for systematic marshaling of evidence as is possible in the more focused empirical studies by Jean-Pierre Goubert (*La Conquête de l'eau* [1986]) and Julia Csergo (*Liberté, égalité, propreté: La Morale de l'hygiène au XIX^e siècle* [1988]). The reader is aware of many omissions and approximations; more could have been said, for example, about syphilis and the passing of the medieval bath houses or about religious objections to washing, derived not only from prudery (as Vigarello suggests in passing) but also from the view of bathing as an indulgence of the flesh. Parts of the argument are inevitably schematic (the points about class and bodily hygiene, in their present form, smack of a facile social determinism). Nor does Vigarello's analysis convey much of a sense of how French practices and beliefs relating to cleanliness may have differed from those of other cultures. The virtue of the genre, however, is that it allows the author to develop a provocative argument about long-term change in a stimulating and accessible form. Vigarello has exploited its potential admirably, and his book deserves a wide readership.

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DANIEL ROCHE. *La Culture des apparences: Une Histoire du vêtement, XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 549. 195 fr.

Liberty of dress was proclaimed in Year II of the French revolution, and the nineteenth century witnessed the triumph of bourgeois fashion, as Philippe Perrot has shown in *Les Dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie: Une Histoire du vêtement au XIX^e siècle* (1981). Now Daniel Roche has tackled the subject of the vestimentary Old Regime, which is usually thought to have been characterized by inertia and immobility with sumptuary laws insuring that each dressed in the costume appropriate to his or her estate.

Certainly, clothing did function as a social sign. At the opening session of the Estates General, members of the clergy wore ecclesiastical dress appropriate to their status within the church, the nobility wore gold-trimmed suits, swords, and feathered hats in the style of Henry IV, and the bourgeoisie wore plain black suits. The term *sans-culotte* also indicates that the urban working class had certain garments of its own. In addition, the peasantry tended to wear regional costumes, soldiers wore uniforms, and servants dressed often in livery.

Nevertheless, it is also true that Paris has been the international capital of fashion since the seventeenth century when Jean-Baptiste Molière's Monsieur Jourdain was advised by his tailor that in order to better his condition, he should change his dress. As Roche demonstrates, during the Baroque Age, clothing was at the center of a vigorous and multifaceted debate about civilization involving conflict not only between the nobility and the bourgeoisie but also between clerics and economists.

The circulation of new fashions helped to break down the distinctions between classes and regions and was thus the dangerous engine of social mobility. But fashion also fueled the motor of consumption and national wealth. Roche analyzes the content of wardrobes not only in economic terms but also with an eye for the various and changing attitudes toward clothing. Servants and women turned out to be important players in the theater of fashion.

Within the field of clothing production, there was also increasing competition, for example, between male tailors and female dressmakers. By the eighteenth century, one structural characteristic of the clothing economy was the importance of the female labor force. The history of crime also intersects with the history of clothing; Roche describes the old clothes vendor (whose wares were often stolen) as "an active agent in the vestimentary revolution" (caption to illustration 34).

Because fashion existed in an international context with "the polychromatic sumptuosity of Catholic aristocracies" contrasting with the somber Protestant styles associated with "anti-absolutist Europe, from Flanders to Geneva, from Prussia to England" (p. 62), it is unfortunate that Roche appears to be unfamiliar with most recent non-French sources in fashion history, with the exception of Ailene Ribiero's *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789* (1984). By contrast, he refers knowledgeably to the literature in anthropology and semiotics. In addition to forty-two tables, there are also forty well-chosen but poorly reproduced illustrations.

Roche argues convincingly that clothing expressed the political, religious, and social conflicts within Old Regime France and analyzes, for example, the many vestimentary themes in Denis Diderot's *Encyclopedia*. He also devotes considerable space to subjects such as the prestige of the uniform, the invention of underwear, and the rise of the fashion press—the last under the heading of "Liberté, Egalité, Frivolité." Other historians can no longer dismiss fashion as a frivolous topic.

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PHILIPPE MINARD. *Typographes des lumières suivi des* Anecdotes typographiques *de Nicolas Contat (1762)*. Foreword by DANIEL ROCHE. (Epoques.) Paris: Champ Vallon. 1989. Pp. 299. 165 fr.

Philippe Minard has written a comprehensive account of the working life of eighteenth-century Parisian typographers: the compositors and pressmen, both apprentices and journeymen, as well as the foremen of

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the printing shops. Concerned with both their material life and their *mentalité*, the author describes not only their working conditions, the nature of their jobs, pay, and struggles to improve their lot, but also their relations with one another, festivals, leisure activities, and even practical jokes. A part of the last chapter briefly—perhaps too briefly—discusses how the French revolution upset this world of guilds and hierarchy.

The book is well researched and combines information drawn from various Parisian archives and other primary sources with secondary works in French and English. The author sets his story in a wide context, comparing Parisian typographers with their counterparts in the provinces, England, and Switzerland and with French workers in general. Scholars will find the ample backnotes and bibliography particularly useful. Unfortunately, there is no index.

Minard's conclusions are balanced and sound. He finds much to praise about the life of eighteenth-century typographers: generally their pay scale was high compared with most other artisans; they took pride in their profession and group identity; and they experienced a rich social life with some of their coworkers. In contrast to typographers after 1830, they had more control over the pace of their work. On the other hand, this work proved to be unhealthy, difficult, and sometimes scarce; the government restricted their freedom of association; the master printers often mistreated their apprentices and journeymen; and the journeymen, who rarely rose to become masters, in turn mistreated apprentices.

With illustrations, vivid descriptions, and anecdotes to supplement the charts and technical discussions, this book is pleasant reading. It also includes several primary documents of the period in a long appendix, most notably Nicolas Contat's *Anecdotes typographiques* (1762) and Dufresne's *Misère des apprentis imprimeurs* (1710), colorful works by and about typographers. These two works were most probably added with the aim of enlarging the audience for this book. Scholars have them available already in a critical edition by Giles Barber published by the Oxford Bibliographical Society in 1980.

Thoughtful, informative, and lively, Minard's study builds on the research of Daniel Roche (his mentor, who has prefaced this book with an excellent foreword), Robert Darnton, Jacques Rychner, Steven L. Kaplan, William H. Sewell, Jr., and others. It is a worthy addition to our knowledge of the history of the book and the history of work.

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WARREN ROBERTS. *Jacques-Louis David, Revolutionary Artist: Art, Politics, and the French Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 254. $42.50.

Jacques-Louis David has interested historians more than most artists have because he was a painter of history (both ancient and modern) by vocation and because he played an important role during the French revolution as a regicide *conventionnel* and as "pageant master" of the republic. Warren Roberts offers not the first book on David the painter by a historian (one thinks of David Dowd's ground-breaking work of 1948), nor the first work on art and politics in David's life (a subject that has interested historians and art historians alike), but the first examination of "his entire life and work historically" (p. x). Dowd examined only a few years of David's career, and Anita Brookner's and Antoine Schnapper's fine examinations of David's life and work were outstanding contributions (in 1980 and 1982 respectively) by art historians rather than historians. But it smacks a bit of the guild to deny Brookner and Schnapper the achievement of having examined David's life and work historically. Brookner, for instance, is a good deal more rigorous in her reliance on original sources than is Roberts.

This caveat mentioned, Roberts has provided us with an extremely smooth and readable account of David's life and art that is both accurate and insightful. The work consists of five chapters that divide David's life into conventional segments: Old Regime; the revolution to 1794; Thermidor and the Directory; Napoleon; and exile in Brussels. Thus, chapter 1 deals with David's collisions with the cultural bureaucracy of the Old Regime and notably with the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, which he helped bring down in 1793. In his analysis of the *Oath of the Horatii* of 1785, Roberts highlights David's schematic division between femininity and masculinity, which he repeated four years later in his *Brutus and the Lictors*. Roberts finds this dichotomy resolved only in David's *Bara*, his unfinished revolutionary painting of the slain youth whom Robespierre and David martyrized in the Convention (chap. 2). Most critics have not appreciated this painting, which Roberts believes shows David "striking off in a new direction, and a bold one at that" (p. 201). After this painting, Roberts acknowledges, David lost his heroic touch and eventually descended into erotica.

Roberts's account appears to me sympathetic and even indulgent to David the terrorist who cosigned over four hundred warrants for arrest as member of the Committee of General Security. Roberts gives us a fine chapter on David the court painter of Napoleon, Josephine, and Pius VII but seems uncritical of the inconsistency between this phase of David's life and his earlier, angrier career. The illustrations are virtually complete and of good quality, although smaller and therefore less satisfying than those in Brookner and Schnapper.

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RALPH GIBSON. *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789–1914*. (Christianity and Society in the Modern

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World.) New York: Routledge. 1989. Pp. xiv, 322. $39.95.

Yves-Marie Hilaire in his superb *Une Chrétienté au XIX^e siècle? La Vie religieuse des populations du diocèse d'Arras (1840–1914)* (1977) affirms that historians cannot explicate the mysteries of consciences. He does propose that the solid faith of the peoples of Arras was sustained by concrete identifiable factors. These include the strength and quality of the diocese's bishops and priests, a widely diffused active spirituality, an ultramontane orientation and perspective, and the flexibility of the bishops and priests in response to the needs of their time and society. Ralph Gibson, who deeply admires Hilaire's achievement, has set for himself the task of discovering how so many of the Catholics of France, from the revolution to 1914, became increasingly indifferent to the church's message in their lives. In his social history the limits and contradictions of French Catholicism are attributed to the consequences of the French revolution, the inability of the hierarchy and clergy to understand their changing times, their limited comprehension of the things of this world, and their often injurious support of political regimes inimical to France's citizens. Gibson stresses their perplexity, rigidity, and ineptness in all matters concerning human sexuality and the competence of the laity in these delicate matters. From the viewpoint of class, the bishops and especially the lower clergy are seen as uncomfortable within the milieu of the bourgeoisie and even less assured in the society of the working class. Gibson trenchantly argues that a Tridentine Catholicism, doctrinally closed and limited by its inflexibility and commitment to a past that no longer existed, remained theologically ineffective and blocked rather than nourished an evolving faith.

Gibson's account of industrialism's role in creating a dechristianizing environment reflects much of the literature that has failed to observe that the majority of those in the secondary sector of France's work force were employed in small artisan-like workshops, not the vast factories held responsible for a demoralized, faithless proletariat. In the same fashion, Gibson's description of the feminization of French Catholicism may not entirely reflect present-day historical representations of women's contributions to modern history. Any possible sins of omission, however, that may be attributed to Gibson's history are pardonable when weighed against his omniscient command of the literature and convincing interpretation of its contents and significance. His history is also notable because of his finding that the dechristianization of nineteenth-century France, from 1789 to 1914, did not deny to the nation's men and women the conviction that their existence had a sacred dimension. Gibson's history is now the indispensable point of departure and guide for all serious investigations of the social history of nineteenth-century French Catholicism. A culture in which the lower clergy, ill at ease in their modest origins, were increasingly during the century refused any collateral place in the important societal structures of their communes, villages, and cities.

EDWARD T. GARGAN
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ANTONY COPLEY. *Sexual Moralities in France, 1780–1980: New Ideas on the Family, Divorce, and Homosexuality; An Essay on Moral Change*. New York: Routledge. 1989. Pp. xi, 283. $49.95.

In this informative chronicle of avant-garde French attitudes toward marriage and sexuality over the past two centuries, Antony Copley seeks, among other things, to evaluate the "modernity" of the ideas and individual "moralists" that he discusses. By modernity, Copley means a belief in personal autonomy, in the individual's right to express his or her sexuality without interference from either church or state. Copley examines this sexual modernism largely in the form of case studies, and, if three of his choices—the Marquis de Sade, Charles Fourier, and André Gide—are unsurprising, his attention to Daniel Guérin, the twentieth-century historian, political radical, and sometime homosexual activist, is fresh and instructive, as is his discussion of the debate surrounding the divorce law of 1884.

Copley begins with de Sade, whom he sees as a protagonist of a "pornotopia," of a polymorphously perverse world in which any and all sexual desires would be fulfilled. De Sade referred, of course, mostly to male desires, desires for men as well as for women, and Copley would have done well to emphasize even more than he does the extent to which de Sade's male-oriented pleasures resulted in female-oriented pain. Copley turns next to Fourier, whose utopia of sexual freedom he sees as related to de Sade's, only without de Sade's individualistic and destructive excess. Whereas the marquis embraced unrestrained sexuality for its individualistic ability to subvert the social order, Fourier found in sexual liberation the means by which to make that order possible. By enabling men and women to express their passionate attractions, Fourier claimed, the phalanstery would bring people together as no bourgeois family ever could.

Fourier's writings on sexuality, like de Sade's, remained unpublished and underground, powerless to relieve French society of the repressive Victorianism that Copley believes, disputing Peter Gay, to have reigned until at least 1914. Attitudes toward homosexuality did loosen somewhat, Copley argues, but only to the extent that the medicalization of discourse came to portray homosexuality as a sickness rather than as a crime. It was not until the twentieth century that writers and readers confronted homosexuality with a more open mind. Although Marcel Proust mirrored prevailing medical opinion in portraying homosexuality as pathology, he nonetheless gave gay men a humanity and a complexity unknown in Victorian litera-

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ture. Gide went even further, not only portraying them sympathetically but defending, albeit timidly, homosexuality itself. Nevertheless, only in the aftermath of 1968, Copley maintains, could a writer of stature feel free to move beyond literary representation to join the struggle for gay rights. Guérin, having for decades kept his radical politics separate from his sexual libertarianism, finally brought the two together after the events of May 1968 with his support for a revolutionary gay liberation movement. Nonetheless, what social and self-acceptance French gays had come to enjoy remained circumscribed by the powerful legacy of Victorian France.

Reformers of the early Third Republic had endeavored to soften the excesses of that Victorian morality with the effort to restore legal divorce, outlawed in 1816. But Copley considers the new divorce law of 1884 at best "an incomplete liberation" (chap. 5). Divorce was permitted but only when a civil court deemed husband or wife guilty of adultery or some other fault. For Catholics, the law of 1884 went too far, whereas, for libertarians and feminists, it did not go far enough, failing as it did to permit divorce by mutual consent. The debate continued, therefore, prompting the most advanced reformers to advocate free unions instead of marriage and to seek the right to divorce on the petition of one spouse alone. Copley neglects to emphasize that feminists tended to oppose the latter demand on grounds that it would allow men to repudiate their wives, setting women and children adrift in a world that offered them few economic opportunities. Women writers regularly argued that reforms were needed not merely to facilitate divorce but to improve marriage, to give women more equality and responsibility within the family itself.

EDWARD BERENSON
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LEE SHAI WEISSBACH. *Child Labor Reform in Nineteenth-Century France: Assuring the Future Harvest.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 268. $35.00.

This book chronicles the process by which laws restricting and regulating child labor came to be established. Beginning in the 1820s and 1830s, reformers argued against the government's liberal, noninterventionist stance by pointing out that children, as powerless victims of both employers and parents, could not possibly act as free agents in their employment and that "the protection of the physical and moral well-being of the young was intimately tied to the national interest" (p. 25). By fixing a minimum age and maximum workday in certain industries, the Child Labor Law of 1841 marked the first breach with the policy of nonintervention. But employers and working-class parents continued to evade the laws, especially because the legislators and local officials refused to establish an effective inspection system. It took another thirty-three years for a system of truly accountable inspection by paid inspectors to be established. The Law of 1874 also extended restrictions on labor to more industries and to women. This later law, Lee Shai Weissbach suggests, marked a particularly important and symbolic turning point. Child labor legislation was "an apprenticeship in the politics of reform" that prepared France for a "new era of social legislation," "legitimated the principle of government interventionism," and "facilitated the introduction of intrusive family policies and labor regulations" (p. 230).

Weissbach argues that reformers finally succeeded in getting effective legislation established because the bourgeois conception of childhood, which had begun to develop in the late eighteenth century, came to be shared by a "critical mass" in the 1860s (p. 142). The bourgeoisie also became more interested in moralizing workers and intervening in, or "policing," their family lives. He further points out, however, that the demand for child labor actually decreased during the 1860s when French industrialization became most intense because new technology often made child labor obsolete. This argument seems to suggest that legislation succeeds not only after attitudes change but also when the need for it becomes less urgent.

This book joins other recent works, such as Katherine A. Lynch's *Family, Class, and Ideology in Early Industrial France: Social Policy and the Working-Class Family, 1825–1848* (1988), that seriously address the theoretical issues that Jacques Donzelot raised in *Policing of Families* (1979). And this theoretical framework is where the strength of Weissbach's study lies. But the study is somewhat disappointing in its narrow focus on the reformers and legislators. Weissbach justifiably leaves the actual experience of workers and their children to Colin Heywood's *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France: Work, Health, and Education among the "Classes Populaires"* (1988). But his analysis would have been more complete and more complex had he used legislation to study the process of attitudinal change rather than regarding legislation as a reflection of that change. Weissbach limits his analysis to the writings of the reformers, parliamentary debates, and responses to several government inquiries. Most of the governmental material is filtered through prefects. Had he looked in a few provincial archives, he would have found material from or about those directly affected by child labor legislation, and his analysis of the debate about child labor no doubt would have been richer. As it is, some of the issues that he raises—such as the entry of gender into the debate about restricting labor—remain unexplored. This book is nonetheless a valuable and interesting contribution to the historiography on children, the family, government bureaucracy, and the legislative process.

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LAURENCE KLEJMAN and FLORENCE ROCHEFORT. *L'Egalité en marche: Le Féminisme sous la Troisiéme République*. Foreword by MICHELLE PERROT. Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques and "des femmes." 1989. Pp. 356. 175 fr.

This book offers the most comprehensive and balanced study to date of the French feminist movement during the Third Republic. It is a compressed version of an innovative and very successful joint doctoral thesis in three volumes sponsored by Michelle Perrot (who wrote the preface) and is directed at a broader public. Despite the truncation of scholarly apparatus entailed by such a choice, Laurence Klejman and Florence Rochefort nevertheless offer readers a solid and wide-ranging work of historical recuperation, reconstruction, and interpretation and a work that is also conversant with and engages English-language scholarship on French feminism.

The first two chapters cover the period from 1860 to 1889. Klejman and Rochefort portray with skill the tension between the women's restatement of demands for rights and equality under the newly established Third Republic and the cautious approach of the men in power, however anticlerical and radical, to legal changes that would erode the centrality of the family or the authority of men as husbands and fathers. The instability of the new republican regime remains a central factor in the authors' account of the possibilities for change.

The remaining seven chapters of the book focus in detail on the years from 1889 to 1914, a more complex and far less well studied period in French feminist history. These chapters spell out the astonishing growth and range of the organized women's movement after 1889, and the later chapters follow developments such as the women's campaigns for the right to work and suffrage up to 1939. Using their familiarity with extant archives, including private correspondence as well as published sources, the authors succeed in contextually portraying the development of this multifaceted movement. Sketches of the many women and men who participated in the campaigns of the period and of their groups and publications bring the account to life. Indeed, the book is a monument to the authors' richly detailed knowledge of the period, participants, groups, and programs and to their understanding of the strategic and tactical possibilities open to French feminists. The authors' pithy yet measured observations make the book a pleasure to read.

The most contentious aspect of the book lies in the authors' dispute with Charles Sowerwine's account of feminist socialism in the landmark study *Sisters or Citizens? Women and Socialism in France since 1876* (1982). Klejman and Rochefort retell this story from the perspective of the feminists, insisting particularly on the importance of the efforts made by the feminists to address the needs of women workers during the early twentieth century. They point to the repeated efforts of socialist women to combat the feminists (whom they repeatedly castigated as "bourgeois"), separating themselves from the feminists by adhering to the party line that privileged class over sex. Similar arguments have been made before by Anglo-American scholars, notably Marilyn J. Boxer (for France) and Richard J. Evans (for Germany), but Klejman and Rochefort's analysis serves to confirm the conclusion that feminism and socialism were not the allies we once thought them to be. This is not to suggest that all early twentieth-century French socialists were unsympathetic to women's aspirations for equality; far from it. But it points out the discrepancies among intermittent party statements favoring women's emancipation, the repeatedly frustrated hopes of some activists, and the often antifeminist practices of male party politics on the Left as well as on the Right during the Third Republic.

KAREN OFFEN
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DEBORA L. SILVERMAN. *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 415. $35.00.

As Debora L. Silverman's book shows in detail, the style that became known as Art Nouveau in France in the 1890s owed much to the past. It also owed much to foreign influences, but the promoters of the new art understood it as distinctively French. Silverman's book centers on its specifically French cultural conditions and how they shaped the new art. As background she presents such varied currents as the rococo revival during the Second Empire, the organized advocacy of the applied arts in the 1880s, and, by way of contrast, the early Third Republic's interest in public monumentality and new technology. In the late 1880s the modern style meant the new iron architecture of the Eiffel Tower, but in the following years it came to mean an "interior nature style" (p. 17). Although Silverman's account includes discussion of later structures such as the Grand Palais and Petit Palais, most of the book is on the arts of interior decoration.

Why the "retreat to the interior" (p. 8) after 1889? One part of Silverman's explanation is economic and political. Alarmed by the well-displayed strengths of France's economic competitors at the World's Fair in 1889, nationalistic leaders in government and the arts resolved to do much more to revitalize the French crafts. Their program drew inspiration from Japanese, English, and American models, but they stressed its roots in French tradition, especially the rococo of the eighteenth century. Another condition of the development of the interior style, Silverman finds, was worry about the "new woman," liberated from home and tradition. The organic, feminized new style was supposed to be an antidote. Still another condition stressed

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by Silverman was the new medical psychology emphasizing nervousness, suggestibility, and the unconscious. She provides a fascinating account of Freud's mentor, Jean-Martin Charcot, and his wife pursuing strong interests in interior decoration. Noting briefly the new artists' interest in botany, zoology, and paleontology, the author goes to great lengths to show how the latest psychological theories were reflected in much Art Nouveau. This effort seems strained when she works to pinpoint direct influences of a thinker or a precise concept on a given work of art—works by Emile Gallé and Auguste Rodin in particular. Many of the ideas identified seem to be general to the century from the Romantics on.

The view of fin-de-siècle France that emerges is one of a society dealing well with old fissures. The Art Nouveau movement came at a time of reconciliation (the *Ralliement* and Solidarism) and was a part of that reconciliation—of the democratic republic and the aristocratic past, of official and artistic elites, and of artistic elites and hard-pressed craftsmen. Shared cultural interests, Silverman suggests, did mitigate divisions, as the promoters of the new style hoped. One could fault her for slighting the crises and conflicts of the period by focusing so much on the elites' programs. Negative reactions to Art Nouveau—at the Paris World's Fair in 1900 in particular—also receive short shrift. It is true, however, that those topics and perspectives have already been developed by others. And, for a darker counterpoint within the world of fin-de-siècle art, we have Joan Halperin's recent book on Félix Fénéon and Bram Dikjkstra's book on fantasies of feminine evil.

Although by no means a history of fin-de-siècle culture, this book is a commendably broad cultural history of one significant art movement. The art history is related well to more general history—from the economic crisis of the 1880s to the Franco-Russian alliance of the 1890s. The case studies themselves—of the restoration of rococo rooms in the Bibliothèque Nationale, for example—are important enough and well enough executed to interest general readers as well as specialists. A limitation of the book is that the argument is brought to bear mostly on Art Nouveau for private interiors. No attempt is made to relate that art to the flowering of new poster art or the architecture of Hector Guimard and Auguste Perret, for example. The large part treated, however, is illumined in some eye-opening ways by Silverman's clearly structured, trenchant analysis, and it is well illustrated, too.

CHARLES REARICK
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JEAN-PAUL BURDY. *Le Soleil noir: Un Quartier de Saint-Etienne, 1840–1940*. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon. 1989. Pp. 270. 160 fr.

This study in "historical anthropology" (p. 8) examines modes of work, residency, and social relations in a mostly working-class neighborhood of the mining and metallurgical city of Saint-Etienne in southeastern France. Condensed from a three-volume doctoral thesis and pared down in its handling of methodology and documentation, this text is based on manuscript census data and oral interviews used to reconstruct patterns of professional and geographic mobility, household composition and property ownership, and male and female, local and foreign, and worker and petit bourgeois relations in a community marked in turn by rapid growth and long-term stagnation, culminating in the closure of the coal mines by 1960.

A somber area, named (without irony) for an early landowner, Le Soleil was annexed to Saint-Etienne in 1855 but remained set apart both by railroad tracks and by the proximity of the mines and ateliers in which most residents worked. Most families remained in the *quartier* over several generations, and sons typically followed fathers into mining or metalworking (and daughters, at least while unmarried, followed mothers into textiles or midwifery). Some social promotion could be won by learning a skilled trade or by buying a small shop (often run by the wife), but the line between worker and petit bourgeois remained fluid, as shops faced commercial setbacks and most owner-husbands kept their industrial jobs until retirement. Such topics are well suited to this microcosmic treatment of a small universe. But Jean-Paul Burdy never clearly compares Le Soleil to the rest of Saint-Etienne and never sets his findings in the historiographical context of related community studies inside or outside France.

Oral interviews further elucidate "working-class memory" and reveal frequent contrasts between image and reality. Most mothers recalled staying home with the children even when engaged there in paid labor, because the connotations of "work" seemed not to apply to their sporadic and mostly nonskilled activities. In mining families, a mixed pride and shame showed the ambiguity of a job whose status, threatened first by unskilled foreign labor and then by technological rationalization, was officially revived by the Miners' Statute of 1946—not long before the mines began to shut down. Many miners' sons had already abandoned the coal fields to work in gun or cycle production, although there, too, a reputation for highly skilled métiers disguised the reality (after Taylorization) of mostly nonskilled factory jobs, as shown in employment records from Manufrance (closed in turn in 1980). The political implications of these changes are little treated beyond mention of Catholic trade unionism (in a section on religious organization) plus a summary of local election results. But concluding remarks cite attempts by the Communist party (for example, via the Miners' Statute) to substitute a new sense of identity and worth based on class for that, seemingly lost, based on community or on skill.

In sum, this is a book whose riches emerge slowly and sometimes unexpectedly. Whether resulting from the need to trim a bulky thesis or from the desire to assemble data before constructing an argument, this

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slow start is amply compensated by the author's cumulative skill in evoking a sense of a "golden age" or "lost community" (p. 235) in a now-stagnant corner of industrial France.

KATHRYN E. AMDUR
Emory University

M. C. CLEARY. *Peasants, Politicians, and Producers: The Organisation of Agriculture in France since 1918.* (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 14.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 209. $44.50.

Between 1851 and 1982, the French rural population fell from 74 percent to 27 percent of the national total; the proportion of those making a living from agriculture plummeted from 54 percent to 7 percent. During that same period, agricultural organizations and policies flourished as never before. M. C. Cleary provides a compact history of agricultural groups and policies set in the context of a rural transformation that they helped to spur and that they reflect. He also situates national developments within regional and local circumstances as varied as the political situations within which farming issues were formulated.

Cleary's first three chapters summarize the main facets of a century of rural change, review relations between individuals and groups in rural France, and sketch the history of major associations, syndicates, cooperatives, credit institutions, and corporate bodies. Cleary then examines the development of agricultural associations from the end of World War I and the effects on these bodies of depression, of the initiatives of the Vichy regime, and of the rural revolution of the 1950s.

He outlines the deceptions that progress brought in its wake as well as the advances made in modernization and productivity. A final, highly suggestive, chapter considers agricultural organizations and development from the standpoint of two groups long treated as marginal: wage workers and women, who continue (but women especially so) to get the short end of the stick.

There is little room for reflection in 172 pages of text packed with information. But Cleary provides an excellent synthetic introduction to a complex and significant aspect of recent French history. The reader is offered plenty of facts and figures. We are guided through the alphabet soup of organizations; issues are identified and brought to life by representative personalities and by local detail. Meanwhile, maps and tables facilitate orientation. More important, Cleary finds time for the principal actors: the state, of course, but also the Catholic church, whose crucial role he places in political and ideological context. Above all, though, he insists on the efforts of peasants and producers to shape their own destinies.

A useful twelve-page bibliography adds to the handiness of this compendious contribution to continuing studies of the fabric of French farming life.

EUGEN WEBER
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HERVE COUTAU-BEGARIE and CLAUDE HUAN. *Darlan.* Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 873. 190 fr.

The principal merit of this first serious biography of Admiral François Darlan is the many contemporary texts uncovered by Hervé Coutau-Bégarie and Claude Huan and printed in full. Darlan's own words establish his position and the rationale of Vichy policy far more convincingly than any number of postwar recollections. The authors are also admirably ready to evoke conflicting opinions and to admit when the evidence will support no firm conclusion. But many of their more general judgments must be treated with reserve.

Coutau-Bégarie and Huan (a retired naval officer and a young civil servant) are expert on technical matters, and they bring into proportion Darlan's less than total responsibility for creating the powerful French navy of 1939. It is hard to agree, however, that Darlan used that navy "energetically" (p. 262) in the war of 1939–40. Their account of Darlan's determination to keep France neutral in 1941 squares with overwhelming evidence, but they date his turnaround far too early. In particular, they credit Darlan himself with scuttling his own far-reaching accord with the Germans, the Protocols of Paris of May 1941, which offered port and base facilities in North and West Africa in return for relaxation of armistice conditions. Here they rely heavily on dubious postwar recollections. Agreeing with Robert Aron and disagreeing with Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, Eberhard Jäckel, and me, they load all the sins on Pierre Laval, portraying Darlan as more pragmatic and cautious, but their Laval is too sketchy to permit serious comparison.

The authors are least convincing about Darlan's tortuous response as commander in chief of French armed forces to the Allied invasion of North Africa in November 1942, where he was visiting quite accidentally because of his son's polio attack. Darlan's turnaround was manifestly not yet complete, and the authors miss his intervening period of neutrality that lay between the first armed opposition to the Allied landing and participation in the war against Hitler. Coutau-Bégarie and Huan do not study the actual entry of French forces into action against the Germans in Tunisia, which began only on November 18. Although they publish a photograph of Marshal Pétain's famous *accord intime* telegram of November 13, 1942, whose very existence had been doubted, they uncharacteristically omit the text of the telegram to which the marshal was replying. This text, whose identification their photograph now makes possible, shows that Pétain was actually agreeing to efforts to keep French forces from

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opposing the developing German beachhead in Tunisia.

Because these hesitations permitted the Germans to establish themselves in Tunisia without French opposition and condemned the Allies to months of unnecessary war there, it seems churlish to blame American unpreparedness alone for this outcome. Indeed, the authors are less scrupulous about understanding Allied positions than French ones and more cynical about Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt than about Darlan. They explain Churchill's attacks on Vichy France by his desire to get rid of a rival navy and seize the French empire and attribute Roosevelt's reluctance to work with Darlan in November 1942 to Eleanor Roosevelt's questionable friendship with a woman later revealed as a Soviet spy. No name or source is offered for this novel allegation.

After minute examination of all available evidence concerning Darlan's assassination on December 24, 1942, Coutau-Bégarie and Huan agree with the now-standard attribution to a monarchist group. They also suspect "the hand of a master" (p. 728), with strong hints that the hand belonged to Charles de Gaulle. British and American files, they claim, are still closed, intimating at least foreknowledge by the Office of Strategic Services and the intelligence service.

The authors' overall judgment of Darlan is curiously ambiguous. In detail, they find much to criticize: timidity, ambition, bad judgment about the course of World War II. Ultimately, however, they consider him a "tragic" (p. 625) figure who grappled rationally with intractable problems. They credit him with avoiding a final break with Britain, keeping the empire French, and alleviating unspecified French sufferings. This is now the indispensable work on Darlan, but the very richness of its documentation makes it hard to accept all of its judgments.

ROBERT O. PAXTON
Columbia University

BERNARD PUDAL. *Prendre parti: Pour une sociologie historique du PCF*. Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. 1989. Pp. 329. 190 fr.

It has long been recognized that the French Communist party (PCF) was, throughout its history, one of the most sectarian in the international movement and that this was a reflection of the party's *ouvrierisme*, awkwardly translated as "workerism," that is, the systematic preferential treatment accorded to persons of working-class origins in its positions of leadership. The PCF's favored intellectuals were "organic" in the Gramscian sense, more often than not self-made from humble beginnings, autodidacts, and suspicious of those representatives of the bourgeoisie who were attracted to the cause of the working class from outside its ranks (notwithstanding that Lenin was a bourgeois intellectual). The merit of Bernard Pudal's work is in his attempt to flesh out this insight and give it genuine substance. He focuses on the careers of three groups of PCF leaders between the wars: members of the Central Committee, elected deputies, and municipal and departmental councilors of Paris and the Seine Department. Considerable biographical detail is available on these people, many of whom have written autobiographies, whether from the vantage point of ex-Communists or retirees still in the party's good graces.

A number of interesting insights emerge from this exercise. Despite being intellectuals of working-class or peasant origins, most of these people achieved more than the ordinary amount of education. Most made it through primary education, some through secondary, and several could have pursued white-collar careers but chose not to, usually because they felt ill at ease in middle-class milieus. All were autodidacts who professed a love of reading and learning and who paradoxically used the Communist party itself to pursue petty bourgeois careers in the name of an ethic of antibourgeois contempt for careerism or opportunism. Stalinism as a simplistic yet scientistic set of ideological precepts appealed to them as a handy way to interpret the world. It was easily mastered and armed them to reject the more complex and diverse patterns of thought characteristic of university and middle-class circles. Honed on the discipline of democratic centralism, they were able to accept without question the various twists and turns in the party line. Many were promoted during the "class-against-class" years of 1928–34 because they were willing to stand by the party when it appeared destined to become a marginal sect, were rewarded with leadership posts during the Popular Front, and stuck with the party through the Nazi-Soviet pact, its most trying ordeal. Maurice Thorez, PCF leader from 1930 to his death in 1964, epitomized their values, and his fictionalized autobiography became the model for their lives. The leadership cult of Thorez exemplified the Communist *ouvrieriste* ethic that again, paradoxically, with its cult of effort, self-discipline, and hard work, sometimes seemed more appropriate to a petty bourgeoisie in a period of rapid capital accumulation.

Skipping ahead to the period after 1956, Pudal offers a suggestive approach to the party's decline that can be attributed to the disappearance of the "organic" intellectual in an age when education has become generalized. The PCF's crisis in recruitment, he argues, bears comparison with the inability of the Catholic church to find priests or the primary schools to find teachers. The party can no longer offer its own education within a self-contained counterculture, and those intellectuals who were attracted to it in the 1970s, in the aftermath of the events of May 1968, were unwilling to accept the reassertion of *ouvrierisme* and discipline that accompanied the break with the Socialists after 1978. This useful and imaginative book is marred by an excessive taste for jargon and tortured prose plus a pretentious claim to originality where there often is none; thus, the author could have recognized his debt to those who noticed the countersociety (Annie Krie-

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gel) or the phenomenon of "negative integration" (Genther Roth) before him. Despite an exaggerated claim, Pudal has not really "deconstructed" the PCF as a collective phenomenon in order to "reconstitute" it as the sum of its members, especially because he deals only with a small portion of the apparatus. But those willing to put up with these defects in quest of insight into the PCF's history and its decline will be rewarded.

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JULIUS W. FRIEND. *Seven Years in France: François Mitterrand and the Unintended Revolution, 1981–1988*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1989. Pp. xiv, 249. $34.95.

The period between 1981 and 1988 witnessed both the success and the failure of French socialism. On the one hand, the triumphant French Socialists' determination to create a "rupture" with capitalism was a striking failure. On the other hand, the Socialists avoided a disastrous defeat in the parliamentary elections of 1986. Two years later, François Mitterrand was reelected president of the republic and the Socialist party reoccupied the Hôtel Matignon.

Julius W. Friend's account, which combines narrative with thematic discussion, explains why the Socialists attempted to implement an unworkable economic program and how their failure quickly undermined the government's popularity. Much of the problem stemmed from the policy fallout of intraparty power conflict. In 1979, Mitterand allied with the dogmatic CERES against the more pragmatic, but excessively ambitious, Michel Rocard, who was maneuvering to replace Mitterrand as the party's presidential candidate in 1981. The result was that the new Socialist government was burdened with an archaic economic program.

In 1983, the hapless government of Pierre Mauroy attempted to divert attention from economic failure by taking the offensive on other issues, such as education. This effort backfired. By 1984, when Mitterrand changed prime ministers and policies, the Socialists feared a tidal wave of disenchantment that could not only undo their parliamentary majority but carry away Mitterrand as well. Why Mitterrand and the Socialist party managed to lose "well" in 1986 and why Mitterrand was able to win the duel with Jacques Chirac during cohabitation are also major themes of this book.

Friend's argument that the Socialists provoked an "unintended revolution" constitutes his most provocative formulation. For, even if the Socialists did not create a break with capitalism, their tenure did produce some major changes in French political life, including the decline of ideology, the breakdown of the four-party system, the collapse of communism, and the rise of the National Front.

It is particularly gratifying to encounter a monograph, not just another collection of essays, treating the Mitterrand period. It is equally pleasing that this book covers the whole of the first Septennat.

Friend's work is clear, tranquil, balanced, and undogmatic. He is good at posing questions—such as what motivates François Mitterrand—without claiming to have a definitive answer.

The major criticism is directed not at the author but at the publisher, who has thus far not produced a paperback edition. The excessive price is the only impediment to adoption for classroom use.

STEVEN PHILIP KRAMER
American Institute of Contemporary German Studies, Johns Hopkins University

JEAN-PIERRE DEDIEU. *L'Administration de la foi: L'Inquisition de Tolède XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle*. (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, number 7.) Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 1989. Pp. 406.

Among the recent surge of scholarship on the Spanish Inquisition, this work stands out. It is the best monograph in any language on an individual tribunal and, moreover, a key one; located in the heart of Castile, Toledo's district included both the ecclesiastical and, after 1560, the political capital of Spain. But this book also tries to twist the lumbering colossus of inquisitorial scholarship into new directions. Perhaps most importantly, Jean-Pierre Dedieu begins the essential and long overdue task of placing the Holy Office alongside other Spanish judicial institutions. Although other scholars mention that the Inquisition was not the only court system functioning in Spain, only Dedieu has rummaged through enough records of parallel jurisdictions in order to speak persuasively about what made it unique. Compared with other courts, both ecclesiastical and secular, the Holy Office was relatively inexpensive to use but also impossible for plaintiffs to manipulate; moreover, it worked under incredibly strict rules of evidence and internal controls.

Other scholars have claimed that most Spaniards were seldom affected directly by the Holy Office, but only Dedieu has tried to measure its geographical and social limitations. His table on page 260 demonstrates that a resident of a major city was ten times as likely to be put on trial as someone from a rural hamlet, and his map on page 262, confined to such rural settlements, shows that places near Toledo provided almost ten times as many prisoners as the remote corners of the district.

Other merits abound. Not only has Dedieu greatly refined our awareness of the Inquisition's vast logistical problems in reaching people beyond the major cities, but he has also carried the analysis of its financial resources and difficulties to new levels (for example, a table on page 228 gives the average per unit cost of a fully developed "trial of faith" at different times, adjusted for inflation). There is much new information on the Inquisition's connection with Spain's "purity-of-blood" mania. There are dozens of fascinating little

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gems, such as Dedieu's amusing gloss on the coat of arms of the Oviedos of Daimiel (p. 337). Almost everything the author touches he manages to illuminate, and in this book he has touched many topics. He insists that they all ultimately intersect within "a fine lesson in administrative history. Beneath very similar external forms and under rules that apparently changed only in details, several revolutions occurred, within a tight interdependence of all aspects of the institution. Everything is linked—level of activities, goals, internal organization, resources; changing any one of these elements modified the others" (p. 352).

Of course, such a major study has been expected from a scholar who has already made a large mark in this field during the past dozen years, long before finishing the enormous *thèse d'état* that has been condensed into the present book. Dedieu has also written half of the best available introduction to the study of the Spanish Inquisition (the 1978 collection edited by his mentor Bartolomé Bennassar) and a half-dozen pathbreaking articles that have been either condensed here, such as his analysis of the dismantling of a Morisco community in the 1540s, or else omitted (for example, his study of the formation of all inquisitorial tribunals).

Quibbles? Yes, one. For all its detailed information about typologies of inquisitorial cases and a chapter on *autos-da-fé*, this book does not tell me enough about punishments. In order to learn how many men were sent to the galleys by the Toledo Inquisition, one must still read Henry Charles Lea; in order to learn how many people were executed by it, in which years, and for which heresies, one must write a letter to the author. But producing a state-of-the-art monograph is masterpiece enough.

WILLIAM MONTER
Northwestern University

PETER PIERSON. *Commander of the Armada: The Seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 304. $25.00.

In mid-February 1588, Don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno, duke of Medina Sidonia, learned that Philip II "'had put his eyes'" on him to take over command from the ailing marquis of Santa Cruz of the great armada then assembling in Lisbon harbor to attack England (p. 80). The duke immediately demurred. Citing his poor health, his indebtedness, and his inexperience both at sea and in military command, he sought to escape the charge. Was his demurral a conventional formality; was it indicative of a self-effacing personality; was it based on a realistic assessment of his personal strengths and weaknesses? Peter Pierson's biography of the seventh duke of Medina Sidonia explains why the duke was a plausible choice for this fateful command, how he conducted it, and the effect it had on his life and subsequent career.

When appointed, Medina Sidonia, arguably the wealthiest grandee in Spain, was thirty-nine. He had inherited his title some twenty years earlier, and he had just been appointed captain general of Andalusia, an honor he first sought in 1580. From the mid-1570s, Medina Sidonia had effectively exercised, without title, the duties of the captain general: overseeing the defense of the Andalusian coast, organizing naval expeditions against North Africa, assisting in the preparation of the Indies' fleets, and arranging for the defense of the Andalusian section of the Spanish-Portuguese frontier. Despite his military success in occupying the Algarve in 1580 and the experience gained in defending Cádiz in 1587, Medina Sidonia's military experience was more as an organizer of men and material than as a field commander or strategist.

It is implicit in Pierson's analysis that what the Armada needed in February 1588 was firm and imposing management, and it was precisely as a manager of military expertise, operating through the chairmanship of a war council, that Medina Sidonia exercised his charge. How much of the grand strategy of the Armada was his and how much he affected crucial decisions in the heat of battle remains difficult to say even after Pierson's masterful reconstruction of the Armada campaign. Nevertheless, it is evident that Medina Sidonia was always in command and that he conducted his responsibilities conscientiously and well.

Pierson traces Medina Sidonia's public career from the young grandee keen to exercise authority, avid for royal favor, and imbued with a sense of duty to the elder statesman who, despite defeats, retained immense respect. We learn little of the private man and of the great landed magnate who administered vast estates and revenues and must have served as patron for an extensive clientele. In terms of capturing "the world of a grandee of the epoch," therefore, the treatment is somewhat one-dimensional. But this is to quibble with a highly readable book that makes a significant contribution to our understanding of one of the great events of European history.

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MARTIN MURPHY. *Blanco White: Self-Banished Spaniard*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 270. $30.00.

During the period of absolutist repression that took place in Spain between 1814 and 1820 and 1823 and 1834, liberal exiles became significant players in the kingdom's intermittent political conflicts. Among the numerous exiles who abandoned Spain for London or Paris, the subject of this biography, José María Blanco y Crespo (1775–1841), his name Anglicized in a curious linguistic tautology of his own choosing to Joseph Blanco White, stands out as an exception. Having struggled for two years on behalf of political reform, he chose to leave the country voluntarily just as the liberal

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Cortes of Cádiz (1810–13) began to carry out a constitutional revolution. His decision to leave arose from a personal struggle of conscience motivated in considerable measure by his profound misgivings about the religious and moral shortcomings of Spanish Catholicism of which he was too aware as an ordained priest and the holder of a canonry in Seville. The quest for religious truth, pursued implacably, often at great personal cost, remained a constant of his three decades in Britain where he became, first, a clergyman of the Church of England and, later, a Unitarian.

The author describes this continuing struggle of conscience with admirable clarity both for the Spanish and English periods of Blanco White's career. Students concerned with the complex social and religious world of English Protestantism will find much that is of interest in this study. But it was his role as a publicist and observer of political upheaval in the Hispanic world that is of most interest to historians. Associated with some of the leading figures of an incipient Spanish liberalism between 1808 and 1810, he promoted political reform through the joint editorship of the *Semanario Patriótico*, generally regarded as the first truly free periodical of opinion published in Spain (1809). After arriving in London, he began to publish *El Español*, a Spanish-language journal devoted to commentaries on the progress of the Cortes of Cádiz and the first stirrings toward self-government in the colonies of the New World. Although his role as a political commentator on Hispanic affairs diminished when *El Español* ceased publication in 1814, he remained an interested observer of the struggle between liberalism and absolutism in his native country and of the movement toward independence in the Spanish empire. In 1822, he published perhaps his finest work, *Letters from Spain*, a splendid evocation of the waning years of the old Spain that he had known in his youth.

This is a fine biography, meticulously researched and gracefully written. It makes a solid contribution to the historiography of early Spanish liberalism and to the religious history of both Spain and England during the period. Whether Blanco White was a major historical figure, as Martin Murphy maintains, is debatable. His active participation in Spanish constitutional struggles embraced only two years, and his contribution lay primarily in the realm of political discourse. His removal to London in 1810 tended to isolate him from the rapid development of the constitutional revolution at Cádiz. Essentially moderate in his view of political change, he disliked what he perceived as the radical course followed by the liberal Cortes. From his distant exile, he proved unable to adjust his opinions to the dramatic political transformation carried out by his old liberal associates at Cádiz with whom he sustained serious disagreements. Similarly, although an early advocate of self-government for the Spanish colonies, he later developed reservations about the movement toward independence, failing to appreciate its powerful attraction for colonial elites.

In the end, he paid the price that all exiles pay in one form or another, an increasing isolation, in his case, from Spanish reality. He retained always a deep emotional attachment to the country of his birth in spite of an extraordinary personal saga that carried him far from his religious and intellectual origins.

WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN
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MARIANNE HEIBERG. *The Making of the Basque Nation.* (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, number 66.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 266. $49.50.

The principal contributions of Marianne Heiberg's book are an intelligent interpretation of the social history of Basque nationalism and the Spanish setting in which it has developed in approximately the past century and a field-based study of the Spanish Basque village of Elgeta (Guipúzcoa) that focuses on the same, century-deep issues in one locality. These are accompanied by brief conclusions about the development of ethnic nationalist movements in Europe, particularly in the Mediterranean region.

An anthropologist, Heiberg works admittedly from secondary sources on Basque and Spanish history, but she effectively highlights the strains internal to Basque society, particularly as it industrialized around Bilbao following the Carlist wars and received non-Basque Spanish immigrant labor. Early in this period, these strains were rural-urban as much as linguistic or explicitly ethnic in nature. Heiberg summarizes for English-speaking readers the fundamentalist, virulently antimodern views of late nineteenth-century Basque writer Sabino Arana-Goiri and from there traces the deepening schisms within Basque society, the hardening and increasingly divergent political stances, the growth of regional political presences into national ones, and the increasing use of tangible cultural items as symbols in the forging of a pan-Basque identity.

The study of Elgeta is rooted in field work mainly in 1975–76 (a violent, unsettled, and crucial time for Basques) but also covers local developments since the Carlist wars and into the 1980s. Here Heiberg explores the moral universe of Elgeta's Basques: the egalitarian values and modes of exchange, the importance in local social structure of the various horizontal interest and sociable groups called *cuadrillas*, the relation of recent industrialization to older local and regional bases of social and economic differentiation, and the gradual politicization of the populace. An important finding is that pan-Basque loyalties are relatively recent implants next to the deep and older local identities that are not in the same degree political ones. (For an anthropologist, Heiberg uses a truncated definition of politics that seems to exclude much traditional encounter in Elgeta.) Heiberg makes dramatic Francisco Franco's brutal repression of Basque culture and the subsequent ascendancy, under regional autonomy and the current Spanish constitution, of Basque nationalist institutions

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over their former parallels: Basque language schools over Spanish state schools, local production cooperatives over former private firms, monuments to Basque martyrs over Spanish national symbols, as well as the empowerment of *cuadrillas* as sources of social action and the exodus of the Spanish immigrant community.

Much scholarship about Basques suffers from the kind of schism that Heiberg documents here. Her own bibliography cites none of the anthropological findings about non-Basque communities, and her comparative theory ignores crucial similarities between Basques and non-Basques in Iberia, especially in the north. Part of this theory rests appropriately on the effects of modernization and central state apparatus on better-endowed enclaves in southern Europe (but she avoids the common trap of assuming that Basque country was inherently wealthy). The rest of the theory assumes stereotypically that non-Basque southern Europe is characterized by deeply anti-egalitarian social systems of patron-clientage and brokerage. That much of non-Basque local culture in Iberia is characterized by egalitarian institutions, insider-outsider distinctions, and moral universes like those that Heiberg finds in Elgeta robs her theory of explanatory power regarding the rise of Basque nationalism in Spain. A glaring example of erroneous Spanish ethnography regards godparenthood institutions (p. 242). Nonetheless, Heiberg has accomplished well the preliminary tasks of case study and historical contextualization. Comparative theory will grow from wider attention to the ethnographic universe and, one hopes, deeper scrutiny of the French side of the Basque nationalist phenomenon.

SUSAN TAX FREEMAN
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GORDON A. CRAIG. *The Triumph of Liberalism: Zürich in the Golden Age, 1830–1869*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1988. Pp. xiii, 314. $24.95.

After writing a half-dozen books about Germany, whose history embodies the classical tragic themes of hubris and nemesis, Gordon A. Craig has now turned his talents to Switzerland, whose distinctive collective characteristics are of an entirely different sort: sobriety, industriousness, moderation, tolerance, and, to be quite candid, a touch of stodginess and tedium. Yet, as late as the turn of the sixteenth century, the Swiss displayed the same martial zeal as the Germans until the violent deaths of the theologian Huldrych Zwingli and the condottiere Hans Waldmann, representatives respectively of spiritual and secular militancy, marked the end of the period of constant wars and conquests. Thereafter they embraced the more peaceful pursuits of agriculture, commerce, and education, gradually accepting the less heroic doctrine of live and let live. They became, in other words, an exemplar of the liberal ethos.

Craig finds the key to an understanding of the historical experience of Switzerland in Zurich, the country's largest city and most important center of economic progress and cultural achievement. To him the golden age of that community was the middle of the nineteenth century in the years between the July revolution and the Franco-Prussian War, when the triumph of classical liberalism in Western Europe seemed to reaffirm the beliefs and values adopted by the Swiss. He examines their formation of a more perfect union after the Sonderbund War; the growth of banks, railways, factories, and shops; and the flowering of learning and culture in Zurich, especially the growth of higher education. All of these developments represent to him that felicitous combination of *Geld* and *Geist* that characterized life in Switzerland during that brief, bright noon of its history.

But the most interesting part of the book is a series of sketches of important residents of Zurich during the mid-century, most of whom were refugees from abroad. The musician Richard Wagner and the architect Gottfried Semper resided there for a time. The historian Jacob Burckhardt and the writer Gottfried Keller, a native son, were part of the city's cultural life as well. On a less lofty plane, Craig presents a delightful vignette of the formidable Emma Herwegh and her feckless husband Georg. These miniature portraits are painted with such charm, urbaneness, and sharp insight into human behavior that the reader will find them irresistible. They clearly form the centerpiece of the work.

By the late 1860s, however, the golden age of Zurich was starting to wane. The end of the period of social upheaval and military conflict in Europe led to an exodus of most of the refugees: Theodor Mommsen as early as 1856, Wagner and Burckhardt in 1858, Francesco De Sanctis in 1860, Friedrich Theodor Vischer and the Herweghs in 1866, and Semper in 1871. Even more important, the optimistic liberalism and laissez-faire individualism that the city had embraced were now being challenged throughout the Continent by new doctrines of democracy, collectivism, social responsibility, and class conflict. Zürich, which had once seemed the model of an enlightened and progressive community, began to appear a little smug and quaint, a little complacent and old-fashioned. Its brief flowering was over. But the flavor of that age and the dimension of its aspirations and accomplishments can still be recaptured more than a hundred years later in the pages of this informative and graceful book.

THEODORE S. HAMEROW
University of Wisconsin, Madison

THOMAS ROBISHEAUX. *Rural Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 297. $44.50.

In this impressively researched study of one district (Langenburg) of the county of Hohenlohe in the

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sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Thomas Robisheaux presents a complex and fascinating story of the mutual effort of state, church, and peasant village society to find stability and balance in a period of both long- and short-term crises that threatened an almost wholly rural social order with profound and persistent dislocations. Of these crises, the historically dramatic ones, such as the Peasants' War of 1525 and other distempers of the Reformation era, including the Thirty Years' War, retreat in importance behind the deeper economic and demographic changes of the period. These changes, and especially the sharp increase in population, introduced a new social stratification in the villages that fractured their traditional unity by polarizing their populations along lines of landed wealth and resulted in a decline of village autonomy vis-à-vis the territorial government. Such developments coincided with a period characterized by elevated fiscal demands by the state, by the combined stresses of increased pauperism for many villagers, and by the promising but potentially disruptive prospects of an increasingly market-oriented economy for others. Some of the most interesting parts of the book deal with this period—from 1550 to 1620. Within this period, there was a demand for a more interventionist role on the part of the territorial government and an attempt by both the state and the newly established Lutheran church to promote stability by introducing patriarchal principles into the regulation of family property relationships, including inheritance and marriage customs.

In the history of some of the larger territories of the empire, such circumstances would set the stage for the rapid development of a centralized bureaucratic absolutism, especially after 1648. But this did not happen in Hohenlohe or, as the author hints, in any other small German principalities it typified. Because of both the absence of the various instruments of coercion that always underpinned the progress of absolutism in the larger states and the persistent adherence to traditional "feudal" practices of lordship that demanded reciprocity in the relationship of domination and subjection, a give-and-take relationship between rulers and subjects required repeated and virtually ritualistic fulfillment of the protective obligations of lordship as the price of repeated and equally ritualistic vows of submission and loyalty. With occasional (mostly unavoidable) lapses, the counts of Hohenlohe honored this practice. Indeed, because the recurrent miseries of the times gave them previously unheard of (and unwelcome) opportunities to demonstrate it in immediate and tangible fashion to virtually every peasant family in their dominions through gifts of grain, wood, loans, tax concessions, and so on, they actually strengthened the legitimacy of their claims to lordship. These claims were further buttressed by formal written agreements to limit certain taxes and other obligations and by forced improvements in record keeping and other minor administrative functions that enabled them to keep their part of this reciprocal bargain even better.

Keeping that bargain contributed greatly to the ease in transition from the still critical conditions of the postwar years of the 1650s to the steady recovery evident by 1700 and on to the plump prosperity of much of the county by the second half of the eighteenth century. Ironically, however, keeping the bargain also meant that the counts, in honoring their own oaths and agreements, condemned themselves to permanently low levels of taxation that denied them fiscal access to the increasing wealth of their peasant subjects until the end of the empire in 1806, thereby depriving themselves of the means of creating a government much more "modern" than their old-fashioned lordship of 1500 or so. But that comes as no real surprise, because it is not the least of the contributions of this fine book to demonstrate that the Hohenlohe counts (and, by extension, many of the small German princes generally) were never much interested in powers that went very far beyond the patrimonial and that the larger responsibilities they assumed were taken on reluctantly, with painful expense to their treasury, and with the repose of the social order rather than increased power as their objective.

JOHN G. GAGLIARDO
Boston University

LUCIAN HÖLSCHER. *Weltgericht oder Revolution: Protestantische und sozialistische Zukunftsvorstellungen im deutschen Kaiserreich.* (Industrielle Welt, number 46.) Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta. 1989. Pp. 503.

Although this work was written before the revolutionary events in Eastern Europe during the latter half of 1989, it is nevertheless a most timely work, even more so because of those events. Subtitled the "Protestant and Socialistic Interpretations of the Future in the German Empire," the book focuses on the eschatological expectations that developed during the late nineteenth century in Germany and the debates these views engendered among those with not only theological but also political orientations. As the title of the work indicates, the debate was between those who sought "world justice" and, what amounts to the same thing, those who sought "world revolution."

Such eschatological visions dated to New Testament times, but, as Lucian Hölscher notes, by the eighteenth century and with the rise of industrial society, these visions were secularized, that is to say, politicized. Because time itself was now viewed in terms of eons, a politically imminent eschatology became more imperative. As a consequence, descriptions of a catastrophic apocalyptic event resulting in a heaven were substituted by descriptions of a revolution that would purify society and the world as seen in the works of the followers of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, not to mention the revelatory anarchism of Mikhail Bakunin.

To accomplish this task, Hölscher, with copious documentation, concentrates on Germany. He discusses the Christian eschatologies of the Mennonites,

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the Methodists, the Baptists, and the chiliasts of Württemberg during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as other church-oriented organizations. After the revolutions of 1848, the various forms of eschatology were concerned about supporting not just the church but mainly the state, either as it was or as it ought to be. In this regard, Hölscher discusses the views of such people as August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein, and Joseph Dietzgen with their visions of a new world order. As the author maintains, these two seemingly different perspectives, the theological and the political, were essentially the same but were treated as different for political and ideological reasons (p. 25). Accordingly, the choice was either justice or revolution. Hölscher quite rightly warns, however, of the perils of such debates. As he notes, these debates set the stage, in part, for the development of a prefascist mentality prior to the outbreak of World War I.

In the third age as conceived by Joachim of Flora, there was no distinction between what was sacred and what was secular. Politically, this view was exemplified by Duke Christoph of Württemberg in the mid-sixteenth century when he announced that he was pope in his territory. Hölscher, however, still assumes a distinction between the sacred and the secular and prefers to speak of analogies between "religious" and secular eschatological perspectives (p. 136). In fact, his book proves that they are essentially identical—both are equally religious. In this sense, the book might have been better entitled "Weltgericht und Revolution." In any case, this spectacular book is necessary reading for those who wish to understand the events in Europe today. I therefore strongly recommend that the book be translated into English in order to capture a wider audience.

HARRY J. AUSMUS
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MARJORIE LAMBERTI. *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 281. $39.95.

Marjorie Lamberti has successfully tackled a complicated and important subject in this book, which might have been more accurately titled "Confessionalism, Politics, and the Elementary School in Prussia." She has added to the evidence for the fact that, contrary to familiar assumptions about secularizing tendencies in the nineteenth century, confessional differences continued to play a key role in German politics until World War I. In 1817, the state government acknowledged that "in Prussia a clear bureaucratic separation between the functions of education and religious life could not be made" (p. 14). A century later, state, church, and school remained as closely entangled as before, after numerous attempts to reform and modernize the educational system.

From first to last, Prussian officials held twin convictions: that all education should be controlled by the state and that religion was the essential core of the curriculum. A system of public schools was therefore created in which separate schools were provided for Catholic, Protestant, and, where population warranted it, Jewish children, staffed by teachers of each group's own faith and supervised by clergy. By the 1870s, this system was being challenged by liberals, administrators, and professional educators who believed that uniting Protestant and Catholic children in interconfessional schools, with separate classes only for religious instruction, would help break down confessional barriers and form better German citizens. Unfortunately, laudable efforts to accomplish this coincided with the *Kulturkampf* waged against the Catholic church and population by these same liberals and administrators. Overall government supervision and control of the elementary schools was greatly strengthened in those years, but, as Lamberti clearly explains, the legacy of the *Kulturkampf* prevented any significant breakdown of confessional separation. Catholics feared, with good reason, that interconfessional schools would be used to combat Catholic identity and would in effect be Protestant schools. Protestant clergy protested that Protestant children living in heavily Catholic districts would lose their own identity. Government officials worried that extension of interconfessional education would result in the eventual construction of a parallel system of Catholic private schools, as in France. These apprehensions put an end to school reform in the 1870s and prevented a comprehensive school law from being passed for the next twenty-five years. The introduction of completely secular schools, which Lamberti suggests as a possible solution to the dilemma, was not seriously considered by any group except the Social Democrats.

The School Law that was finally passed with difficulty in 1906 retained separate confessional elementary schools and rejected interconfessional schools except for the few areas where they already existed and, significantly, as a means of forced Germanization in the Polish provinces.

Lamberti's chapter on the Polish provinces of Posen and West Prussia paints a particularly dismal picture of school conditions there. Local officers were convinced that any improvement, whether it be a reduction in class size, better instruction even in the German language, or basic repairs to dilapidated school buildings, would tend to encourage Polish nationalism and had therefore to be resisted.

It would have been interesting and useful if Lamberti, the author of *Jewish Activism in Imperial Germany: The Struggle for Civil Equality* (1978), had included a section in this work about the positions taken in the school controversy by Prussian Jews and the effect of the confessional school system on their status. In all other respects, this book is a thorough and well-documented study that makes a major contribution toward understanding the tensions within German society.

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JAMES C. ALBISETTI. *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xxvii, 327. $49.95.

The expansion of women's educational and employment opportunities occupied a central place in the program of the feminist movement and in the public debates on the women's question in nineteenth-century Germany. One of the strengths of this book lies in James C. Albisetti's examination of these connections without an ideological agenda. Whereas other historians have seen only continuity and backwardness, he discerns changes in the views of a proper education for the daughters of Germany's middle classes reflected in the increased number of secondary schools for girls and in the offering of more academic subjects. His account of both the improvements and the continuing limitations produces a convincing reappraisal of the history of secondary education for women in Germany. Taking issue with historians who criticize Helene Lange and other moderate feminists for being timid and conservative, Albisetti's study offers a new and more positive assessment of the goals and accomplishments of the German women's movement.

In the first big drive to open new educational and employment opportunities for women from 1865 to 1875, Albisetti shows how the women's question came to be identified with the single problem of providing suitable occupations for unmarried middle-class women. The founders of lyceums for ladies to train the daughters of pastors and other civil servants to be teachers rejected ideas of political emancipation and equal rights. The feminists who organized the German Women's Association discussed their demand for matriculation in the universities "in terms of the need for female physicians, lawyers, and teachers to provide services to women, not in terms of basic rights" (p. 97). Although this position "involved a retreat from the broader demands for equality" (p. 101), Albisetti maintains that over time the activities of these organizations did stimulate demands for new rights and opportunities. In his analysis of the campaign revived again in 1887, he highlights the active and effective role played by the feminists in achieving their "greatest successes" (p. 305): the admission of women to the *Abitur*, matriculation at the universities, certification as physicians, and the certification examination for public secondary school teachers.

Albisetti sheds new light on governmental responses to the women's demands with his use of the Prussian Ministry of Education files. The minister of education was ready to grant women permission to matriculate in the mid-1890s but refrained because of the opposition by the professors. Later the resistance of other high state officials kept the minister from issuing a decree that was drafted in early 1905 until August 1908. When officials in the ministry recommended the admission of women to the universities in Prussia, their reasons had little to do with equality of rights. Here the author's evidence calls for more critical reflection than one finds in his terse remark in the conclusion that the tactics adopted by the feminists had "ambiguous consequences" for women (p. 304). Their reliance on the argument that female physicians were needed to care for women may have been effective in winning over recalcitrant officials, but it meant that their victory would fall far short of full equality of rights and opportunities. By advancing his arguments with an authoritative command of new and known evidence and with a comparative perspective, Albisetti has written a distinguished book and has made an original contribution to the study of women's education, perceptions of sex roles in German society, and the emergence of professional women in the imperial era.

MARJORIE LAMBERTI
Middlebury College

MICHAEL J. NEUFELD. *The Skilled Metalworkers of Nuremberg: Craft and Class in the Industrial Revolution.* (Class and Culture.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 245. $42.00.

This local study of the north Bavarian city of Nuremberg details the impact of the Industrial Revolution on people—predominantly men—employed in the metal trades between 1835 and 1905. From the Middle Ages, most Nuremberg artisans had been metalworkers of one kind or another. In the first two chapters, Michael J. Neufeld, drawing on local public and business archives, shows how demographic, economic, technological, and political changes transformed the journeyman's world, undermining the quasi-guild system that still prevailed at the beginning of this period. The remaining chapters of this short monograph describe the emergence of trade unionism and the growth of political consciousness among Nuremberg's skilled metalworkers. Initially organized on the basis of craft, these workers played a leading role in the formation of Germany's largest industrial union, the German Metalworkers Union (Deutscher Metallarbeiter-Verband), and helped make Nuremberg a stronghold of the Marxist German Social Democratic party. By 1905, "trade-union activism shaped by class-conscious socialism had touched the lives of most metalworkers in Nuremberg," and "the metal-working artisan" had become the "skilled metalworker" (p. 166).

Piecing together a fascinating story from diverse sources, Neufeld presents a nuanced picture without losing sight of the broader trends. Just the same, it is not clear how much knowing what happened to skilled metalworkers in Nuremberg can help us generalize about developments elsewhere. Throughout the book Neufeld employs comparative data primarily to show what was different and special about Nuremberg. For example, that Nuremberg had an exceptionally homogeneous work force (ethnically and because it was predominantly Protestant) is used to explain the ease with which industrial unionism and Social Democracy,

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the most significant organizational expressions of class consciousness, were able to take hold in that city. Where Neufeld discusses developments elsewhere in Germany, it is generally to shed light on what was happening locally rather than the other way around.

I am also not convinced that this book adds a great deal to what other labor historians have discovered about "craft and class in the industrial revolution." Using an analytical model of working-class formation developed by Jürgen Kocka ("Problems of Working-Class Formation in Germany," in *Working-Cass Formation*, ed. Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg [1986]: 279–351), Neufeld insists that his study of skilled metalworkers in Nuremberg can illuminate the general process of class formation, as well as the "complex relationship between craft and class" (p. 2). By looking at the "interaction of craft consciousness and class consciousness among skilled workers as a dialectical process" (p. 3), he claims that it is possible to clarify the role of the skilled trades in the development of socialism and industrial unionism. But, for the most part, this study of Nuremberg confirms what we already know: that skilled workers took a leading part in these processes and that craft consciousness both contributed to the growth of working-class consciousness and hampered its development. I also do not find particularly successful Neufeld's attempt to contribute to the historian's theoretical armory by emphasizing "the dialectic of craft and class." Indeed, his repetitive use of this phrase is more likely to irritate the reader than to serve as an aid to understanding. One is led to suspect that the theoretical apparatus, instead of informing his research, was superimposed on Neufeld's study after the fact. No matter. As a soundly researched and intelligent essay in local history by a scholar fully apprised of the latest developments in German and labor studies, this book can be recommended to all those interested in the changing world of work in the nineteenth century.

JOAN CAMPBELL
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JAMES WOYCKE. *Birth Control in Germany, 1871–1933*. (The Wellcome Institute Series in the History of Medicine.) New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. x, 180. $59.95.

Political conflicts are often accompanied by appeals to mythic pasts that contestants appropriate to strengthen their positions. This is the case among opponents of abortion in contemporary America who claim that their own particular moral sensibilities have eternally governed human societies. It is impossible to rid Clio of her political garbs, yet, although knowledge of the past may not change a political stance, reconstruction of the historical record is essential for informed choice. James Woycke's study of the spread of birth control information and devices in imperial and Weimar Germany joins other recent works that document the history of family planning in different national contexts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is an important book that seeks to uncover shifts in attitudes as well as popular behavior toward birth control, the technology of which also changed rapidly during the period. Woycke starts with the undeniable decline in fertility rates in Germany that began around the mid-1890s and ended somewhere in the mid-1930s. Although he explicitly asks why popular behavior changed so radically, his study is on the forces that facilitated the change.

Woycke employs a persuasive framework for his investigation that, unfortunately, is developed fully only in the conclusion. The reader, initially, is subject to a simplistic dichotomy concerning causality: was the real cause of fertility decline structural or technological innovations? The study is a much more complicated analysis of the interaction of both forces, and Woycke's particular interest is the technology of birth control devices. The book, thus, contains rich details on important innovations in a wide range of contraceptive techniques. Woycke also focuses on the changing legal context within which these new devices were developed, advertised, and dispensed. He argues that, in the German case, there were three essential stages in the acceptance of fertility limitation but that "its history is not unambiguously linear" (p. 169); class, religion, and region affected people's willingness to use contraceptive devices.

Throughout this empirically grounded study, the blurred lines between birth control and abortion are acknowledged. Abortion once was a fairly common, although not fully successful method, of birth control; by the turn of the twentieth century, there was, according to Woycke, a veritable "abortion epidemic" in Germany, reflecting improvements in intrauterine techniques that made it relatively safe and invariably successful (although still illegal, except for prescribed therapeutic reasons). By the 1920s, however, more women were using alternative methods of contraception, recognizing that abortion was a final recourse. Overall, the book is carefully documented and relies on an impressive range of published primary materials drawn from nearly thirty contemporary journals. Furthermore, the author does not shun the thorny problem of continuity in German history. Although it is not central to his analysis, Woycke explores the relationship between the eugenics movement and advocates of sterilization in imperial and Weimar Germany and subsequent Nazi policies and programs.

Given the importance of these topics, there are a number of weak links in the analysis. The position of the established medical profession toward the dissemination of contraception is muddled, and insufficient attention is given to divisions among the doctors themselves. Similarly, claims are made about the progressive role of the national health insurance program in promoting birth control, but a careful reading of the footnotes renders the statements in the text suspect. A difficulty also lies in telescoping imperial and Weimar experiences. Woycke devotes a separate chapter to the

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politics of birth control, a theme developed throughout the text. Here he juxtaposes the so-called forces of good against those of evil ("rational individualism and 'organic volkish' conservatism" [p. 135]), but the polarity again is too simplistic. Mass movements for sex reform in Weimar Germany were accompanied by increasingly normative definitions of healthy sexuality and parallel pressures toward heterosexual identification in small families characterized by rigid gender roles.

There also are some problems of documentation. The text often leaps from the British or American case to the German without adequate references; the notes are not fully explanatory at times; and quoted passages appear in the passive voice so that agency is obscured (and the notes do not clarify speakers). The study, nonetheless, will be consulted widely for its wealth of details on birth control technology and the laws that framed changes in popular behavior in Germany.

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WOLFGANG R. KRABBE. *Die deutsche Stadt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Eine Einführung.* (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, number 1543.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1989. Pp. 224. DM 21.80.

What has been the relationship between governing cities and governing states? At what point was self-administration of communities formally begun and by what mechanisms? How did cities change from being run by and for the benefit of the wealthiest burghers to being democratically administered communities of residents? At what point and by what means did professionalization, politicization, and bureaucratization of urban administration set in? How did the service function of cities—the idea of providing welfare for all residents—become established as a primary concept? Wolfgang R. Krabbe's book provides many enlightening answers to these and other questions concerning the fascinating development of cities in Germany.

Germany to the present day provides many worthy examples of highly successful urban administration, among which are some strikingly visible manifestations: fast, clean, modern mass-transit systems in Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt, and elsewhere; Munich's highly successful Olympics complex; marvelous new extensions of already lavish park systems (often accomplished in conjunction with national or state garden exhibitions) and public green reserves of parks and forests that in many cases cover one-third of the urban land area; impressive programs of architectural preservation, restoration, and replication that have left dynamic modern cities that were devastated in World War II looking like models of historic continuity; and strikingly vibrant central business districts with their plethora of interesting shops, cafes, and restaurants in flourishing car-free pedestrian districts. No visitor from North America ever fails to be impressed. How do they do it? Krabbe's book provides useful answers in his history of the urbanization process and development of administrative techniques in Germany.

Emphasis in this historical overview of the transformation process is on Prussia and the period from 1870 to 1920. Not only was Prussia the moving force in the founding of the German Reich as the largest part of the Reich in both area and population, but it also provided the leading impulses in patterns both of urban growth and of autonomous urban administration. The period from 1870 to 1920 saw the greatest flowering of cities. From the founding of the Reich to the founding of the Weimar Republic, the greatest urban migration and, hence, greatest urban expansion took place. It is for good reason that this is the era for which most research is available, and Krabbe has used it well.

Krabbe's chapter headings suggest the content of his book: "Cities in Tension between State and Society," "City and Local Authority: Elements and Types of Communal Constitutions," "From the Commune of Citizens to the Commune of Residents," "Urbanization, Growth of Cities, and City Planning," "The Service Function of Cities," "Bureaucratization, Professionalization, and Politicization of Urban Administration," and "Urban Finances."

At first consideration, this small paperback might seem somewhat dense and inaccessible, since it has no illustrations and only the following tables to break up the text: "Development of the right to vote [among the three classes] in Prussia," "Urbanization in the German Reich, 1871–1910," "Deficits of communal welfare departments caused by unemployment, 1928–1931," "Expenditures of all Prussian communities, 1883–84 and 1911," "Distribution of municipal services according to size of the community in 1908," "Number of municipal employees in the city of Leipzig: 1890, 1900, and 1908," "Distribution of votes [by party] in communal elections in German cities, 1919," "Distribution of votes [by party] in communal elections, 1929 and 1933, in Prussian cities with more than 20,000 residents," "The direct communal taxes in Prussia, 1894–1911," and "Communal income from various taxes, 1913–1954 (in percent)."

Yet the book is very well written. The author provides a great amount of useful information in accessible form and accurately reveals the processes that are responsible for creating the well-functioning entities that German cities represent today. Among other important recent studies cited by the author are the following: Heinrich Heffter, *Die deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert* (1969); Horst Matzerath, *Urbanisierung in Preussen, 1815–1914* (1985); Horst Matzerath, *Nationalsozialismus und kommunale Selbstverwaltung* (1970); and Juergen Reulecke, *Geschichte der Urbanisierung in Deutschland* (1985). The history of German

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cities is finally receiving the careful attention it so richly deserves.

RON WIEDENHOEFT
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PETER GRUPP. *Deutsche Aussenpolitik im Schatten von Versailles 1918–1920: Zur Politik des Auswärtigen Amts vom Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs und der November-Revolution bis zum Inkrafttreten des Versailler Vertrags.* (Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1988. Pp. 320. DM 64.

Shortly after the opening of the Paris Peace Conference, German Foreign Minister Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau remarked that "actually at present [Germany] cannot pursue any foreign policy at all" (p. 8). Was Brockdorff-Rantzau right? Peter Grupp thinks not. Grupp takes a topical, rather than strictly chronological, course—relief from the usual German monograph.

Grupp sets out a series of questions: Did defeat create new diplomatic options for Germany? If so, how broad or how limited were they? Did a new orientation come gradually or suddenly? Or, if defeat did not create new options, can we determine a continuity in German foreign policy from the Kaiserreich to the Weimar Republic? In six tight chapters, Grupp offers a fine discussion of the options open to the new German republic; the character of the German Foreign Ministry itself; the basis for a possible new foreign policy; a discussion of the means and methods of German foreign policy immediately after the war; and, finally, a series of set piece examples of German's foreign policy in Eastern Europe. Grupp's prose is admirably clear, his scholarship is based on a thorough reading of primary documents, and his interpretations are altogether sound.

In answering the questions, Grupp argues for a series of missed opportunities, miscalculations, and continuities. First, he reminds us that there was no serious change in personnel in the Foreign Ministry following Germany's defeat. There was, therefore, no "internal break with the past" (p. 287). Second, German diplomats deluded themselves and the German people in the belief that Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points would somehow shield Germany from a punitive peace settlement. When faced with the challenge of two radically new international concepts—Wilson's and Vladimir Lenin's—the German Foreign Ministry wavered adrift without guiding principles. Even the new ideas of the economic liberals at the peace conference failed to quicken Germany's diplomatic pulse; it preferred, instead, a series of "sideshows" in which the continuity of old policy was clearly evident, particularly in Germany's approach to Eastern Europe and Bolshevik Russia: "No change, no new leaf, no new concepts were apparent" (p. 288).

What creativity in policy formulation there was in the fledgling republic came from outside the government: Sparticists, Independent Socialists, and pacifists urged Berlin to capitalize on changing diplomatic conditions created by Wilson and Lenin. The Foreign Ministry, however, stuck to its old illusions, formulating a revisionist policy whose goals were essentially negative, full of unfulfillable expectations that poisoned public sentiment and later hampered the more constructive efforts of Gustav Stresemann. "In the end, what may be said is that between the 'heights' of Wilhelmine and Hitlerian foreign policy, German foreign policy fell to its lowest point during the period from armistice to enactment of the Treaty of Versailles, without, in principle, any break dividing one from the other. . . . The radical break in this continuum comes only following 1945. Since, unlike the First World War, the Second—admittedly fortunately—resulted in the utter defeat of Germany, there was neither room for the old illusions nor for traditional *Machtpolitik*" (p. 294).

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GERHARD SCHULZ. *Deutschland am Vorabend der Grossen Krise.* Volume 2, *Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur.* New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1987. Pp. xii, 531. DM 156.

With the publication of this book, Gerhard Schulz returns to a project that he began twenty-five years earlier when he published *Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur: Verfassungspolitik und Reichsreform in der Weimarer Republik* (1963) as the first volume of a projected two-volume study on the problem of constitutional and federal reform in the Weimar Republic. Since then the first volume has been republished in a revised and expanded second edition, while the second volume has grown into two volumes, of which this is the first to appear in print.

In this volume Schulz turns his attention to the apparent stabilization of Weimar democracy in the second half of the 1920s. By and large, historians have tended to neglect the period from 1924 to 1930 in favor of the more politically exciting events that surrounded either the republic's struggle for survival from 1919 to 1923 or its ignominious collapse between 1930 and 1933. But, as Schulz convincingly demonstrates, the seeds for Weimar's demise had already been sown long before the outbreak of the world economic crisis set in motion the series of events that eventually culminated in Adolf Hitler's appointment as chancellor at the beginning of 1933. If Weimar politicians could point with pride to the republic's recovery from the brink of economic and political collapse in 1923, they were unable to repair the fault lines that continued to plague Germany's economic and political stabilization in the second half of the 1920s. As a result, the slightest tremor could bring the entire edifice of Weimar democracy crashing down upon itself.

What were the specific features of Germany's economic, social, and political development from 1924 to 1930 that left Weimar democracy so vulnerable to

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collapse at the beginning of the following decade? The answer that Schulz provides to this question is genuinely comprehensive. Focusing his attention first on the international economic problems that had resulted from World War I, Schulz stresses not only Germany's almost total dependence on international capital markets but also the way in which the interallied debt precluded a settlement of the reparations problem on terms that might have helped to stabilize rather than destabilize Weimar democracy. The author then turns his attention to Germany's economic recovery in the second half of the 1920s and shows how it did little to resolve the more fundamental problems that strained relations between capital and labor, industry and agriculture. Having thus established the international and domestic economic context that surrounded Germany's political development, Schulz turns to the decline of the liberal parties, the political stalemate that plagued the "Great Coalition" government of Hermann Müller from 1928 to 1930, and the emergence of an extraparliamentary opposition to the so-called Weimar system on the extreme right wing of Germany's political spectrum. The book then concludes with a detailed analysis of the events that led to Heinrich Brüning's appointment as chancellor and the formal abandonment of parliamentary government in the spring of 1930. Faithful to the complexity of the historical record he is trying to reconstruct, Schulz eschews a monocausal interpretation of the factors that led to the paralysis of Weimar democracy at the beginning of the 1930s and judiciously resists the temptation to reduce the history of this period to any sort of common denominator.

What Schulz offers is a richly detailed yet thoroughly comprehensive account of why Weimar's economic and political stabilization in the second half of the 1920s did not translate into something more permanent. The synthetic scope of the work, in turn, compensates for the fact that in many cases Schulz does not go beyond the more specialized secondary literature on the history of the Weimar Republic. This is particularly true of what Schulz has to say about the social and political consequences of the way in which the mark was stabilized in the winter of 1923–24 and about German party and interest group politics in the second half of the 1920s. Nonetheless, Schulz's work represents an important contribution to the historical literature on the Weimar Republic that is to be appreciated as much for its synthetic vision as for its rich grasp of detail.

LARRY EUGENE JONES
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WILLIAM HARVEY MAEHL. *The German Socialist Party: Champion of the First Republic, 1918–1933*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, number 169.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1986. Pp. xvii, 270. $40.00.

Although the monographic literature on Weimar Social Democracy is rich, William Harvey Maehl writes in his preface that "there have been hardly any comprehensive treatments of the history of the national party and its policies for the whole period" (p. x). In attempting to fill this gap, his relatively slim volume focuses almost exclusively on politics, seeking to explain both actions and attitudes of the Social Democratic party (SPD) and, beyond them, general issues and the responses of nonsocialist forces to them. Maehl's approach is most illuminating in showing, conflict by conflict and year by year, how the SPD's constant struggle to preserve parliamentary democracy limited the party's possibilities and wore down its energies. He particularly emphasizes "the vitiating sacrifices made for the sake of foreign policy" (p. viii) by the Social Democrats, who considered their domestic objectives to be unachievable unless Germany regained full independence through fulfillment of the Versailles settlement. Surprisingly, however, Maehl leaves this theme in the background in surveying the Brüning era, in spite of the importance of the reparations and disarmament issues to the Social Democratic policy of "toleration."

At times the somber hues of Maehl's portrait suggest an interpretation cast in the mold of tragedy. More often, however, he writes of SPD leaders and policies in terms of praise and blame and in a mode of "might have beens" and "should have beens" that recalls the memoirs and postmortems of the 1930s and 1940s. On occasion these verdicts are inconsistent: the leaders of Social Democracy are criticized for turning away from the unions' "promising" WTB Plan of the early 1930s (p. 166), but soon afterwards the left secessionists of 1931 are accused of "a bad blunder" for leaving the party instead of pressing it to revert "to a genuine opposition" (p. 178). Yet the leftists' class-militant course and the WTB Plan represented incompatible options. The Social Democrats could not choose both.

Either of these alternatives, it is true, would have allowed the SPD the chance to initiate events and not just respond to them; Maehl rightly identifies immobilism as the sickness of Weimar Social Democracy. Yet the roots of this passivity were not confined to the weaknesses of leaders and the constraints of political circumstances. Maehl underestimates the significance that ideology retained for the SPD. It is not enough to conclude that "the credo of the Majority Socialist chieftains became a murky adulteration of the ideologies of Marx, Engels, and Kautsky" (p. 209). What needs to be understood is why this remained the dominant outlook in Social Democracy. Lack of militancy, moreover, had roots among the rank and file, independent of the leadership's direction. Maehl tends to slight this and to overemphasize influence from above, inclinations exemplified in his assertion that "by 1929 the left wing of the SPD very nearly controlled a majority of its following" (p. 79)—a judgment resting on a debatable argument from a single source. In the end, this new study seems a throwback to an earlier phase of the historiography of German socialism with

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both the advantages and the faults with which students of the subject are familiar.

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GERHARD TH. MOLLIN. *Montankonzerne und "Drittes Reich": Der Gegensatz zwischen Monopolindustrie und Befehlswirtschaft in der deutschen Rüstung und Expansion 1936–1944.* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 78.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1988. Pp. 394. DM 78.

As the author of this penetrating study of relations between German big business and the Nazi regime notes, empirical inquiry into that subject has lagged far behind theoretical formulations. Drawing on a rich array of archival documents, Gerhard Th. Mollin goes a long way toward remedying this situation by subjecting the impact of Nazi policies on the iron and steel industry to scrutiny. The result is revisionist history of a high order.

The book focuses on clashes between private industry and the Nazi "command economy." This *Befehlswirtschaft* manifested itself not only through an unprecedentedly intrusive economic bureaucracy but also through the challenges posed by the giant enterprise created by the regime itself, the Hermann Göring Works. This corporation was chartered in 1937 after the major iron and steel firms balked at the government's insistence on greater autarky through substitution of low-grade domestic iron ore for the more economical, high-quality Swedish ore that the firms had come to rely on after Germany's loss of the Lorraine minette fields in 1919. The steel barons of the Ruhr were forced not only to use low-grade ore mined by the Göring Works but also to provide capital to launch the latter and to surrender valuable mining deposits to it at prices far below market value.

Mollin argues persuasively that the largest of the iron and steel firms, United Steel, felt the brunt of the hostility of the Nazis who staffed the Göring Works, the Four-Year Plan Office, and other instruments of the command economy. The firm's option after World War I for integration into the international market placed it at odds with a regime bent on minimizing Germany's dependence on trade. Its overweening size aroused the antimonopoly bias of prominent Nazis, and its complex corporate structure contradicted the regime's preference for individualized management. As a result, United Steel suffered a succession of defeats that markedly diminished its place in the economy. In the scramble for control of industrial plants in conquered territories, it had to defer, as did other private firms, to the voracious Göring Works, which ballooned into the largest industrial enterprise on the Continent.

Mollin finds no economic justification for the Göring Works and marshals evidence indicating that it proved to be a wasteful drain on the economy, just as the iron and steel executives predicted. He concludes that it can only be explained in political terms as a product of the appetite for power of the clique around Göring that, like that around Heinrich Himmler, strove to carve out an economic realm of its own.

Neither the "monopoly group" theory nor that of "state monopoly capitalism" survives the barrage of evidence with which Mollin delineates far more complex patterns than provided for by those theories. In contrast to studies that have portrayed big business as a partner to Nazism, he concludes that, as a result of the prevalence of a pronounced primacy of politics, capitalists enjoyed far less influence in the authoritarian Third Reich than they had wielded in the parliamentary democracy of Weimar. His examination of German industry's behavior in Nazi-occupied Western Europe leads him to reject as well the view that a direct line of continuity linked its aims in 1941–45 with those of 1914–18. As for the overall nature of the Third Reich's economy, Mollin characterizes it as "a short-lived monstrosity of an imperialistic system of dominance" (p. 279) that burst the bounds of capitalism through the extra-legal measures of a regime that negated, at its convenience, the most fundamental principle of that economic system: the legitimizing economic role of private property ownership.

Studded with acronyms and thickets of statistical data, this is not an easily accessible book. It also suffers from lapses into jargon, as in use of the misnomer *Monopolindustrie* to describe the oligopolistic firms of the iron and steel industry. But these are minor faults in a study that is essential reading for anyone interested in the Third Reich.

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WILLIAM S. GRENZEBACH, JR. *Germany's Informal Empire in East-Central Europe: German Economic Policy toward Yugoslavia and Rumania, 1933–1939.* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 128.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1988. Pp. 269. DM 76.

An analysis of German trade policies toward Yugoslavia and Romania provides for an excellent case study of the Nazi economic strategy that formed the basis of their "Large Area Economics" (*Grossraumwirtschaft*). Success was achieved when Germany was prepared to pay remarkably high prices into blocked accounts for badly needed agricultural produce that both the Yugoslavs and the Romanians were eager to export. Lengthy negotiations over the export of plums and carp, recounted here in somewhat excessive detail, paved the way for deals on strategic raw materials such as petroleum, copper, and bauxite. Whereas the Germans had delivered capital goods that were badly needed by their partners in their efforts to industrialize in return for agricultural products, they were obliged

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to exchange some of their best armaments for the raw materials needed for their rearmament program. As both countries became increasingly dependent on Nazi Germany, their exports to the rest of the world, mostly paid for in convertible currency, dwindled, and their industrialization strategies were threatened by this mounting reliance on the import of German products.

The picture that emerges from the discussion of endless trade negotiations is considerably more nuanced than much of what has been written in the past. German policy was far less deliberate and ideologically motivated than has often been assumed. The German authorities tried very hard to increase exports and did not cynically run up huge clearing debts. When this failed after 1937 because the rearmament program was in full swing, they reluctantly cut back imports rather than increase indebtedness. The notion that the Nazis' hapless trading partners were forced to use their worthless blocked credits to buy mountains of aspirin and trainloads of harmonicas that they hoped to resell for hard currency is shown to be a wild exaggeration. But the author's understandable desire to attack such distorted pictures of Nazi trade policy does lead him at times seriously to underestimate the importance of political considerations, and ideological preconceptions tend to get lost from view among the details of technical discussions.

Although there is much useful material in this book, it reads too much like a poorly revised doctoral dissertation. A lengthy discussion of the literature on German rearmament that overlooks the magisterial work of Wilhelm Deist, Manfred Messerschmidt, Hans-Erich Volkmann, and Wolfram Wette (*Ursachen und Voraussetzungen des Zweiten Weltkrieges* [1979]) is of limited interest. The central importance of the use of clearing accounts and frozen credits is not emphasized sufficiently, and the book lacks a clear line of argument, frequently getting bogged down in wearisome and detailed descriptions of trade negotiations. The political background to the whole process is given short shrift, and even the critical disagreements between the ministry of agriculture and the foreign office on export policies are covered far too quickly. That a Nazi commentator could write in 1943 that the war in Central Europe was merely a phase in the integration of the *Grossraumwirtschaft* suggests that more was at stake than conventional economic interests. Grenzebach sees it the other way around. Economic exigencies, exacerbated by the rearmament program, forced Germany's trading partners into a state of subservience that Poland, for one, refused to accept. The war was thus a response by the powers to Germany's informal empire building. It would seem that this was not Hitler's war and that the villains of the piece were the civil servants who negotiated deals over plums and petroleum. Grenzebach is far too sensible to follow the logic of his own argument to such lengths, but one inevitably reaches such strange conclusions if the politics of National Socialism is not taken sufficiently into account.

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THEO J. SCHULTE. *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia*. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1989. Pp. xvi, 390. $45.00.

In recent years the debate over the complicity of the German army in implementing Nazi occupation policies in the Soviet Union has been fought in the press, courts, academia, and the bureaucracy. This study seeks to examine two rear areas in the German central front sector to determine how lower levels of the Wehrmacht responded to the Nazi policies. Doing what he claims is "history from below," Theo J. Schulte analyzes the nature and structure of the rear army units and their response to Nazi policies on economic exploitation, partisan war, Soviet prisoners of war, military justice, the Jewish question, relationship with the SS, and collapse of the German occupational system. Schulte further tries to draw some conclusions about the social history of the Wehrmacht within the context of Nazi Germany. It is a tall order, but for the most part he accomplishes his objectives.

Schulte is a careful, judicious, and thoughtful historian. He argues that rear-area units were more representative of German society by this time in the war than front-line units. Like most of the "new school" of historians, he does not detect much of a difference between the older personnel, who presumably were less influenced by Nazism, and their younger brethren. What was different about the older group was their participation in the war often in spite of rather than because of the Nazi ideology. Perhaps that is a subtle point, but it is amazing how far the Nazis got without establishing complete dominance over their own people.

This is a carefully controlled case study of the way in which Nazi policies were carried out in an important sector of Russia. Schulte confirms that the German army was deeply implicated in the awful crimes committed in occupied Russia and, more important, analyzes how and why the army got involved. The author's conclusions are disturbing in and by themselves but also as a portent of the nature of war in this century and the future. He does not mince his words when he argues that the German army as a whole was implicated in a racial war of annihilation and extermination. Moreover, this was not simply a war with ideological overtones but a war aimed at the refashioning of German society after the total destruction of Communist Russia.

There are two weaknesses in the study: the discussions of economic exploitation and the social history of the army. In part these weaknesses may be related to Schulte's documentation, which is largely from official army records that tend to ignore these areas, but in

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part the weaker elements are the result of the author's interest. His narrative accounts of the Kaminski Brigade and the partisan war are sharply drawn compared to the economic and social aspects, but these are rather minor points in what is a finely crafted book.

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GERHARD REMPEL. *Hitler's Children: The Hitler Youth and the SS*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 354. $39.95.

This book, Gerhard Rempel writes, was not "a labor of love in any sense of that phrase" (p. ix), and it shows. The title alone is at least the third time, to my knowledge, that a fatherly relationship has been attributed to Adolf Hitler, that most unfatherly and uncaring of men; one instance even involved the Baader-Meinhof terrorists. The reader need not read very far to realize that the author is thinking more of something like the tie between the Pied Piper and his doomed followers. The dominant relation under discussion, however, hardly touches on Hitler but instead links the Hitler Youth (Hitler Jugend [HJ]) with the Waffen-SS, particularly the HJ Patrol Service and HJ Agricultural Service. Their malevolent "father," to be sure, was ready to grind up this "magnificent . . . *Menschenmaterial*" (pp. 1–2) in pursuit of his new order during the final years of the war.

The book is written with the passion of mourning the slaughter of the thousands of misguided, fanatic German teenagers, and Rempel becomes eloquent when he describes their "final sacrifice" (chaps. 9 and 10). The study is certainly not lacking in the full paraphernalia of scholarship, and the two, passion and scholarship, seem to combine pleasingly in the last six chapters, which are all well introduced, well written, and well organized. This is not true of the earlier parts, which suggest a major operation without skin grafts and plastic surgery. Whereas chapters five through ten, for example, explain the relevant structures of the Third Reich and introduce each of some seventy abbreviations by spelling out (and translating) the names of Nazi organizations, this is not the case with the dizzying alphabet soup in earlier chapters with as many as twenty-five letter combinations on a page. There are lengthy passages reporting quantitative data in nontabular form with hardly an attempt to explain why the reader should care if a percentage is 38.8 percent or less (pp. 12–16) and no attempt to relate the role and function of particular organizations to the general scheme of things (p. 21). Rempel briefly and cryptically refers to relevant writers and literature but usually stays away from the great issues that move historians: Who exactly were the members of this inchoate, ill-defined lower middle class that is still seen as the culprit behind the Nazi movement but usually represented only with various sets of figures in the antiquarian style made fashionable by Michael Kater? Was this really a united, mobilized class in the same sense as the militant proletariat or the classical bourgeoisie of an earlier age, whose intellectual representatives have blamed the lower middle class for their own lapse from grace? Is much revealed about the nature of the HJ by describing its growth in the early 1930s without a penetrating look at where these millions of recruits came from, especially the link with the bourgeois leagues, and without a description of the motives of all of these groups of Weimar youth culture (pp. 9–10)?

There are other flaws in this book, beginning with the formula-like triplet chapter titles, such as "Unifiers, Delinquents, Enforcers" (chap. 3), which bear little relation to categorizations or subdivisions in the chapters. These diffuse titles also suggest a lack of clear focus, which is evident in other ways as well, such as in the discussion of the fascinating subject of sexual misconduct and homosexuality in HJ and its female branch, the Bund deutscher Mädchen (League of German Girls), as well as precocious sexual activities during the war. These subjects were major preoccupations of the romanticized police sleuthing of the HJ Patrol Service and are treated here simply in a journalistic fashion without benefit of psychosexual development theory, awareness of Weimar crime statistics, or even minimal insight into the impact of war on adolescents. There are also a number of poorly translated German terms, such as *Gebärfreudigkeit* (p. 40), *Entgleisungen* (p. 49), and *lichtscheues Gesindel* (p. 60), and puzzling English terms such as "civil careers" (p. 59), "change of life" (p. 69), and "band" (p. 90). This book would indeed have been so much better with a little tender loving care.

PETER H. MERKL
University of California, Santa Barbara

DONALD ABENHEIM. *Reforging the Iron Cross: The Search for Tradition in the West German Armed Forces*. Foreword by GORDON A. CRAIG. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xxi, 316. $29.95.

On the two hundredth anniversary of Gerhard von Scharnhorst's birth, November 12, 1955, Theodor Blank, West Germany's first defense minister, stood beneath a large Iron Cross in the motorpool of Bonn's dilapidated Ermekeilkaserne and awarded commissions to the first 101 volunteer officers of the Bundeswehr. The date was chosen to symbolize the Bundeswehr's identification with another "new start" in German military history, that is, the Prussian reform era of the early nineteenth century. To ensure that the new officers would launch this enterprise in the proper reformist spirit, they were sent to training seminars on the principles of *innere Führung*, a complex set of doctrines and practices designed to integrate the military fully into the Federal Republic's democratic, pluralistic society. The first seminars were held in a former

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Nazi *Ordensburg* (political leadership school), whose heavy oak beams were engraved with thousands of swastikas only partially sanded off. When criticized for his rather unhappy choice of locale, Blank replied that the new army could not shun every locality or facility connected with the Third Reich "out of some crazy fear that the Nazi spirit still inhabited it." That kind of "fetishism" would preclude driving on the Autobahnen! Nevertheless, to help exorcise those Nazi ghosts and reaffirm the army's commitment to a new beginning, the *Ordensburg* was rechristened "Ludwig-Beck Kaserne" after one of the martyred military opponents of Hitler.

This jumble of conflicting symbols was itself symbolic of the Bundeswehr's immensely complicated relationship with Germany's military past, particularly the recent past. The army's tortuous search for a "valid heritage," for a "usable past" on which it could build a viable future in the new democratic state, is the subject of Donald Abenheim's excellent study. Meticulously researched and gracefully written, Abenheim's book is more comprehensive than Hans-Joachim Harder's and Norbert Wiggershaus's *Tradition und Reform in den Aufbaujahren der Bundeswehr* (1985) and the only work in English to address systematically this important subject. Generally, it is a useful introduction to the entire problem of the Bundeswehr, an institution about which too little is known in this country.

Abenheim points out, quite correctly, that West Germany's initial search for usable military traditions was complicated by pressures to field an army as quickly as possible in the cold war atmosphere of the early 1950s. It would have been difficult enough to achieve a consensus in this area during the best of times, but demands for speed and efficiency resulted in hasty compromises that pleased few and damaged the new army's credibility at the outset. Liberal and leftist critics lamented an insufficient "break with the past," while conservatives inside and outside the military insisted that the Bundeswehr had thrown out valuable traditions and disrupted the continuity necessary for cohesion and esprit de corps.

Although Abenheim's study contains a number of chapters on the military planning efforts that preceded the Bundeswehr's inauguration in 1955, the heart of the book concerns the 1965 Decree on Tradition that was meant to overcome deficiencies in earlier guidelines. This document had its origins in Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss's insistence that the Bundeswehr soldiers possess a compact and readily usable "image of history," a sort of ideological armored car in which they could happily blast through the complications of modern politics and society. But what resulted after many rejected drafts was another compromise—this one especially flabby—that generated more protests and acrimony. The fundamental problem, of course, was that perspectives on a usable military past were very much embedded in political passions. Thus, in 1982 the Social Democratic party (SPD) defense minister, Hans Apel, replaced the 1965 decree with new guidelines that stressed the Bundeswehr's own traditions and drew a sharper line between the new army and the Wehrmacht. Two years later Helmut Kohl's minister of defense, Manfred Wörner, revised the SPD document, returning in part to the cold war compromise of the 1950s and early 1960s.

After chronicling at some length the trials and tribulations of the West German army's search for a usable past, Abenheim concludes on an upbeat note. He points out that, despite all of its difficulties, the Bundeswehr has turned into something quite different from previous German armies. It is not a "state within the state," as the Reichswehr in the Weimar era had been. Far from posing a threat to world peace, it has become a stabilizing factor on the European continent. Moreover, it has gradually developed its own quite progressive traditions involving the rights of individual soldiers and style of command.

And yet it needs to be remarked that the Bundeswehr remains a very troubled institution, unsure of its role in the world and distinctly uncelebrated by the West German population. Rates of conscientious objection continue to be very high (especially among the better educated), and those who choose civilian service in lieu of induction have a firmer sense of doing something useful. Détente and the Gorbachev effect, of course, are current factors in the army's disorientation, but the roots of the malaise lie deeper, namely, in the fact that, as the present head of the *Zentrum Innere Führung* admits, the West German citizenry has never strongly identified with its armed forces. I would argue that one of the reasons for this lack of identification involves the failure, despite assiduous and well-meaning efforts, to find or evolve a set of military traditions capable of generating lasting consensus. It would seem that the Bundeswehr's "valid heritage" has simply not been valid or convincing for a good percentage of the West German people. Perhaps it is significant that the Iron Cross under which Blank stood when he handed out the first commissions was made of cardboard.

DAVID CLAY LARGE
Montana State University

ROB BURNS and WILFRIED VAN DER WILL. *Protest and Democracy in West Germany: Extra-Parliamentary Opposition and the Democratic Agenda*. New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. x, 325. $45.00.

The Federal Republic's swift economic recovery and rapid absorption into the Western community in the 1950s testify to an "economic miracle," a stable parliamentary system, and a durable society. West Germany emerged from the rubble of World War II not only as the economic power house of Europe but also as a paradigm of political stability (*Modell Deutschland* was Helmut Schmidt's campaign slogan in 1976).

Rob Burns and Wilfred van der Will do not set out to dispel the *Modell Deutschland* image but rather to refine our understanding of how West German democracy

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functions. By examining the extraparliamentary movements, they uncover a subterranean layer of political, intellectual, and cultural discontent beneath the topsoil of parliamentary stability and economic well-being.

The authors trace a line of continuity through the ban-the-bomb protests of the 1950s, the 1960s student agitation, the feminist and ecological movements of the 1970s, and the 1980s antinuclear demonstrations. During the early years of the Federal Republic, the prospects for extraparliamentary opposition (or Ausserparlamentarische Opposition [APO] as the Germans call it) were circumscribed: the constitution restricted extraparliamentary channels of political agitation; the powerful *Parteistaat* triumvirate of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union (CDU/CSU), the Free Democratic Party (FDP), and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) defined the terms of political discourse; and the war-weary populace evinced little enthusiasm for a return to the divisive grassroots democracy of the Weimar era. When the "Great Coalition" of SPD and CDU/CSU passed the Emergency Laws in 1968, however, the APO movement sprang to life. A monopolistic *Parteistaat*, so APO leaders charged, had passed legislation that could be abused by an antidemocratic oligarchy or a dictator to suspend constitutionally guaranteed liberties.

The book's best chapters focus on the post-1968 era when the women's movement, peace activism, and grassroots environmentalism all emerged with vigor. By then, extraparliamentary opposition no longer existed on the fringes of polite society; a new generation of Germans had brought APO to the center stage of democracy. Government leaders could therefore no longer easily discredit extraparliamentary movements as communist inspired or debunk citizens' initiatives (*Bürgerinitiativen*) by equating them with the Red Army Faction's urban terrorism. The rapid growth of the APO movement, meanwhile, posed a new dilemma for activists: how could extraparliamentary agitation lead to permanent institutional changes? Out of this dilemma emerged the Green party, an "anti-party party" (p. 243) that acts as the parliamentary mouthpiece for grassroots agitation.

This book is a skillfully crafted work. The authors keep their scholarly distance while making clear their sympathy for extraparliamentary activism. As a guide to West Germany's political culture, it is indispensable.

MARK CIOC
University of California, Santa Cruz

WINFRIED SCHULZE. *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1989. Pp. ix, 366. DM 88.

Because of a somewhat misplaced sense of modesty, the history of historical writing is often considered a boring and marginal subject for research. In stable times, the slow evolution of historical methodology and interpretation may, indeed, be taken for granted by scholars wishing to get on with more substantive interests in the past. Periods of rapid political and social change, however, throw accepted perceptions of historical knowledge and engagement into disarray, thereby requiring fundamental reexamination of the values and practices of the craft.

One of the most dramatic challenges to routine scholarship was the collapse of the Third Reich in the spring of 1945. In a judicious and wide-ranging monograph, Winfried Schulze has attempted a "first synthesis" of "these years of reconstruction of German historical research" (p. 2). Although not all documents have yet become accessible, his study is based on a broad array of sources on organizations (such as the Verband der Historiker Deutschlands), public institutions (Institut für Zeitgeschichte), and university archives and especially the private papers of leading historians such as Hans Rothfels, Ludwig Dehio, Franz Schnabel, and others. Schulze's heuristic interests are two-fold. On the practical level, he provides much useful information on the restoration of the institutional underpinnings of historical research such as the *Historische Zeitschrift*, the refounding of the Association of German Historians, and the creation of research institutes such as the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, the Max Planck Institut für Geschichte, and so on. On an intellectual plane, he seeks to explore categories of "historical thinking" by focusing on such concepts as the "German catastrophe," loss of individuality (*Vermassung*), historical "objectivity," and "revisionism."

For anyone acquainted with German historiography, the conclusions of this study can hardly come as a surprise: "Historical scholarship on the territory of the later Federal Republic of Germany experienced a strong phase of moral reflection and an unambiguous rejection of racist and nationalist positions in 1945, but in no way a radical transformation of its basic methodical and substantive orientations" (p. 304). Schulze explains the restoration of a "politically and morally tamed historicism" (p. 21) through the continuity of personnel (such as Gerhard Ritter) that survived denazification remarkably intact since nationalist scholars had hardly needed to nazify. A second theme is the absence of compelling ideological alternatives to the Protestant Prussian nation-state perspective because of continued academic suspicions of Western democracy, Eastern Marxism, and Catholic pan-Europeanism. A final motif is the almost frightening inertia of scholarly production that tried to carry on through the *Zusammenbruch* (collapse of 1945) without missing a beat.

Although it provides much interesting material, the book lacks analytical bite because of its tentative tone. The sections on institutional developments, based on solid documentation, are more convincing than the intellectual reflections that often seem unwilling to criticize the leading lights of the postwar era. For instance, the half-hearted efforts to bring émigrés back to Germany are excused; the role of foreign influences (such as Anglo-American and French impulses) is

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downplayed in favor of German developments; and the impact of *völkisch* conceptions on the emergence of Werner Conze's and Theodor Schieder's structural history is exaggerated. The result of this internal approach is a differentiated picture that somehow manages to render the deficits of the German guild less problematic.

As a sympathetic portrayal of the reemergence of West German historical scholarship, this study is to be commended. But, as a critical analysis of the astounding revival of a neo-Rankean tradition that saw the historian as national guardian, Schulze's book leaves too many questions unasked and unanswered. Although they are likely to consider the preservation of high technical standards an impressive achievement, outside observers will continue to feel some disappointment in the widespread reluctance of their German colleagues to learn more quickly and thoroughly from their country's catastrophe.

KONRAD H. JARAUSCH
University of North Carolina

JAMES S. GRUBB. *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State.* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 106th series, number 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1988. Pp. xx, 238. $29.50.

Simply as the first substantial monograph in English on the history of Vicenza, this study makes an important contribution, but the period it covers—the fifteenth century—was the first century of Venetian dominion, and the book gains wider significance as an examination of the emerging territorial states of Renaissance Italy. This subject has recently attracted more attention from historians, but to date much of the published material has tended to be either too speculative or too specialized, and for the Venetian terra ferma no other broad case study of a single subject city has advanced beyond the doctoral stage.

Throughout the book James S. Grubb impresses with his command of the secondary literature and comparative studies of other Italian states and with his coverage of the rich archival material in Venice and Vicenza; his approach to the material has been methodical and far-ranging, showing nothing of the obsession with the bizarre and the sensational that can distort the use of archives by the publication-hungry. As a consequence, Grubb tackles relations between Venice and Vicenza from many points of view, looking, for example, at the fiscal and military burdens placed by the republic on its subject city and the changes that Venetian rule made to relations between city and *contado*.

But an original and important feature of the book is the interest and attention focused on contemporary political and legal thinking and on jurisdictional issues in terms of both theory and practice. This focus leads the author to tackle questions rarely dealt with so squarely in studies in English and often too abstractly treated in Italian historiography: the nature of the republic's *dominio*, the standing of Vicentine statutes and courts, citizenship, and appellate jurisdiction. The picture of Venetian rule that emerges is one characterized by pragmatism, confusion, inexperience, and indifference, while Vicentine institutions preserved and even increased their autonomy.

The clarity with which these central matters are treated is another reason why it is hard to criticize the balance of material in the book. The treatment of juridical issues, however, is at times repetitive, while other key aspects of Venetian rule receive relatively slim coverage. For example, the Venetian penetration and control of the Vicentine church deserve fuller treatment, and more attention could have been given to the composition of the Vicentine elite and the prosopography of the republic's secular and ecclesiastical administration in the city. And, difficult though it can be to construct a narrative of events for a city that had lost its political independence, a chapter examining relations between Venice and Vicenza from a political point of view might have helped to place articles of Venetian legislation in a context and would certainly have contributed to shedding light on the special relationship claimed by Vicenza in its dealings with the republic. That relationship was born out of events leading to Vicenza's surrender to Venice in 1404, formative circumstances hastily and not always accurately treated.

One hopes, however, that Grubb will tackle such matters in future publications; he must have mined far more archival and chronicle material than he was able to use in this work. For now, he must be congratulated on such a clearly written and interesting study that presents much new material and a new perspective on the nature of the Venetian terra ferma state in particular and the Renaissance state in general.

JOHN EASTON LAW
University College, Swansea

RICHARD J. GOY. *Venetian Vernacular Architecture: Traditional Housing in the Venetian Lagoon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xxi, 360. $85.00.

Much has been written on the sumptuous palaces of the Venetian nobility that dominate particularly the Grand Canal of the city, but this study considers in detail the minor architecture built by a broad spectrum of Venetian society, from the nobility to the artisans and even the poor, on the secondary islands around the wealthy city. The book is comprehensive and instructive. Richard J. Goy considers the urban development of the settlements, the building materials and their sources, the methods of construction, especially of the specialized foundations that were required, the building guilds, and the basic designs of the different types of buildings, although his major concern is domestic architecture. Religious architecture is excluded. The sec-

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ond half of the book is comprised of an illustrated survey of the housing and civic architecture of the several villages that demonstrates the thoroughness of Goy's investigation.

Looming behind the seeming variety of vernacular housing is the great medieval palazzo-fòntego, the palace-warehouse, of the capital. Goy is able to demonstrate that almost all of the vernacular buildings of the villages are distant relatives in plan and elevation of the noble palaces of the Grand Canal, which arose from a society strongly oriented toward commerce. The plans of the buildings are regular and symmetrical with four parallel structural walls. Two outer walls are the outer side walls of each building, while the inner pair separate the central hall from secondary rooms at the sides. On the facade a large, multi-light window in the center of the second story lights the central hall and reveals the symmetry of the plan.

The building guilds, founded in the twelfth century, were modeled on those of Constantinople. The three principal building guilds were those of the stonemasons (*tagliapietri*), the carpenters (*falegnami*) and the brick layers (*muratori*). Normally the stonemasons formed the most important guild. The designers of the noble palaces of the city often came from their guild. In vernacular housing, however, because brick and wood were the principal materials, the stonemasons had a minimal role. Types of building materials were very limited. For example, there was only one stone of any significance for building, and that was a white stone from Istria. There were no local building materials; all were imported from the mainland, even brick, the most basic. The great palaces of Venice from at least the sixteenth century were built on massive pilings of oak or larch, but the smaller, less heavy vernacular buildings rarely needed piling.

The study is founded on an equally thorough examination of archival sources for the several villages but is also enlivened by extensive appropriate quotations from the sixteenth-century publications of the historian Francesco Sansovino, son of the famous sculptor-architect Jacopo Sansovino, and the architect Andrea Palladio. The urban development of the settlements is, however, difficult to determine from the sources, but it is obvious that the several outbreaks of plague diminished the normal slow expansion of the villages. Most of the architecture that survives, therefore, dates from the early seventeenth century, after the plague of 1575, and the first half of the eighteenth century. The only criticism one might make of this excellent study is that the publisher has omitted illustration numbers in the text, making it difficult for the reader to correlate illustrations and text.

DAVID R. COFFIN
Princeton University

GIULIA CALVI. *Histories of a Plague Year: The Social and the Imaginary in Baroque Florence*. Translated by DARIO BIOCCA and BRYANT T. RAGAN, JR. Foreword by RANDOLPH STARN. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 8.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 288. $40.00.

This book is mostly about the social imagination of non-elite Florentines during the plague of 1630–33 as it is revealed in the depositions from some three hundred cases brought before the city's Health Magistracy (Sanità) during that time. Giulia Calvi attempts to adduce, from the actions of those accused of crimes against the public health, what sense Florentines made of their social institutions. In a well-translated book liberally sprinkled with subtle insights, she determines that in order to make a living, normal Florentines resisted the government—whose policy it was to separate the sick and dying from the living—by keeping their families and memorable objects (cadavers, clothes, and so forth) together. The theme of the resistance of the colonized is evident in many fields of contemporary historical writing.

Because Calvi explores such sentiments of solidarity and polarity, this theme takes up the first and longest part of the work. Organized around different facets of contagion, its four chapters read like many loosely linked, sparsely interpreted documents paraphrased or quoted from the Sanità. First, Calvi describes documents showing the ways city officials at the borders of the state tracked down persons suspected of carrying the plague. Next, the author focuses on how the populace dealt with the sick and with cadavers, making some especially interesting observations about the role of wives during the plague. This is followed by cases regarding the theft of property from the body or estate of the deceased. Part 1 concludes with documents containing accusations against the officials of the Sanità, including doctors accused of poisoning patients.

The short second part of the work is based on one source and has one theme: the canonization hearings of Sister Domenica di Paradiso (d. 1553) that began in 1630 during the plague. Chapters 5 and 6 have, alas, nothing to do with the plague. In the last chapter, however, Calvi integrates these hearings into the theme of the plague because one or two witnesses claimed Domenica's body had saved them from it. The nun had pro-Medici credentials, and the author asserts that the hearings were staged as a type of aristocratic counter-attack intended to keep people loyal to the family during trying times.

The author's psychological insight is uncontested: for instance, her juxtaposition of a commune that sought to preserve itself by severing the dead from inhabitants, who themselves used cadavers and other corporeal relics to accomplish the same recovery, is powerful. But that juxtaposition was not particularly "baroque." This book has, in short, essentially no historical context either leading up to or moving through the events of 1630–33. In my view, in order to be more than trifles, tales (*storie*) of this type must be but the raw material for serious interpretation in context, and this the author does not undertake.

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At one point, the author enthusiastically states that if not for her testimony, "we would never have known about Giulia" (p. 152). Yet Calvi no sooner lifts the commoner Giulia from the soup of anonymity than she drops her. The book has no bibliography, no conclusion, and no index. One does not know whether to applaud or cry. For Calvi is not the only historian these days who excavates mountains of fantastic Italian ethnographic material only to leave the serious work of interpretation, and thus of memory, to someone else.

RICHARD C. TREXLER
State University of New York, Binghamton

JANET SOUTHORN. *Power and Display in the Seventeenth Century: The Arts and Their Patrons in Modena and Ferrara.* (Cambridge Studies in the History of Art.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 200. $79.50.

This monograph, accurately predicted by its title, is an extensive account of a geographically confined topic. Janet Southorn's primary concern frequently appears to be more historical than art historical with patronage as a manifestation of public and private history. The patrons (family trees appropriately included) are divided into three categories: the Este family in Modena (1598–1658), the Bentivoglio (1598–1660), and the Papal State of Ferrara (1598–1660). Southorn's scholarship is impressive and includes every kind of documentation, from the accessible accounts of Ridolfi, Mancini, and Malvasia to unpublished archival material from Florence, Rome, and London in addition to the cities in focus.

Political and commercial transactions, as well as personal correspondence, are presented, analyzed, and eventually woven into a cohesive and convincing context. Southorn demonstrates great knowledge of, and interest in, her cast of characters and, because of the extensive documentation, usually appears not too presumptuous concerning their tastes and temperaments. There are times, however, when she seems somewhat suggestible and perhaps more interested in patron than patronage, as on page 87 where she digresses to describe the languid manner of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio. Another example is her discussion of a portrait of Francesco I d'Este (probably a lost Guercino known only through copies), which does not match the "light-heartedness" of the sitter (p. 29).

Despite the illustrative material (111 black-and-white and 8 color plates), the works of art become something of a visual addendum. On occasion, as in Southorn's analysis of the rooms in the Palazzo Ducale at Sassuolo, the author assumes the role of traditional art historian, attempting to illuminate the paintings by relating them to the inspirational Ariosto and the pervasive Cesare Ripa. There are photographs of relevant architectural facades, but virtually no attempt is made to place the commissioned works of art into their original physical setting. When possible, proposed reconstructions *in situ* might have proven edifying.

Although artistic patronage is given almost equal weight to that of literature, poetry, and architecture, music is seldom mentioned. Southorn draws parallels between the patron's literary interests and artistic taste and, as in the case of Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, discusses persuasively how they might complement one another. Much of the information, some of it very specific, is interesting in a journalistic way and contributes to the reader's understanding of the period and the patrons. That view is augmented by the author's thorough consideration of those commissions that were conceived but never fulfilled, for example, the Giuseppe Cesares and Caravaggios that got away.

Southorn is well aware that history offers clues about individuals and ultimately art patronage. What she is less concerned about is the ability of works of art to play a reciprocal role, namely, that of revealing the patron, artist, and period. It is often not enough to know who commissioned what without exploring the symbiotic relationship between the work of art and the patron, a kinship particularly compatible with iconography.

In order to evaluate this book, one must keep in mind the intention of the author, who states in her preface that she wishes to bring ideas, personalities, and works of art to life. Although her success with works of art is less apparent, the study is a valuable contribution to scholarly research and the admirable result of an ambitious task.

JEANNE CHENAULT PORTER
Pennsylvania State University

GIANVITTORIO SIGNOROTTO. *Inquisitori e mistici nel Seicento italiano: L'eresia di Santa Pelagia.* (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 11.) Bologna: Mulino. 1989. Pp. 363. L. 36,000.

More than a hundred years after the German Reformation, when its ideas had made inroads into almost all classes of Italian society, a new heresy began to concern both ecclesiastical and secular authorities in Lombardy and the Veneto. Unlike Protestantism, it had no firm doctrinal structure and no theological tenets that could be quickly ferreted out by inquisitors. It was not a movement and never commanded the adherence of more than a few hundred men and women. The first question of a reader who happens upon this book is obvious: why did Gianvittorio Signorotto devote a deeply learned, dense, and complex volume to what at first sight appears to be but a footnote to early modern Italian religious history?

A reader patient enough to penetrate the scholarly overkill with which a still somewhat inexperienced author treats his subject will be rewarded. This book is the result of meticulous research not only on the heresy of the Pelagini in northern Italy but also on the tense period of incipient quietism, which challenged the

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guidelines of the Counter Reformation that still dominated the organization of religious life.

Around the middle of the seventeenth century, the first notices of the new heresy reached Rome through the reports of papal nuncios. The layman Giacomo Casolo, protégé of the Jesuits, in 1641 founded a group in the Milanese church of Santa Pelagia for the purpose of cultivating mental prayer. An admirer of St. Philip Neri, Casolo took on the saint's name and became known as Giacomo Filippo well before his death in 1656. He was at first concerned with drawing young men to his oratory in order to teach them the way to union with Christ. Subsequently, he founded houses for *convertite*, women who either were leading or were in danger of leading a life of sin for lack of any other alternative. His charismatic personality attracted the patronage of the well-to-do, and his oratories multiplied in Milanese and Venetian territory, especially the Valcamonica.

The very success of the Pelagini led to suspicions of heresy. They were accused of placing a higher value on voiceless mental devotion than on communal prayer, of devaluating such central Counter Reformation rituals as the Mass and the adoration of the sacrament of the altar, of meeting in conventicles in which laymen and even women were allowed to preach, of denigrating auricular confession, and of a diffused sort of millenarianism. The opinion of a jurist who advocated the abolition of Pelagini oratories perfectly summarizes why they were perceived as dangerous: "The idea of mental prayer preached by them is very similar to another [that holds] that it is sufficient to speak with God alone. From this it is easy to proceed to the reduction of the sacrament of penance to merely interior repentance, and to exclude verbal confession" (p. 156). The sacramental structure of the church with its tight supervision of the faithful, erected by the Council of Trent, obviously was under attack here.

The end of the story is predictable: leading Pelagini who had not taken flight earlier were hauled before the tribunals of the Inquisition to be imprisoned. Equally predictable was the support of the Spanish government of Milan and of the Venetian ruling oligarchy for any steps against the Pelagini. They came to be regarded as dangerous to the state as well as to the church precisely because of their antinomian tendencies and their intensely personal, nonsacramental view of Christianity.

The chief interest of this book for students of religious history is the glimpse it provides into the gradual unraveling of the Tridentine vision of the church in so-called Catholic states. The work speaks also to political historians by once again showing the closeness of the bond between ecclesiastical and secular institutions. On the negative side of the ledger, one would have to record the author's countless digressions into what are marginal issues, such as the clash of the Milanese archbishop and Spanish viceroy, described at length in chapter 8. Although this chapter and the first two exhibit Signorotto's diligence and learning, they are too long and do not always advance his central argument. Nevertheless, the volume offers a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Italian post-Tridentine religious world. Clearly, Italian Catholicism developed along lines similar to its French and Spanish counterparts and exhibited the same tensions between ecclesiastical institutions and individual consciences. Finally, the clear format of the footnotes should be mentioned, as well as the full, wide-ranging, and extremely useful bibliography with which the volume concludes.

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ORAZIO CANCILA. *Palermo.* (Storia delle cittá italiane.) Rome: Laterza. 1988. Pp. xi, 576. L. 40,000.

This book is the ninth volume in a series that surveys the modern history of individual Italian cities. Orazio Cancila offers a portrait rich in detail of the city traditionally considered the capital of Sicily before 1860. Although Italian unification reduced Palermo to the status of only one of several provincial capitals on the island, Palermo regained its political and economic leadership after World War II. In 1947, the new republican government in Rome named Palermo, rather than its rival Catania, as the administrative center of the partially autonomous region of Sicily.

Throughout his chronological narrative of Palermo's last two hundred years, Cancila carefully delineates quantitative changes in the urban infrastructure. The construction or renovation of buildings, streets, and the port facilitated the shift from a rather stagnant town of the early nineteenth century to a sprawling commercial and administrative center. Fueled by speculation and guided by no plan, however, urban growth was not accompanied by adequate hospitals, sewers, schools, or even slaughterhouses to support the burgeoning population. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the aristocracy and bourgeoisie began fleeing the overcrowded and crumbling historic center of the city to build new houses in the suburbs.

The poor suffered not only from the physical deterioration of their environment in the central city but also from the slow and uneven pace of economic growth. On the eve of unification, industrialization had barely begun, and commerce was for the most part in foreign hands—those of northern Italians or citizens of other nations. After 1860, employment expanded most in the administrative bureaucracy, which was favorable for the overwhelming proportion of the middle class trained in law but which provided few jobs for the illiterate. This economic underdevelopment helps explain Palermo's place at or near the bottom of various indexes measuring the quality of life in Italian cities. For example, since unification, inhabitants of Palermo have experienced more child mortality, illiteracy, residential overcrowding, and inadequate diets than other urban populations.

Cancila provides an exhaustive description of the alliances and feuds of Palermo's political parties as they

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emerged after unification. For the most part, these parties reflected the national patterns, although Sicily did exhibit indigenous tendencies such as its nationalist and separatist groups after unification and its loyalty to the monarchy in the referendum following World War II. The Mafia, of course, has been Palermo's most notorious political institution, and Cancila argues that its origins, although not its name, extend back to the sixteenth century. He sees the Mafia as a historically urban phenomenon rather than one imported from the countryside and one that had achieved, by the late nineteenth century, "a presence that conditioned the life of the city" (p. 244). Until recently, *mafiosi* penetrated the political structure for protection, getting themselves or their friends elected to both local and national positions. This symbiosis between the Mafia and politics has broken down, however, because the drug trade has made the Mafia too rich and powerful to need the protection of government.

Regrettably, Cancila's interesting remarks on the Mafia constitute one of the only instances of interpretation in this thorough but basically factual account. Not only does it lack a thesis, but many pages read like lists: of politicians, industries, and population statistics. Although this amount of detail might be useful to regional specialists, only the quotations are footnoted so that the reader cannot trace the sources for the data presented. The publisher has provided no bibliography or even a map of the specific neighborhoods so minutely described in the text. Finally, the author repeats, without support, certain stereotypes about the inhabitants of Palermo: that, for example, they are "suspicious and distrustful by nature," "tenacious in their loves as in their hates and their vendettas," and so on (p. 7). Rather than make this stab at local color, the author should have gone beyond the traditional topics of politics, economics, and intellectual history to include the kind of new social history that might offer a more comprehensive picture of the everyday lives of the men, women, and children of Palermo during the last two centuries.

MARY GIBSON
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RICHARD DRAKE. *The Revolutionary Mystique and Terrorism in Contemporary Italy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1989. Pp. xx, 218. $27.50.

In 1981–82, the Italian Red Brigades kidnapped General James Dozier in an attempt to reinvigorate their faltering revolutionary movement; over the course of the next two years, the failure of this last "winter campaign" led to the almost complete dismantling of the organization. During the 1980s, the right-wing violence associated with Italy's neofascist movement also declined, leading historians and commentators to begin to think of Italian terrorism as over, or nearly so.

Several previous English-language studies have attempted to analyze the phenomenon of Italian terrorism. Some have been competent but uninspired; others have proven surprisingly undistinguished. Richard Drake's book is a methodical, well-organized study of Italian political violence since World War II and will certainly be regarded as by far the best of the lot.

Indeed, in a series of journal articles published over the course of the past decade, Drake has been responsible for some of the best scholarship available on Italian terrorism, and the present volume is a mix of new research and a refinement of his previous thinking on the subject. The book is exciting for a variety of reasons.

Terrorism is a way of doing politics, and, in the writing of his study, Drake has been unusually sensitive to the political environment in which Italian terrorism took place. Many contemporary writers on political violence have come from an increasingly notorious school of "terrorist experts," who shun serious political analysis in favor of conspiracy theories, discussions of weapons, and statements of moral indignation. Drake has shown us the way in which revolutionary movements from either end of the political spectrum have reacted to the ebb and flow of contemporary Italian political life.

Even more impressive is Drake's mastery of the intellectual history behind both Leninist and neofascist movements. Despite attempts by other authors to dismiss the *brigatisti* as psychopaths, those who brought the Italian state to the brink of civil war by the end of the 1970s were serious men and women, operating within a coherent intellectual tradition. Among English-language authors, only Drake has fully appreciated the centrality of the ideological role played in formulating this tradition by Antonio Negri, Italy's dark genius. Drake seems equally comfortable analyzing the violent dreams of the neofascist right, making insightful comments on Julius Evola's intellectual contributions to violence in Italian life.

Many books in this field rely exclusively on journalistic sources, intelligence reports, and other books on terrorism, but Drake has chosen his sources widely and well. To a remarkable extent, the author has allowed the Red Brigades to speak for themselves, with well-translated quotations from their own bulletins and *communicati*. Drake's ultimate conclusions about the nature of political violence in Italy are subtle and satisfying, at least to the political historian.

Quite apart from its scholarly merits, this volume is highly readable. Drake has chosen one of the most absorbing stories in contemporary history for his theme, and he tells it with a distinct literary flare.

RICHARD OLIVER COLLIN
Coastal Carolina College, University of South Carolina

EVE LEVIN. *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900–1700*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 326. $29.95.

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A study of sex and society in the Orthodox Slav world from 900 to 1700 will, of necessity, have readers comparing information with Western Catholic society during the same period. Eve Levin, aware of this fact, points out that Slavic religious and cultural traditions were influenced by the strong underlying paganism of the Slavic world, which had just recently been Christianized. Christianity in the West was introduced into a highly civilized society with a sophisticated code of sexual practices, while the Slavic world had a cruder and much earthier background of pagan practices.

The Orthodox church, although extremely suspicious of all sexual activities, nevertheless realized that this should be its major area of influence if it hoped to lead people into a more spiritual state. Levin's overwhelming collection of material in theology, canon law, judicial procedure, and church sacraments opens up a whole new world of information on the role of the church in the everyday lives of Orthodox Slavs.

Levin first gives a description of the Orthodox church's image of sexuality as defined in texts, sermons, tales, homilies, prayers, and so forth. In succeeding chapters, chiefly through documentation, she shows the church's position on marriage, divorce, kinship, incest, and rape. The wealth of information spans the experiences of the three major Slavic societies of the time—Serbian, Bulgarian, and Russian—which were still not clearly politically delineated.

Case histories, quotations, laws, and events fill this book with information, both lively and intellectually challenging. In my opinion, this work is essential for scholars and historians of both the East and the West. Levin's use of Slavic, Russian, and Bulgarian texts and documents and an extensive bibliography make it a basic work for allied disciplines in psychology and sociology for the period between 900 and 1700.

In her summation Levin makes two points that underline the subtle, but strong, differences between Eastern (Orthodox) and Western (Catholic) thought. First, the Orthodox paid little attention to the emotional component of sexual behavior, looking only to the result of procreation. The idea of romantic love as a popular concept of marriage in the West found no counterpart in the East. Second, the concept of sex and love as part of the same aspect was so antipathetical to medieval Slavs that they looked to nonmarital relationships for emotional fulfillment. Strong ties between members of families or different generations were usually far more binding than the tie between husband and wife. It would be fascinating if someone would compare the connection between sex and society in the Slavic world to the institution of the Slavic commune, which was so dependent on family and village relationships.

I have not wasted space commenting on Levin's scholarship, breadth of investigation, and use of materials. Her work should be a model for all apprentice historians.

JANE SWAN
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Z. J. KOSZTOLNYIK. *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095–1196): Hungarian Domestic Policies and Their Impact upon Foreign Affairs.* (East European Monographs, number 220.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1987. Pp. 356. $38.00.

This volume is the second of Z. J. Kosztolnyik's books on medieval Hungary, each dealing with about a century of Hungarian history following the country's Christianization around the year A.D.1000. The first of these volumes, *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings* (1981), covers the period of the reigns of two canonized kings, St. Stephen (977/1000–38) and St. Ladislas (1077–95). The present volume tackles the next century of Hungarian history, which once more begins and ends with the reigns of significant rulers. They are Coloman the Learned (1095–1116), the first Hungarian monarch to speak up against belief in witches, and Béla III (1172–96), the only Hungarian king who was a serious contender for the Byzantine throne. Those monarchs in between also covered by Kosztolnyik's book include Stephen II (1116–31), Béla II (1131–41), Géza II (1141–62), and Stephen III (1162–72).

Kosztolnyik's work is composed of thirteen major chapters (the first of which is the introduction) and two short essays on specific problems. The author probably failed to incorporate his introduction among the regular chapters simply because its topic is St. Ladislas's three law codes, which predate the official time period covered by this volume. Of the remaining twelve chapters, three deal with Coloman the Learned, two with Géza II, and one each with Stephen II, Béla II, Stephen III, and Béla III. Of the remaining three chapters, one summarizes Otto von Freising's and Gerhoch von Reichersberg's views about mid-twelfth-century Hungary; another treats the institutions of kingship, legislation, jurisdiction, and administration; and the last discusses the events around the canonization of King Ladislas a century after his death. Of the two essays in the appendix, one explores the ever-recurring question of Daco-Romanian continuity, namely, did the Vlachs, that is, the later Romanians, predate the Hungarians in Transylvania? The other essay expands on Gerhoch von Reichersberg's mission in the Hungarian and Kievan courts.

Kosztolnyik is a pedantic historian. If one were to classify him, one would have to call him a belated "Positivist." The major merit of positivism as practiced in the Germanic world—to which Hungary also belonged culturally—was that it studied historical events and sources in minute detail. The resulting works were exact and reliable elaborations of specific problems. For that reason, however, they were difficult readings and thus were valued more by the specialist than by the general reader.

In a sense this argument also holds true for the volume under review. It is a thorough work, but it will not appeal to the average reader of history. The merits of scholarly works, however, should be measured by

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their innate value and not by their popularity among the uninitiated. Based on such standards, Kosztolnyik's study is a most valuable work. It is not a synthesis of medieval Hungarian history but rather an important foundation for such a work. Perhaps, after another volume on the thirteenth century, the author will undertake to produce a major synthesis that will also be appreciated by the general reader. Such a work would be most welcome, for few historical studies published abroad during the last four decades deal with that great period of Hungarian history known as the "Age of the Árpáds." Kosztolnyik's book also contains a detailed list of primary sources and secondary works as well as a selective index of the most important personalities and topics discussed.

STEVEN BELA VARDY
Duquesne University

DRAGO ROKSANDIĆ. *Vojna Hrvatska: "La Croatie militaire"; Krajiško društvo u francuskom carstvu (1809–1813)* [Military Croatia: "La Croatie militaire"; The Frontier Community under the French Empire, 1809–13]. In two volumes. Zagreb: Stvarnost. 1988. Pp. 359. ND 281.

An outgrowth of Drago Roksandić's doctoral dissertation at the University of Zagreb, this book was published for the occasion of the French revolution bicentennial and in order to recall the French rule in parts of Croatia and Slovenia. La Croatie Militaire comprised six territorial regiments south of the Sava River. It was part of that unique Habsburg creation, the Military Frontier, established in the early 1500s and eventually stretching from Dalmatia, all around the border of Turkish-held Bosnia, along the Sava River, to the Danube River. This cordon was supposed to protect the Habsburg empire and the Christian West against the threat of the Ottoman empire. Vojna Hrvatska existed during 1809–13 as part of the French Illyrian Provinces. As late as 1809 (described in detail by Roksandić), the Muslims from Bosnia were invading parts of the Frontier.

Two attractive hardbound volumes with almost seven hundred pages are divided into dozens of chapters containing many statistics, charts, graphs, valuable maps, and illustrations. They are based on an immense number of primary sources and secondary works acquired over several years of research in sixteen archives and many libraries in Yugoslavia, France, and Austria. One of the standard works Roksandić uses is P. Boppe's *La Croatie Militaire: Les Régiments croates à la Grande Armée*, originally published in 1900 and reprinted in Paris in a beautiful edition in 1989 for the bicentennial.

Roksandić also pays deserved attention to Gunther E. Rothenberg's two books on the Austrian Military Frontier in Croatia (published in 1960 and 1966). And he quotes M. Pivec-Stelé's well-known *La Vie économique des Provinces Illyriennes* (1930). (I am glad that in his seventeen-page bibliography he also mentions my lengthy article, "French Rule in Croatia," in *Balkan Studies*, volume 5 [1964]).

The French episode is one of the most interesting in the modern history of Croatia and Slovenia. The first French period in Croatia was limited to Dalmatia from the beginning of 1806 until October 1809. The Republic of Dubrovnik then lost its independence. The second period followed in October 1809 when Napoleon created the Illyrian Provinces for strategic reasons. They embraced most of the Slovenian lands and parts of Croatia from the Sava River to the Adriatic Sea: Military and Civil Croatia. Military Croatia delivered to Marmont and Napoleon (in spite of all problems, desertions, and emigration) many thousands of seasoned soldiers. They fought for the French against the British, Russians, and Montenegrins in the Adriatic regions and participated in the ill-fated Russian campaign of 1812.

Before 1809 and then until late 1813, the French undertook sweeping reforms in Dalmatia and other parts of their territory that left a lasting imprint. Many reforms—including the liberation of serfs—were for the benefit of the people. Roksandić gives little credit to the French for their reforms and achievements. He dwells too much on the negative aspects of their rule in this complex war period. In his treatment of the whole problem, he places it into the sociohistorical context of the period.

He also tries to make a comparison between the Austrian and French influences on the Frontier community. In order to prove his theories, based perhaps on too much Marxist interpretation, the author goes into many details, statistics, charts, quotations (in several languages), and far-fetched suppositions and assumptions. Inevitably, this results in a dragged-out and boring narrative instead of an interesting and dramatic story.

Eastern Orthodoxy was not regarded by many as synonymous with Serbian nationality. There were thousands of eminent Croatians of Orthodox faith. Roksandić exaggerates the role of the Serbs in Military Croatia. As he himself admits, many of these "Serbs" regarded themselves as Croatians.

The author's treatment of the whole French record in Illyria, Military Croatia in particular, lacks objectivity, is biased, and is incomplete on many pages. The French did not humiliate the Frontiersmen and regard them as inferior barbarians. On the contrary, as evidenced in several proclamations and references in their memoirs, both Napoleon and Marmont considered them excellent and loyal soldiers and citizens.

Inspite of its flaws, this is a truly scholarly work and a labor of love. It is doubtful that there will be in the future a more definitive analysis of the subject than this one. To make it accessible to Western readers, Roksandić should publish a concise one-volume version of this important monograph in English.

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John Carroll University

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GHEORGHE CLIVETI. *România şi puterile garante 1856–1878* [Romania and the Guarantor Powers, 1856–78]. Iaşi: Universitatea Al. I. Cuza. 1988. Pp. 251.

The subject here is a familiar one: the efforts of a small country to achieve its objectives within an international political system dominated by the great powers. Although the secondary literature on the period in both Romanian and the major European languages is abundant, the author has helped to clarify the motives of the antagonists and, in the case of Romania, has revealed the subtle interdependence between domestic politics and foreign policy. He treats the period between the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and the Congress of Berlin of 1878 as a crucial stage in the evolution of the "Romanian question" that had begun to preoccupy the great powers as a distinct aspect of the Eastern Question around 1800.

Gheorghe Cliveti puts his period in broad historical perspective. He shows how the terms of the relationship between the Romanian principalities and the great powers were fixed early in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the Romanians sought to regain old rights of autonomy and pursued this goal essentially by legal means: petitions, memorandums, and appeals to old charters and, later, to the right of peoples to self-determination. But, on the other hand, Cliveti adduces abundant examples to show that the great powers cared little about the merits of the Romanians' case; they contemplated only those solutions to the Romanian question that accorded with their own, often conflicting, ambitions in the region. Yet, paradoxically, in order to achieve their aims the Romanians were obliged to seek the "protection" of these very powers.

The main body of the work examines the means by which Romanian political leaders between 1856 and 1878 sought to achieve their national objectives. Although they gained a collective guarantee from the great powers in 1856 and thereby escaped the tutelage of Russia, they were disappointed that the great powers referred only to the privileges that accrued to the principalities as dependencies of the Ottoman empire and not to "sovereign rights." Cliveti proceeds to show how the Romanians applied the "strategy of the fait accompli" (p. 75). Of particular interest are his discussions of the Romanians' choice of a foreign prince as a means of forcing a change in the juridical status of their country and of their adoption of a national constitution without submitting it to the great powers for approval. He interprets both acts as a declaration of independence. But his chapter on the government of the radical liberals in 1867–68 reveals the limitations of a policy of confrontation with the great powers. The "Reds" of 1848 were intent on carrying out the national agenda in its entirety—independence and a unified nation-state—but they aroused the ire of the great powers, who insisted that Romania follow their lead in both foreign and domestic policy. Other chapters account for the cautious approach to the great powers taken by the conservative government of the early 1870s and the decision of its liberal successor to sign a treaty with Russia in 1877. The treaty, in Cliveti's view, was the result of the great powers' inability to act together, a failure that signified an end to collective European responsibility for the Romanian question.

The author has brought to bear on all these questions ample published and archival sources. Writing with a Romanian audience in mind, he judges people and motives from a national perspective and assumes an extensive knowledge of Romanian history on the part of the reader.

KEITH HITCHINS
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DOV B. LUNGU. *Romania and the Great Powers, 1933–1940*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 294. $49.50.

Romania's historic Christmas Eve 1989 revolution could presage a long-awaited reconstruction of that nation's historiography by native historians liberated from the shackles of inhibiting Marxist orientations. A firm step in that direction has been provided by this analytical study of Romania's role in European affairs during the 1930s. Dov B. Lungu, a native of Romania, was granted access to archives in Bucharest after having settled in the West. Consequently, this monograph reflects the author's research into items to which he was granted access by officials of the now-discredited Nicolae Ceauşescu regime. Whether or not Lungu's conclusions require modification after a period of free scholarship in Romania remains to be seen.

This is basically a story of a tightrope walk by Romanian statesmen in the interwar period. Attempts by statesmen of a small power (Nicolae Titulescu, Grigore Gafencu, Viorel Tilea, King Carol II, Armand Calinescu, and so forth) to maneuver among the interests of the great powers are narrated with consummate skill and felicitous style by a scholar whose native language is not English.

Lungu expresses thanks to British scholar Donald Cameron Watt for encouraging this effort. He might have given readers more on the "Tilea Affair" so intriguingly presented in Watt's massive *How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War, 1938–1939* (1989), which more than any other diplomatic episode reveals the risks of entrusting high-level negotiations to incompetents. Tilea was Romania's envoy to London in 1938–40; in an overzealous action he fabricated a false alarm about German moves into Romania in 1939 calculated to force a British response. His rash action, noted by Lungu (pp. 153–55), is more eloquently given in Watt's book. Perhaps native Romanian historians will someday give us more on this fiasco.

Lungu divides his account into three parts: the first treats Titulescu's reign at the Romanian foreign ministry (1933–36); the second covers the era of nonalignment from 1936 to 1939; and the third and final part

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analyzes Romania's tragic failure in foreign affairs (1939–40) to remain free of great power machinations. Having failed, as did all the small powers of East Central Europe, to retain freedom of action and even neutrality during the imminent war period, Romania was destined to suffer the dire consequences of active participation in the war on the losing side and a virtual end to its independence for almost a half-century. Lungu elevates Titulescu to the pedestal of a clairvoyant prophet whose advocacy of collaboration with Moscow in the mid-1930s would have altered the course of international affairs in the region. The ineptitude of Titulescu's successors in the foreign ministry and the disastrously vacillating policies of the King Carol dictatorship (1938–40), no less than the failure of London and Paris to provide leads, threw Romania into Adolf Hitler's orbit.

Although lacking adequate economic and social factors to support his findings, Lungu nevertheless has produced a very convincing antidote to the Marxist contortions Romanian historians have been printing during the past four decades. As stated above, Lungu's effort may soon find substantiation in what Romania's liberated historians might now be free to write.

SHERMAN D. SPECTOR
Russell Sage College

JANUSZ SOBCZAK. *Polska w propagandzie i polityce III Rzeszy w latach 1939–1945* [Poland in the Propaganda and Politics of the Third Reich, 1939–45]. (Studium niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, number 49.) Poznan: Instytut Zachodni. 1988. Pp. 493. 1000 Zł.

Janusz Sobczak (1927–83), a former deputy director of the Institute of Western Affairs in Poznań, was a specialist on the Polish-German frontier in West German and West European opinion and on West German revisionist scholarship and propaganda. He also wrote on the Nazi resettlement of Germans in Poland during World War II and produced a valuable work on German anti-Polish propaganda in the Weimar period. In his last book, which he left in an unfinished typescript of 900 pages, he pursued a key interest: Poland in German policy and propaganda during World War II. The directors of the Institute of Western Affairs decided to publish an edited, shortened version of the work because of its significant contributions to our knowledge.

Sobczak's book is, indeed, a most valuable study of the subject. It is based on a thorough study of sources, in particular the archives of the Auswärtiges Amt in Bonn and the Polish Museum and Sikorski Institute in London. The author deals with German policy and propaganda on the Polish question abroad, in the Polish territories annexed to Germany, and, of course, in the General Gouvernement (central and later eastern Poland). Although German authorities officially treated the Polish question as nonexistent, they devoted considerable attention to it throughout the war. In fact, section Polen V of the Political Archive of the Auswärtiges Amt contains reports on Polish diplomatic posts abroad, prominent Polish politicians, military leaders, journalists, various political and cultural organizations, Polish refugees and internees, and the Polish press, especially in Great Britain and the United States.

It is clear that the German government was generally unsuccessful in its attempts to persuade neutral countries and even its allies to break off all relations with the Polish government-in-exile, close down Polish diplomatic posts, and prevent Polish refugees of military age from escaping to join Polish forces in the West. In fact, Polish embassies and legations continued to function, and thousands of military men, as well as civilians, traveled from Hungary and Romania through Italy to France, where a new Polish army was being formed. Indeed, the Italian railways even granted a 70 percent discount for group travel. This mass movement did not stop until May 31, 1940, ten days before Italy declared war on France. Polish diplomatic posts also functioned in Hungary and Romania until November 1940, in Finland until June 25, 1941, in Japan until October 1941, and in Spain throughout the war.

The Romanian government—which interned the members of the prewar Polish government—even allowed former president Ignacy Mościcki to leave for Switzerland in December 1939 (here Sobczak failed to notice that this was primarily due to pressure by Franklin D. Roosevelt). Many prominent Poles reached France, in particular General Władysław Wikorski, who became the head of the Polish government-in-exile established on September 30, 1939. (He traveled to Paris on the Orient Express, escorted by the French ambassador to Poland, Léon Noël). The author ascribes the internment of the former government in Romania (September 18, 1939) exclusively to German pressure. There are indications, however, that Noël immediately set to work to create a new Polish government, using the fact that London and Paris did not press Romania too hard to release their Polish allies for fear this might provoke a German occupation of the country. Furthermore, it was not only the Germans who insisted that the former foreign minister Józef Beck remain interned in Romania; General Sikorski also opposed his old enemy's departure for the West when it might have been possible. Beck's later attempt to escape failed (October 22, 1940); he died of tuberculosis near Bucharest on June 5, 1944, at the age of fifty.

Sobczak shows that although Aldolf Hitler used the possible resurrection of some kind of Polish state as a political diversion—he notes secret British soundings on this subject in 1939–40, German soundings in Portugal in 1942–43, and some strange proposals transmitted by Franz von Papen through Romanian diplomats in Lisbon—German policy in occupied Poland was one of ruthless repression and extermination. This policy was modified to some extent after the German defeat at Stalingrad in early February 1943.

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The Germans then undertook efforts to gain Polish support against the USSR and, in particular, tried to use the discovery of the bodies of four thousand Polish officers in the Katyn forest in April 1943 to this end. (Sobczak—or the editors—treat the question from a point of view favorable to the Soviets; however, in April 1990, Soviet authorities finally admitted Soviet guilt.) All German attempts to subvert the Poles failed because of a combination of continued German brutality, Polish resistance, and the lack of prominent Poles willing to cooperate.

There are very few typographical errors. (The name of the Polish military attaché in Bucharest was not Zymanalaj but Zimnal.) In sum, Sobczak's work is a treasure trove for those interested in German policy and propaganda on the Polish question during World War II, particularly since the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, series D, do not go beyond 1941, and even then the editors failed to include a section on Poland as they did for other occupied countries.

ANNA M. CIENCIALA
University of Kansas

PASHANKO DIMITROFF. *Boris III of Bulgaria: Toiler, Citizen, King, 1894–1943*. London: Book Guild. 1986. Pp. 202. £8.95.

King Boris III of Bulgaria was a cynical, superstitious, paranoid man and an indecisive and weak ruler. He manipulated domestic turmoil to become the royal dictator of his kingdom and led the country into a disastrous alliance with Adolf Hitler. Yet one may point out in his favor that, unlike his father, King Ferdinand, he did have a genuine interest in the welfare of his people and did his best to promote peace in the troubled region. Despite his weaknesses, mistakes, and crimes, he was genuinely popular with large numbers of his subjects, if only in contrast to his unpopular father. The merit of Boris's reign became a political controversy after World War II among the supporters of the opponents of the Communist-led Fatherland Front governments. Boris's adherents have painted him as a forceful hero. They erroneously claim that he was murdered on Hitler's orders because he refused to send Bulgaria's small Jewish community to the Polish death camps.

Pashanko Dimitroff has written a biography of the king that, although less hagiographic than other royalist accounts, nevertheless glosses over the monarch's negative qualities and deeds. This book is, in fact, another apology for the monarch. It is neither a definitive scholarly analysis of the king's role in modern history nor a very readable biography by a partisan, although Dimitroff attempts to provide both. His dramatic, popular writing style is marred by long excerpts from dated histories that interrupt the flow of the narrative.

Despite Dimitroff's claim to be the "first to publish" (p. x) original documents, almost all those that he reproduces or cites are from secondary works or are documents already investigated by specialists in the field. The work is also marred by numerous inaccuracies and fallacious conclusions that recent scholarship has overturned. For example, Dimitroff's description of Aleksandur Stamboliiski as a country bumpkin is a holdover from the 1920s, and historians such as John D. Bell and Dimitrina Petrova have refuted this notion in detail. Although Dimitroff does not give the king unqualified credit for saving the Jews or assert that the Germans killed Boris, he does lean toward those conclusions.

This book will be of little interest to either scholars or general readers. Those wishing a current royalist biography of the king might refer to *Crown of Thorns* (1987) by Stephane Groueff. A definitive biography waits to be written.

FREDERICK B. CHARY
Indiana University Northwest

OREST SUBTELNY. *Ukraine: A History*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 666. $49.95.

Various Ukrainian scholars have attempted to chronicle their country's occasionally glorious, more commonly tragic, past but up to this time have suffered from an inescapable urge to accentuate its positive aspects while either ignoring completely or passing lightly over its negative features. Given the country's traditional role as a geographic, cultural, religious, and political borderland and the resultant conflict, suffering, and devastation, this tendency is understandable, if regrettable.

Fortunately, Orest Subtelny has stepped forward to provide a comprehensive history of the Ukrainian people that should serve as the definitive study of that subject for the foreseeable future. Himself of Ukrainian descent, Subtelny previously established a reputation as a serious scholar with superb monographic studies of East European and Ukrainian historical topics. Now, in a massive work that is well researched yet written in an eminently readable style, he offers a dispassionate examination of the country's history from its earliest phase to the present Gorbachev era.

Subtelny divides his survey into parts corresponding to the five main periods of Ukrainian history. He opens by describing the foundation, rise to major prominence, and then the decline and ultimate disintegration of Kievan Rus', claimed as progenitor by both the Russian and the Ukrainian nations. Then, after a brief interlude in which Ukrainian identity was preserved in the lands of Galicia-Volhynia, the entire area fell under the control of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. Two developments of fundamental future importance occurred during this period: the thorough Polonization of the native Ukrainian noble elite and the religious division of Ukrainians into Greek Catholic (Uniate) and Eastern Orthodox faiths. Paradoxically, the religious and ethnic confrontations engendered a cul-

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tural revival among Ukrainians. In turn, this led to the period many Ukrainians view as their most glorious epoch, that of the Cossacks. Under the leadership of successive "hetmen," or commanders, these frontier warriors emerged as defenders of the Ukrainian nation and its culture against the oppressive Poles, Turks, and other aliens. Yet, despite the heroic efforts of such distinguished leaders as Bohdan Khmel'nits'kyi and Ivan Mazepa, the country could not escape the grip of Austria and Russia, which by the late eighteenth century had absorbed this area into their respective imperial structures. This opened almost a century and a half of Habsburg and Romanov rule, during which the religious, cultural, social, and political differences among the various Ukrainian segments emerged and sharpened with time. The author devotes nearly half of his book to the tumultuous events of the twentieth century, the fifth and final period of Ukrainian history.

Throughout his narrative, Subtelny describes the social, economic, cultural and purely political dimensions of each era. He also offers comprehensive portraits of the far-flung Ukrainian "diaspora," as fragmented and factionalized along religious, cultural, and political lines as those Ukrainians living in the "homeland." Indeed, one is struck by the degree of divisiveness among Ukrainians throughout their history, a tendency also found among the immigrant communities irrespective of locale or circumstances under which they departed from their country. Until that time when all barriers to archival research and historical writing in the USSR fall completely, this book must be considered the standard history of the Ukraine and its people.

EDWARD D. WYNOT, JR.
Florida State University

IAN BLANCHARD. *Russia's "Age of Silver": Precious-Metal Production and Economic Growth in the Eighteenth Century.* New York: Routledge. 1989. Pp. xvi, 431. $79.95

This important book ostensively covers only a segment of the eighteenth-century Russian economy; however, it does much more than that. In explaining Russia's role in the production and distribution of specie, Ian Blanchard drops back into the later Middle Ages and Renaissance in order to describe the mining enterprises in Central Europe (ca. 1470–1570), the subsequent dominance of the South and Central American precious metals industry (ca. 1570–1820), and the West African interlude (ca. 1670–1720). Furthermore, he discusses the so-called seventeenth-century crises—between 1625–55 and 1670–1760—that briefly restored Central European prosperity in the precious metals market. The chapters on international precious metal economy constitute the first division of the book.

The second and third sections incorporate Russian precious metal production and economic development and Russian silver and the international specie markets, respectively. Despite these broader topics, the focus of the book tends to be on the silver enterprise that elevated eighteenth-century Russia to the front rank of European nations in per capita wealth.

Precious metal production began in earnest in southeastern Siberia in Nerchinsk in the Amur Valley in 1704 and at Kolyvan-Voskressensk in the Altai after 1729. The produce from these mines exceeded that of all European mines; this led to what Blanchard calls Russia's "Age of Silver" (1745 and 1746 to 1771). Even after the silver boom had spent itself in the last quarter of the century, one centered in the Uralian gold fields introduced Russia's "Golden Age" (ca. 1835–85).

In addition to an impressive analysis of both Russian and Central European mining, this work is a synthesis of Russian economic and social development during the eighteenth century. The flooding of the mints with precious metals, Baltic commerce, the resurgence of the old Muscovite heartland between the Volga and Oka rivers, Russia's agricultural and peasant manufacturing revolutions, life and labor in the Siberian silver fields—all of these suggest the scope of this work. Although Blanchard is not especially concerned with cultural history, he does treat the luxury trade, which helps explain the emancipated nobility's new scale of living.

The background chapters struck me on first reading as being at some variance with recent scholarship on the Peruvian and Mexican dominance in precious metal extraction. This is probably not the case, but it does point to the fact that the first two chapters suffer in organization and from needless repetition. The author's usual designation of "Central American" for Mexican mining enterprise may be puzzling to American readers. Some recent literature on Latin American production and the "crises" is omitted in the bibliography; this also suggests the possibility that the book is dated. The problem seems to be the manner of presentation. When Blanchard finally focuses on his main topic, Russia's exploitation of its mineral resources, the flow is generally better, although some repetition persists.

Russian silver, or precious metals generally, has not been much discussed in Western literature, not even in Arcadius Kahan's *The Plow, the Hammer, and the Knout* (1985), which is the best and most recent history of the eighteenth-century economy. Blanchard makes a good case for the importance of silver, and his incorporation of it in Russia's social and economic fabric accounts for the merit of this book. It includes numerous maps, plans, and tables.

ALBERT J. SCHMIDT
University of Bridgeport

JAMES T. FLYNN. *The University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 1802–1835.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 283. $39.95.

James T. Flynn's study of university policy from Alexander I's early reforms to the statute of 1835 is an informed contribution to our knowledge of the ne-

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glected history of the first half of the nineteenth century in Russia. Based on limited use of archival records of the Ministry of Education as well as secondary literature in Russian, Polish, German, French, and English, the work deals primarily with the deliberations and choices of policy makers. Flynn insists that we "take seriously . . . administrators' perceptions of the issues" and regards the history of Russian universities as "a subset of political history" (p. xi). The reader learns in detail the views and activities of Alexandrine reformers, both major and minor. One of the major strengths of this work is the nuanced description of individual universities including Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Kharkov, Vilno, Dorpat, and, finally, Kiev.

Flynn argues that educational reforms were a central component of the Alexandrine era and that these reforms achieved significant progress. In the first two decades after 1804, improvements were limited by difficulties in recruiting qualified faculty and adequately prepared as well as motivated students, by abysmal physical facilities, and by resistance to the notions of social mobility and university autonomy. But gradually a major transformation occurred. The goal of the university reform, the author repeatedly reminds us, was to "produce an ever-growing body of able, well-motivated candidates for the civil services" (p. 252), and this goal was achieved. Enrollments steadily rose. Consequently, the growing bureaucracy came to be staffed by men with at least a smattering of a liberal education, and the university gradually supplanted the ecclesiastical seminary as a source for trained civil servants. Moreover, the period saw the development of "a native, self-replicating academic community" comparable with that of the West (p. 136). Finally, by the mid-1830s, "libraries, laboratories, classrooms and living quarters adequate to the task were in place" (p. 249). Flynn concludes that "the Alexandrine university reform as refined under Sergei Uvarov gave Russia a set of institutions that met world standards in scholarship and academic service" (p. 259). He argues that the purported loss of university autonomy under Nicholas I in fact corresponded to educators' own wish to divest themselves of economic and police concerns; moreover, the experience of thirty years showed policy makers that "the generous hope that the self-motivation of faculty and students would promote good self-government, free from fraud or contention, had been misplaced" (p. 245).

Educational policy debates can make for dreary reading, and the reader's interest will not be piqued by Flynn's description of endless debates revolving around university autonomy, admissions policy, and curriculum between 1804 and 1835. But there are enough rogues and dastardly intrigues at hand and a timeless quality to the descriptions of university life to leaven the documents. We read complaints that professors "read lectures . . . but do not teach" (p. 92) and (from a student) that "the professors read, but we listened only out of obligation" (p. 147). Incompetent professors dictated lessons for students to copy; others lectured in unfamiliar language or pitched their lectures far above the students' level of comprehension and "skipped lessons as often as did students." Students complained that they had heard the same lectures while studying at the *gimnaziia* where many professors moonlighted for extra pay. Meanwhile, faculty complained of "crushing work loads," and students engaged in drunkenness, fighting, stealing, gambling, window breaking, and general rowdiness (pp. 53, 65, 150). Rigid disciplinary and dress codes introduced under Nicholas were perhaps merited, for "the experience of thirty years showed that it was asking too much to hope that students would always take seriously their responsibilities to God, tsar and fatherland, and thus avoid cheating and fraud."

The author's generally positive assessment of university policy adds to a growing list of studies (Cynthia Whittaker, Allen Sinel, Edward Dneprov, and my own) that take issue with the notion of a "failure" of tsarist education. On the other hand, Flynn discerns contradictions in policy and concludes that the "enigmas" of Alexandrine statecraft reflected not the personality of the tsar but a structural conflict inherent in promoting social mobility and change within a static political system. Flynn's argument coincides with that of Samuel Kassow, who argues that a simultaneous striving for order and for economic change led to paralysis in university policy early in the twentieth century. Moreover, Flynn acknowledges that the universities played a major role in creating the critical intelligentsia that was to cause the state such headaches in subsequent decades.

Finally, he concedes that one of the initial goals of the Alexandrine reforms, to spread village education under the sponsorship and supervision of the universities (as well as by private initiative), was a dismal failure ("while the universities grew . . . the village and even district schools remained weak and undernourished" [p. 243]). Recognition of failure led to a decision in 1835 to abandon this approach. This, in turn, doomed the attempt to foster social mobility through education. Flynn attributes this failure not only to the misguided policy of assigning already overburdened universities a task for which they had no inclination but also to the sheer magnitude of the task and to the inadequate resources at hand. In fact, economic and cultural backwardness is a major theme of this book, partly explaining not only the momentous failure to build primary schools but also the rowdiness of students, whose frequent outbreaks of violence had nothing to do with politics but were "deeply rooted in the mores of Russian society . . . a society much influenced . . . by the ethos of serfdom" (pp. 53, 65, 150).

BEN EKLOF
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T. S. MAMSIK. *Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Sibiri, vtoraia chetvert' XIX veka* [The Peasant Movement in Siberia in

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the Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century]. Novosibirsk: Nauka, Sibirskoe otdelenie. 1987. Pp. 268. 3 r. 20 k.

This disappointingly short book is written in a pre-*glasnost'* style familiar to all Russian historians. Like many such histories it shows signs of diligent research in rarely used archives and contains much of interest. A reader can learn a good deal about Siberian peasant life from it, but, true to its style, the book falls short in interpretation. Trying hard to fit the events that comprise her peasant "movement" into a Soviet and Marxist framework, T. S. Mamsik creates unnecessary contradictions and eschews obvious conclusions. Where it is convenient, every government official is a bad person, and all peasants dealing with officialdom are oppressed. Rich peasants dealing with poorer peasants are ipso facto exploitative. Yet the reports, petitions, and suits the author presents as evidence do not support these assumptions in any consistent way.

Although Mamsik tries to portray the tsarist government as intrusive, the picture that comes through her stories is of a government that only weakly and ineffectively reached into Siberian villages, where the peasants apparently enjoyed a great deal of autonomy and, except for recent exiles, a fair degree of prosperity. The author repeatedly refers to burdensome taxation, but the taxes she describes sound low, and arrears, except in Tomsk province, are so small that it is clear that most peasants had little trouble paying their taxes. She interprets fights, disputes, and destructive behavior on the basis of income and class. The poorer the disputants, if documents allow that to be known, the more likely the author is to find them exploited, oppressed, and in the right.

Mamsik organizes her book into sections on land disputes and migration, taxation, flight and concealment, destruction of property, and religious strife. The peasant movement she describes consists of clashes of individuals and groups of peasants with the government, the Orthodox church, and one another in these several areas. The most interesting of these areas are her two chapters on the "confessional" movement. It is not Mamsik's purpose to describe or explain the schismatic groups' beliefs, so the interested reader will have to find that elsewhere. But she does have interesting things to say about the migration, growth, and size of several sects from the numerous Old Believers to the few but persistent *skoptsy*. In the second chapter, she describes, among other things, the effort of Nicholas I's government and the Russian Orthodox church to proselytize among the schismatics and especially to bring the Old Believers back within the established church. Once again, however, her conclusions seem jarringly at odds with the narrative. The author unnecessarily invents an economic explanation for this effort that pays scant attention to the noneconomic motivations for Nicholas's policy of Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationalism. Mamsik ignores the general drive to systematize the categories of Nicholas's subjects and the bureaucracies that administered them, which played such a large role in his government.

BRUCE F. ADAMS
University of Louisville

EDITH W. CLOWES. *The Revolution of Moral Consciousness: Nietzsche in Russian Literature, 1890–1914*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 276.

This is a stimulating contribution to Russian intellectual and literary history. Russia became a cultural superpower in two phases. The first belonged to the great nineteenth-century novelists and composers, the second to a diverse group of artists and writers who joined together to create a commingling of Russian and European modernism. Among the foreigners admired in this second cosmopolitan phase of Russia's cultural flowering was Friedrich Nietzsche. For many Russian intellectuals, Nietzsche rivaled Charles Darwin and Karl Marx as a cultural authority in a confusing era. Edith Clowes explores Nietzsche's influence and reception on Russian prerevolutionary literature, and, together with Bernice Rosenthal, she has added this dimension to our understanding of the origins of Russian modernism.

Nietzsche figured in polemics and arguments among the leading Russian critics and writers. Clowes properly begins with a history of citations and translations. Censorship and the hostility of utilitarian-minded literati diminished his early appeal, but the paradoxical German philosopher moved quickly to the center of Russian cultural discourse. She finds four phases in Nietzsche's Russian impact: the initial encounter of utilitarian critics, a popular vulgar Nietzscheanism, a vogue among the symbolists, and, finally, a romantic revolutionary infatuation that extended into the Soviet era.

The limits of the author's analysis are most apparent in her discussion of popular Nietzscheanism. The promotion of Nietzsche as a prophet of individualism in the magazines of the self-education movement suggests a particular appeal to the new semi-educated "intelligentsia from the people," as activists from this group often described themselves. More research on this subject would have been interesting, but the author's concerns are elsewhere, and she explores popular Nietzscheanism largely for its impact on writers and intellectuals. This leads first to the early hostile commentaries on Nietzsche and then to writers such as M. Artsybashev and A. A. Verbitskaia. The problem with this approach is that writers with very different readers and sales are lumped together in a composite image of popular Nietzscheanism. Verbitskaia, a self-proclaimed socialist and feminist, shared something with Artsybashev, who promoted a kind of bohemian nihilism, but these were writers with distinct publics who used Nietzsche for different ends.

The most exciting portions of the book are those in which Clowes discusses Nietzsche's place in the mod-

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ernist reordering of Russian literary priorities by which aesthetics displaced social concerns as the prime cultural value. Here the author opens a bevy of fascinating themes and issues. Nietzsche was important to several major literary groups at the turn of the century. Populists wrestled with Nietzsche's challenge to socialism and self-sacrifice, and the modernist critic Dmitrii Merezhkovskii used Nietzsche to promote what he considered truly creative and innovative cultural values. Nietzschean themes enter the works of many modernist writers, and Clowes traces influences in the symbolist movement from Merezhkovskii and Viacheslav Ivanov to Aleksandr Blok and Andrei Belyi.

The author also has much to say about Maksim Gorkii, whose ambivalence to Nietzsche she attributes plausibly to a conflict between public posing and private imagining. Whereas Gorkii condemned Nietzsche in order to curry favor with the Left, she suggests, he was intrigued by what he privately considered a hymn to individualism and creativity. The author shows how Nietzsche's ideas became a foil and a foundation for the movement known as "god building," which drew together Gorki, A. V. Lunacharskii, and A. A. Bogdanov (A. A. Malinovski, the scientist and philosopher).

This book is a contribution to the study of Russia's silver age that both historians and literary scholars can welcome.

JEFFREY BROOKS
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MARSHALL S. SHATZ. *Jan Wacław Machajski: A Radical Critic of the Russian Intelligentsia and Socialism.* (Russian and East European Studies, number 11.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 251. $29.95.

This is the first book-length monograph on Jan Wacław Machajski (known also as Makhaiskii, 1866–1926), an original ideologist of the workers' movement who has been partially and undeservedly forgotten. Born Polish but active mostly in the Russian revolutionary movement, he criticized socialism from the position of an extreme egalitarianism. He claimed that socialism is an ideology of intellectuals who try to impose their leadership on the workers' movement in order to use it for the establishment of their own class rule, that is, the rule of the educated elite over the uneducated, physically working masses. From this perspective, Marxism appeared to be a "new religion," justifying the suffering of the workers and demanding from them heroic sacrifices for the sake of a new privileged class, namely, owners of the "intellectual capital."

The relevance of Machajski's Polish background, according to Marshall S. Shatz, consists mostly in Machajski's sharp reaction against subordinating the economic interests of the workers to the struggle for national liberation, as practiced by the leadership of the Polish Socialist party. This instrumental attitude to the "social question," that is, attempts to harness social-emancipation movements and direct them toward national aims, was quite characteristic of the patriotic intelligentsia in Poland. But it needs to be stressed that there was also a Polish tradition of criticizing the intelligentsia's tutelage. There is perhaps some symbolic significance in the fact that the poor region of Kielce, where Machajski was born, gave birth to the two radically egalitarian utopian communists of the Romantic epoch: Piotr Ściegienny and Ludwik Królikowski. Both expressed the views of the poor, preindustrial peasants who were fully aware that their fatherland (as Ściegienny put it) was entirely different from the fatherland of the privileged. (Ściegienny's legend was long-lived and certainly not unknown to Machajski.) In Machajski's time the autonomy of the workers' movement was defended by an influential philosopher and literary critic, Stanisław Brzozowski, who followed Georges Sorel in defining socialism as a movement of the intelligentsia, aiming to transfer control of economic production into the hands of "economically incompetent intellectuals." Sorel's ideas also influenced Machajski's friend Stefan Żeromski, one of the leading Polish novelists.

Shatz pays much attention to the relationship between Machajski and Żeromski, making use of Żeromski's published diaries and the relevant literature in Polish. Strangely enough, he does not even mention the fact that Żeromski portrayed Machajski in two of his novels: under the name Andrzej Radek in *Sysyphian Labors* and under the name Zlowski in *Converting of a Judas*. The young Polish communist Karol Sobelsohn was so impressed by the first of these novels that he adopted the name Radek as his pseudonym. In this way the well-known Karol Radek came into being.

In the Russian revolutionary movement, Machajski's great predecessor was, of course, Mikhail Bakunin. Machajski, however, did not see himself as Bakunin's disciple, probably because of a lack of sufficient sympathy toward Bakunin's anarchism. Machajski's own ideas influenced many people but did not create a separate political movement, or even a well-articulated current of thought. Very often "Makhaevism" was reduced to an anti-intelligentsia sentiment (which could have been used for nonegalitarian purposes, as, for instance, in the Stalinist assault on the Old Bolshevik intellectuals). As a theory of a new ruling class, "Makhaevism" provided arguments for seeing the Bolshevik dictatorship as a class rule of "a new bureaucracy." This accusation, first formulated by Machajski himself, was taken up by different currents of the workers' opposition to Leninism, such as the Workers' Group and the Workers' Truth, which claimed to be associated with Aleksandr Bogdanov (see pp. 156–57). Shatz shows that Machajski's theory also influenced Trotsky's criticism of Stalinist bureaucracy and, indirectly, Milovan Djilas's views on "the new class."

The theory of the intelligentsia as "a new class" reemerged recently with a rather positive connotation. The American sociologist Alvin Gouldner, who knew well Machajski's doctrine, presented Marxism as an

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ideology of the owners of intellectual capital, whose class rule would be progress in comparison with the rule of the owners of money capital (see his *Future of Intellectuals and the New Class* [1979]). Similar ideas have been expressed by the Hungarian sociologists George Konrád and Ivan Szelenyi in their *Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* (1979). Regrettably, Shatz does not elaborate on these books, mentioning them only in a note on page 226 and in the bibliography. This omission can be explained by his intention to limit his task to Machajski's role in Russian intellectual history. There is no doubt that such a work has long been needed.

ANDRZEJ WALICKI
University of Notre Dame

SAMUEL D. KASSOW. *Students, Professors, and the State in Tsarist Russia.* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 5.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 438. $48.50.

With contemporary events in Eastern Europe in mind, one might think of this history of Russian university life in the last decades of the tsarist regime as a study in the prehistory of Russian pluralism. The conflicts that erupted in those years between the state and the universities tell us much about the tortuous emergence of civil society in that land where voices in opposition to the autocracy previously were muted or underground. Kassow argues persuasively that in the Russian context the student movement at the turn of the century was a "separate form of collective mass protest" (p. 396) that played a unique and at times important role in the anti-tsarist opposition. Even conservative professors, who preferred the role of priests in temples of learning, were obliged by clumsy state intervention and by student militancy to become, in V. I. Vernadskii's sardonic term, "reluctant politicians" (p. 296). The origins of this activism lie, in his opinion, in the collective life of the university students.

In sociological terms, Samuel D. Kassow's story constitutes one chapter in the history of the rise of Russian professionalism. Both university students and professors appear on the pages of his book in their self-chosen corporate garb. The strictly academic functions of higher education are not the author's concern except when pertinent to the issues of collective identity and resistance to outside intervention. He notes the growing number of institutions of higher learning in the early twentieth century, but he concentrates on events within the universities, which were the most visible and influential centers of intellectual life in the country. The first two chapters introduce the major themes of the professoriate's struggle against the state for academic autonomy (denied them by the statute of 1884) and the dogged defense by the organized student body (*studenchestvo*) of its collective privileges. These trends were rooted in the conviction of students and professors that they deserved special privileges and consideration from the authorities. Through the tumultuous years of the early twentieth century, both movements retained their original impetus and character.

The remaining six chapters trace the complex story of these two "professionalisms" as they evolved under the impact of the revolutionary years and the demiconstitutional monarchy that followed. Kassow's vivid account of the impact of the 1905 revolution on the universities, a subject to which he devotes two full chapters, constitutes in my judgment the central moment in his story. The worlds of revolutionary workers and activist students briefly intersected in those months at the price of what one liberal professor (E. Trubetskoi) described, in another moment of crisis, as "the neutrality of the university" (p. 357). Yet, even in the new political and cultural conditions of post-1905 Russia, students put more, not less, emphasis on the defense of their economic needs, which Kassow considers the core of "student professionalism" (p. 310). Student activists continued, willingly or under pressure from the ubiquitous assemblies (*skhodki*), to treat the collective interests of the student body on a par with political issues.

Kassow's sympathies lie with the student body and its corporate life. He is careful, however, to point out the contradictions and conflicts created by the mixture of student corporatism and political activism and very aptly suggests how close the "mystique of the *studenchestvo*" was to the "ineffectual 'Chekhovian hero'" (p. 401). His focus on university life gives the book thematic coherence and unity, although I would have preferred greater attention to the larger world of higher education, where similar professional and political conflicts erupted. Kassow writes clearly and vividly, and the editors are to be commended on the quality of the book (including the illustrative photographs). It is regrettable, however, that in our age of sophisticated electronic publishing the University of California Press could not find the means to print in Cyrillic type the student songs included in the text. Joining the transliteration of the Russian words with the translations is wasted effort for readers unfamiliar with Russian and an absurdity for those who read Russian.

In general, this story of what Kassow calls a "case study" of the relations between the tsarist state and society (p. 388) is a thoughtful and important contribution to Russian social history and deserves comparison with Nancy Frieden's history of Russian doctors. Kassow's work will be of interest to anyone studying the transformation of late imperial Russia.

DANIEL R. BROWER
University of California, Davis

THOMAS S. PEARSON. *Russian Officialdom in Crisis: Autocracy and Local Self-Government, 1861–1900.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xx, 284. $39.50.

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Thomas S. Pearson's new book deals with the Great Reforms of 1861–64 that produced the emancipation of serfs and the introduction of local self-government to the Russian countryside. He takes as his starting point the need of the Russian imperial government, like the central governments of other developing countries, for organs of local self-government to assist the state in managing change because it lacked the fiscal and personnel resources to provide such basic services as education, medical care, road building and maintenance, and famine relief.

Pearson's study shows the administrative development of late imperial Russia as manifested in the development of rural self-government from the Great Reforms, through the bureaucratization of local government in the counterreforms of 1889–90, to its implementation as a localized institution in the 1890s. Pearson's approach is broader than that found in most works by both Western or Soviet historians because he not only shows the conflicting ideologies of reform of the centralizers and decentralizers and the capitals and the provinces but also depicts the growth and fragmentation of ministerial power after the 1860s and the impact this fragmentation had on rural Russia. As each ministry defended its own narrow interests in the countryside, the paradoxical situation arose that as the government became increasingly knowledgeable and interested in rural conditions, it simultaneously became increasingly unable to correct through legislation or any other means the very problems it was now able to describe.

Pearson devotes special attention to the origins of counterreforms in the 1870s, during the crisis of autocracy when the government of M. T. Loris-Melikov began to consider a serious overhaul of local self-government. He argues persuasively that the counterreforms were not, as is often maintained, a concession to the gentry or a reaction to zemstvo political activity but a reasoned response to practical needs of state administration.

The book is based on thorough archival research and a close acquaintance with Western and Soviet sources. It generally reads well, and students will find the excellent introductory and concluding summaries to each chapter particularly valuable. They help put into perspective the sometimes exceedingly detailed analyses of political events in between.

HEIDE W. WHELAN
Dartmouth College

DOMINIC LIEVEN. *Russia's Rulers under the Old Regime.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xxii, 407. $35.00.

The title of Dominic Lieven's book refers not to the tsars, as one might think, but to "the ruling elite" who administered Russia and whose members were represented on the State Council at the beginning of the twentieth century. This book is a collective biography of those members appointed between 1894 and 1914 whom the author takes as more or less representative of the ruling elite as a whole. Lieven has done a great service in collecting the service lists (*formuliarnye spiski*) of the members of the State Council and providing quantitative analyses of social background, landholding, education, and career patterns. The tables are supplemented with accounts of education and career patterns and brief biographies that give a sense of the members' backgrounds and viewpoints. Rare photographs of members and meetings of the council are particularly interesting and well chosen.

As in the nineteenth century, nobles accounted for the overwhelming majority of the appointments. A significant proportion, nearly one-third, traced their nobility to the period before 1600. Over half held land, although most of these could be described as middle-sized landowners, and the great estates belonged to a group accounting for just over 10 percent of the membership. Over half of the membership attended the universities or elite schools, and over one-third came from military schools. Most, about two-thirds, are described as "career civil servants," that is, they rose through the civil service. But it is not clear what "career civil servant" means when pertaining to those who spent considerable time in military and elite schools or guards' regiments and who owed their positions in large measure to aristocratic connections. In addition, about one-third of the members were generals, many of whom occupied posts in the Ministry of the Interior, which was the most influential branch of the government and directed local administration. This is of course only a cursory summary of the extensive statistical and biographical data that make this book a significant contribution to the history of Russian officialdom.

Lieven is less successful in showing how his research adds to or changes what we already know about the tsarist administration. The author does not address the interpretations of Russian officialdom advanced by such scholars as Marc Raeff, Walter Pintner, Alfred Rieber, Donald Rowney, and Petr Zaionchkovskii, whose works are safely consigned to a few footnotes. He avoids general statements and draws conclusions in terms of the particular questions under discussion. He emphasizes the great variety of types of officials in the council and the difficulties of generalizing about them. But such heterogeneity contradicts the term "ruling elite," which implies a set of common traits and some sense of corporate identity. Lieven's material describes not a unified elite but numerous competing groups in the administration, a finding that would support Rieber's interpretation of the progressive fragmentation affecting the state in the last decades of tsarism.

It is also unclear in what respect this group can be said to have "ruled." The term "ruling elite" suggests a group of people with a significant role in government who were influential in determining the destinies of Russia. Although insisting on these officials' importance, Lieven nonetheless exculpates them for the catastrophe of 1917. He denies the influence of the

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council or the elite on policy, which, he acknowledges, continued to be determined by the emperor. His final chapter, which repeats conclusions of his *Russia and the Origins of the First World War* (1983), argues that Nicholas II, who had little to do with the council, retained power and bore principal responsibility for the fate of tsarist Russia. Both political power and the process of social and political change were beyond the control of the members of the State Council, leaving most of them observers rather than participants in the events of their time.

Lieven's book is something of a hybrid between a scholarly monograph based on quantitative data and a sympathetic biography occasionally verging on apologetic. The author is at pains to show that many of these officials were gifted, talented, and able human beings. In this respect, the book does a service in making clear that high tsarist officials were not all benighted or short-sighted. But it is also evident that the government did not attract the most able or talented nobility, many of whom, including most of the writers and composers the author mentions, were bitterly hostile to the government and especially to high officials. Lieven's extended biographical sketches are sympathetic portraits of different types of officials: P. N. Durnovo, from the agencies of police and administration; A. N. Kulomzin, the bureaucratic reformer; and Alexander and Alexei Obolenskii, the "aristocrats in politics." All of these were well-educated, intelligent officials dedicated to state service. But they conceived of government in different ways, held dear different values, and in the end had little influence on the course of government. Kulomzin saw education and the continuing of the reforms of the 1860s as the hope for the future. The Obolenskiis, enlightened defenders of noble privilege, advocated gradual change but with a defense of liberal privileges. Durnovo, the representative of "the elite authoritarian wing," took a position opposite to Kulomzin's, believing that the courts and public opinion had enfeebled the government. The biographies reveal the variety of career experiences and viewpoints of members of the State Council, showing the divisions and disappointments that arose among an officialdom without power.

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V. S. DIAKIN. *Burzhuaziia, dvorianstvo i tsarizm v 1911–1914 gg.: Razlozhenie tret'eiiun'skoi sistemy* [The Bourgeoisie, Nobility, and Tsarism, 1911–1914: The Decline of the "Third of June System"]. Leningrad: Nauka. 1988. Pp. 227. 3 r. 30 k.

As V. S. Diakin quite rightly says at the end of his introduction, this work is a continuation of his monograph *Samoderzhavie, burzhuaziia i dvorianstvo v 1907–1911 gg.*, published thirteen years earlier (1978). Why the replacement of the word *samoderzhavie* ("autocracy") in the earlier title by "tsarizm" in the more recent one? I guess that behind this change lies a polemic, which he overlooked, about the appropriateness of labeling the post-1905 "Duma Monarchy" an "autocracy," although it also seems possible that the change simply reflects the author's view, one of the leitmotifs of this book, that after the demise of Prime Minister Stolypin (a process that is seen to have begun some two years before his assassination in 1911) the monarchy lost its last chance to gain mastery over the course of events.

With this volume, Diakin completes his masterful study of the politics of the Duma Monarchy from 1907 to 1917 (the first of the trilogy on the war years, *Russkaia burzhuaziia i tsarizm v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny, 1914–1917*, was published in 1967). Taken as a whole, this work, a detailed narrative account of internecine bureaucratic struggles, the machinations of the camarilla surrounding the throne and of the party politics of enfranchised society in and around the State Duma, and their complex interrelationships, is unparalleled in the literature.

In the 1978 volume, Diakin described the central paradox of Stolypin's "Third of June System," namely, that of a government trying to carry out a conservative modernization reform that, in sum, would have undercut the leading role of the landed nobility in local affairs in a political context dominated, to a large extent, by the very same landed nobility. In the present volume, we have the story, as Diakin sees it, of the further degradation of the Third of June System, "the objective impossibility of preserving in the framework of the third of June system the union of tsarism with the gentry and the big bourgeoisie" (p. 11). The ultimate source of the instability of this union, according to Diakin following Lenin, was the inevitable process of economic development, specifically industrial development, which caused the essentially conservative raison d'être of government, the interests of the industrialist "big bourgeoisie," and those of the landed nobility (the big bourgeoisie and landed nobility dominating, with a definite edge to the nobility, the institutions of public representation under the suffrage system of June 3, 1907) to drift progressively apart.

Whether or not one agrees with Diakin that the story of Russian politics over the three years before the outbreak of World War I proves the impossibility of a nonrevolutionary path of political development for the country, there can be no doubt after reading this account that it is an unedifying story from the point of view of progress toward constitutionalist norms of behavior on the part of either the monarch, his officials, or the deputies to the Fourth Duma. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the entire ten- or twelve-year span of Russia's so-called constitutional experiment (who was experimenting?) was a very short time from the perspective of the overall European timetable of transition to democratic governments. Who knows? Perhaps some future historian will write about Russia's transition from autocracy to democracy as a process that occupied the entire twentieth century.

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The great value of this book, in any case, is not in its general conclusions or broad judgments but in the texture and details of the maneuvering, infighting, and polemics that went on around the throne, within the bureaucracy, and within and around the Duma. It is to Diakin's credit that he does not try to force too closely the identity of the classes that he sees operating in enfranchised politics with the Duma fractions, the political parties, and the bureaucratic factions.

The author's practice of constantly taking stock by reference to what Lenin had to say on any given development may be annoying to some readers. Although Lenin had a remarkably acute understanding of the politics of the Duma period (in some respects perhaps comparable to Marx's analysis of the July Monarchy and the revolution of 1848 in France), he was not, after all, an eyewitness to the events described in this book. The annotations accompanying this dense narrative are extremely skimpy and telegraphic, a result no doubt of Nauka's drastic limitations on the size of scholarly monographs. The fact remains that the nonspecialist will have great difficulty figuring out the sources for much of the material in this book. Also to be regretted is the virtually total neglect, if one is to judge by the notes, of the rather considerable foreign scholarship on Russian politics of the period in question.

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V. B. ZHIROMSKAIA. *Sovetskii gorod v 1921–1925 gg.: Problemy sotsial'noi struktury* [The Soviet City, 1921–1925: Problems of Social Structure]. Moscow: Nauka. 1988. Pp. 166. 2 r. 60 k.

The years between the revolution of 1917 and the dead hand of the Stalin era have been aptly labeled a time of cultural revolution in the Soviet Union. Ideas of what Soviet socialism was to mean in practical terms were debated with vigor. The privation, however, occasioned by the collapse of the national economy and the years of civil war, meant that measures adopted by the government to effect social change were not infrequently emasculated by the harsh reality of the times. The New Economic Policy (NEP, 1921–28) introduced by Lenin to salvage the domestic economy, and therefore the revolution, sanctioned some elements of private trade. The consequences of this policy in relation to the legislative initiatives of government to promote state capitalism and the cooperative movement are explored in V. B. Zhiromskaia's recent monograph in terms of social and demographic change in the Soviet city during the first half of the 1920s. Zhiromskaia's analysis is couched in rather traditional fashion with respect to historiography. Only broad census categories of social groups are used in the study. The data, however, presented in thirty-odd tables, drawn principally from the 1923 urban census and the 1926 general census and describing the impact of policies intended to direct social change, might well provide some grist for the mill of other historians less constrained in their methodological approach to significant issues. The data describing the various pursuits of the Nepmen are particularly interesting.

The first chapter in Zhiromskaia's study evaluates the policies adopted by government and party during the early years of the Soviet era in an attempt to forge a new Soviet social structure. The social class and demographic changes up to the mid–1920s are described in the second chapter. The third examines in some detail the impact of socioeconomic policies regarding industrialization in general and cooperatives in particular on the working class, the Nepman bourgeoisie, the *kustari* and other petty artisans and traders, and the intelligentsia and professional class.

Zhiromskaia's study concentrates on the cities and, occasionally, the major industrialized regions of European Russia. With barely a sixth of the total population defined as urban, and with most of those residents located in the broad region west of the Urals, this geographical focus is not unreasonable. But there is little effort made to go beyond official census categories of city and urban settlement. And, as noted, the social class categories of the official state enumerator are the basis of the inquiry into social change. Thus, it comes as no great surprise to learn that the share of the working class in the urban population varies according to city size and level of industrialization. Although Zhiromskaia acknowledges the possibility that official categories of the urban population may not be congruent with reality, little is done to offset that limitation. Nonetheless, it is of value to be able to trace through her compilation of official statistics the numbers of the unemployed, the types of activity pursued by the Nepmen, and the rise of skilled workers in the cities of European Russia. Zhiromskaia's study has not produced any especially startling findings. Western historians working the methodologically richer fields of urban and social history of Soviet urban development during this time of cultural revolution may yet be able to enliven some of the raw material contained in this otherwise largely arid survey of census data.

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HIROAKI KUROMIYA. *Stalin's Industrial Revolution: Politics and Workers, 1928–1932*. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 364. $44.50.

Those of us interested in the formation of Soviet political and economic institutions may now celebrate another important book on the First Five Year Plan. Hiroaki Kuromiya's principal concern in this thoroughly researched volume is with "the central question of *how* the Soviet political leadership made the mobilization of the resources politically possible" (p. xiii).

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Emphasis is on "politically possible," and the key enabling mechanism, according to Kuromiya, was class war, which Joseph Stalin used to break the back of political resistance to the industrialization drive (and resistance to the cultural revolution as well). The goal was not merely industrialization for the sake of growth, modernity, and the satisfaction of consumer demand. It included as an integral component displacement of bourgeois specialists (and the kulaks) and elimination of the prerevolutionary capitalist market economy. And, according to Kuromiya, successful industrialization would have been impossible without significant popular support, support that was ultimately provided by members of the working class. Interestingly, the issues treated have more contemporary relevance than Kuromiya could have guessed when he began work on the topic as a dissertation in the early 1980s.

The book is divided into four main parts. The first and shortest part surveys 1927–28, or the end of the New Economic Policy (NEP), and serves as an introduction to the industrialization drive. Part 2 deals with the attack in 1928–29 in Stalin's name on the main political and economic pillars of NEP. The party apparatus was purged and then renewed. Industrial enterprises were reorganized and single management asserted in the teeth of party and trade union resistance. Trade unions were themselves overwhelmed by the flow of new, unskilled workers, by growing egalitarianism, and by declining living standards. "New proletarian forces" emerged in the end as a result, according to Kuromiya, of successful manipulation of the ideological theme of class war.

The year 1930 is the focus of part 3, and it is treated as the climactic year of the drama of industrialization. Shortages, financial crisis, and disorganization of industry threatened economic order. "Wreckers" became the necessary scapegoats as economic performance collapsed under the weight of Bolshevik fantasies about a nonmarket economic system. The drive to industrialize at all costs transformed the labor market as unemployment disappeared and labor shortage instead became the rule. What Kuromiya calls the "wager on quantity," or stressed enterprise managers seeking to fulfill unrealistic targets, solved the problem of unemployment but at the expense of industrial flexibility, productivity, and quality products. The situation was feverish to say the least as 1930 came to a close. Food supply was perilous: "Yet the leadership blatantly discriminated in favor of the working class as a whole in the distribution of scarce foodstuffs and other consumer goods, and attributed all the problems to the activities of 'class enemies' in the trade networks. Workers' discontent and anger seems to have been easily mobilized against the perceived enemies" (p. 260).

Part 4 presents the resolution of the crisis as it worked out during 1931–34, plus Kuromiya's conclusions. In the end, Stalin compromised his extreme socialistic aims. Centralized target setting and direct controls were ultimately supplemented by a strengthened ruble and the revitalization of cost accounting (*khozraschet*). Even centralized controls over labor had to be abandoned as inferior to local decision making. Egalitarian trends were checked and eventually reversed in the face of crippling shortages of skilled labor. Relations between enterprise managers and central authorities settled down into the bureaucratic guerrilla warfare with which we are all familiar. In this connection, Kuromiya cites to good effect a contemporary Soviet source on the manager's attitude: "'Beat me, strike me, reprimand me, apply this or that punishment, but still you will cover the losses'" (p. 288). The economy that emerged from the struggles and compromises of the early 1930s was mixed in many respects, representing the outcome of a collision of ideology and economic reality. In Kuromiya's words, "[i]t was an economy centrally planned in physical terms that awkwardly incorporated money and trade. This basic economic structure survives to the present day" (p. 312).

This volume represents high scholarship, and it is also well written and logically organized. No one interested in the peculiar institutions that were forged in the 1930s in the USSR can afford to miss it, nor will they fail to enjoy what it adds to our understanding.

Many readers may share with me, however, a nagging sense that something is missing in Kuromiya's analysis. What is missing is not an oversight. Kuromiya quite explicitly abstains from evaluation of Stalin's industrialization strategy. He seeks instead to describe the politics of industrialization: How did Stalin pull it off politically? His answer is that the ideology of class war created sufficient support from below to make the revolution initiated from above successful. Thus, Kuromiya's aim is merely to modify what he perceives as the conventional wisdom on the process. He is persuasive but partly because most of us have always believed that Stalin succeeded with the support from a very aggressive minority willing and able to intimidate the majority.

Kuromiya's attempt to avoid rendering a judgment is less successful, and he is himself apparently ambivalent about doing so. The enormous human and economic costs of Stalin's strategy are repeatedly noted, and, at the same time, a main premise of the entire story is that Stalin's revolution was a success at least as an industrial revolution. Yet Kuromiya studiously avoids drawing a bottom line. Instead, he positions himself on what he perceives as the high middle ground between Soviet and Western historians in their evaluations of Stalin's strategy: "Soviet historians tend to emphasize its dazzling accomplishments and minimize its staggering costs, and Western historians tend to do just the opposite" (p. xiii). He goes on to express mild surprise that "[e]ven when historians appreciate both the achievements and costs, they seem to be preoccupied with the question of whether the former were worth the price paid" (p. xiii). The human question, however, has always remained: Do the ends justify the means? Any attempt, therefore, to describe the means alone, as though the means are not defined by the ends, must

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strike many, as it did me, as artificial and evasive. Under *glasnost'*, Soviet historians are themselves beginning to emphasize the "staggering costs" of Stalin's strategy and to face the problem of evaluation precisely for this reason.

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NEAR EAST

ROBERT MANTRAN, editor. *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman.* Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 810. 250 fr.

The reason that Robert Mantran gives for the need for a new single-volume history of the Ottoman empire is that, although several histories of the empire have appeared since the publication of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's ten-volume history (1835–43), they have been based almost exclusively on European sources and languages, and all have been profoundly Eurocentric. Furthermore, the opening of the Ottoman archives after World War II has resulted in a cascade of scholarly research, mostly by Turkish scholars, including the multivolume *Osmanl Tarihi* (1941–83) written by Ismail Hakk Uzunçarşl and Enver Ziya Karal. But, as of yet, most of this research has not been incorporated into any single-volume history of the empire. The only recent history that covers the entire span of the empire is Stanford Shaw's two-volume work (1976–77). A French translation of Shaw's first volume, which stopped at 1808, was published in 1984. As far as I know the second volume has not been translated or has not yet appeared. The book under review was conceived in part, apparently, to supplement, expand, and provide interpretations different from those proffered by Shaw, especially in regard to the origins of the empire, its relations with Europe, and the deportation, flight, and massacres of Armenians in 1915 and the context in which the massacres occurred (pp. 623–25; see Shaw, vol. 2, pp. 315–16). A comparison, however, of Shaw's account of the events of 1915 with that of Paul Dumont, who wrote the chapter in the book under review dealing with these events, reveals differences with regard to demographic statistics both before and after the war in terms of the numbers of Armenians who fled, immigrated, or were killed, but both accounts come to similar conclusions. Furthermore, in the introduction, Mantran states that the European countries (including Russia?) also bear considerable responsibility for the creation of the "Armenian Question."

Another reason for a new one-volume history is that a multi-authored work with each chapter or phase written by a specialist of that era provides more comprehensive coverage and up-to-date interpretations based on archival documents and research. This approach acknowledges that one person can no longer master all of the languages, let alone do the research in the major libraries and archives, necessary to write a history spanning the seven hundred years of the empire. Shaw's volumes may be the last of that genre. Whether singly or multi-authored works appear, however, it will be some time before the volume edited by Mantran will be surpassed. I predict that this book will become the standard one-volume history of the Ottoman empire.

In spite of containing eleven contributors, the work reads as though it were written by one author, which is a great tribute to the editor. There is substantial uniformity, good transition, and a collective sense of style, purpose, and interpretation that is perhaps occasioned by the fact that some of the contributors, Nicholas Vatin, Gilles Veinstein, Paul Dumont, and François Georgeon, wrote two chapters each and Mantran three. In works like this one, everyone will have his or her favorite chapters. I thought that chapters 6 and 9 by Veinstein (covering the period of Suleyman the Magnificent and the Balkan provinces from 1606 to 1774), chapter 10 by André Raymond (which discusses the Arab provinces from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries), and chapters 7 and 14 by Dumont and Georgeon (which cover the nineteenth century and the end of the empire) were *tours des forces*. All of these chapters provide brilliant syntheses and interpretations of the latest scholarship and of the authors' research over the past three decades. Raymond's discussion of the Arab provinces and especially of the North African provinces of the empire is superb and will become mandatory reading. The weakest chapters, perhaps because they are the shortest, are chapters 1 and 4 by Irene Beldicenau and Nicoară Beldicenau, which treat the origins and early organization of the empire. Regrettably, another of the weakest chapters is chapter 8 covering the eighteenth century and written by Mantran. In my opinion, the eighteenth century is the crucial transition period for the empire, and much research has been done in the past twenty years to support this view. But Mantran seems to be unaware of this research or chose not to include it. This omission leaves the historiographical and interpretative gap that existed in the orthodox and classical histories and that, ironically, was the intention of Mantran, as editor, to correct. As a result, except for a discussion of the "Eastern Question," the volume jumps almost directly from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

This book will undoubtedly become the standard work of its genre. It attests to the achievements of French Ottomanists and Turkologists over the past three decades. It will be must reading for fledgling Ottomanists, necessitate obligatory perusal for specialists and provide a handy reference for all. I hope that it will be quickly translated into English. I would like to have it available as my main text for my course on the Ottoman empire.

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BAHAEDDIN YEDIYILDIZ. *Institution du Vaqf au XVIII^e siècle en Turquie: Etude socio-historique.* Ankara: Société d'Histoire Turque. 1985. Pp. 409.

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Few scholars would deny the importance of *vakf*s (*waqf*s in Arabic), religious-charitable foundations, in Islamic history. Like many other important Islamic institutions, however, the *vakf* is only beginning to receive its share of research attention. Bahaeddin Yediyildiz's book is therefore especially welcome.

The work is divided into three sections: a cursory historical background, including an assessment of factors contributing to the *vakf*'s survival since the early caliphate; the nature, characteristics, and categories of *vakf* foundations with an evaluation of the social origins of *vakf* founders in the eighteenth-century Ottoman empire; and, last, the educational, religious, and charitable services provided by the mosques, libraries, soup kitchens, orphanages, schools, hospices, waterworks, and loan funds created by *vakf* monies.

At their best, *vakf*s provided an array of urban social welfare services that the state was reluctant to include among its own regular functions. When Islamic exhortations to charity were not encouragement enough, Ottoman rulers all but insisted that officials demonstrate their fitness for office by making appropriate charitable bequests. It was a rare Ottoman grandee—whether military, bureaucratic, or religious—who failed to establish a *vakf* of some kind.

Nonetheless, in the most heavily endowed urban centers, such as Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa, charitable *vakf*s never came close to meeting urban welfare needs. Yediyildiz notes that a large proportion of all foundations served not the public generally but particular social or occupational groups designated by, and often associated with, their founders. Yediyildiz cites the case of a tent maker in the eighteenth century who stipulated that his *vakf* should pay for, among other things, a sweeper to clean the public areas in front of tent makers' shops, clothing for twenty poor children enrolled in a school founded by another tent maker, and the *vakf*'s own overseers, who were to be chosen only from among master tent makers or tent merchants.

Yediyildiz contends that, rather than weakening social and economic divisions, most *vakf*s tended to reinforce the interests of distinct, typically wealthy, occupational groups.

Two related trends had even more serious consequences for the state budget and Ottoman society generally. After the seventeenth century, *vakf*s began to proliferate. To support them, tax-generating rural lands were increasingly transformed into tax-free properties. At the same time, an ever-greater proportion of *vakf*s tended to be the equivalent of private family trusts. In his survey of 324 "documents of foundation" (*vakfiye*) drawn from the 6000 preserved from the eighteenth century by the director general of *vakf* in Ankara, Yediyildiz has determined that only 18 percent were truly public in the sense that their purpose was religious or charitable and their revenues administered by a public figure. In such cases the founding family retained no material interest in the foundation. In contrast, 7 percent of *vakf*s in the study were familial, explicitly set up to provide for the founding family. On the family's extinction, and only then, was the *vakf* to be made over to a charity named in the original *vakfiye*. Yediyildiz employs the term "semi-familial" for the third and largest category in his study. Unfortunately for the cause of social welfare, fully 75 percent in his sample were of this type, combining an ostensibly charitable purpose with the founding family's right to serve as paid administrators and to receive in perpetuity all revenues in excess of the foundation's regular expenses. In one example from the end of the eighteenth century, Yediyildiz calculates that the family received 40 percent of the *vakf*'s total revenue each month. Because *vakf*s were autonomous until 1826, when Mahmud II centralized them under a new ministry, individual administrators had considerable freedom with *vakf* revenues, even though they were formally constrained by the foundation document.

It would be an overstatement to say that the *vakf*'s original lofty aims had been totally corrupted by the eighteenth century. Given mortality rates in the period, even family *vakf*s often quickly passed to the public *vakf* rolls. Nonetheless, Yediyildiz's work provides convincing evidence that charitable giving was too often merely a method to circumvent, in pious guise, both the Islamic laws of inheritance and Ottoman taxes.

The full economic impact of such trends has yet to be measured. But, because *vakf* revenues were the equivalent of between one-third and three-quarters of Ottoman state revenues, as Yediyildiz points out, it is a fair bet that their impact was very great indeed.

The present work is a finely tuned, and on the whole meticulous, study of one of the most important archival sources that Islamic history has to offer. We shall look to Yediyildiz in the future to enlighten us further on the use of these sources and on the broader issues of economy that he raises here.

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ŞEVKET PAMUK. *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820–1913: Trade, Investment, and Production.* (Cambridge Middle East Library.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xii, 278.

This book is a stimulating addition to studies in Ottoman economic history in the nineteenth century. Şevket Pamuk examines the relations of the core area of the Ottoman empire in 1911—Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Macedonia, and Thrace (Albania and Libya are skipped)—with Europe's economy. Five basic chapters deal with the fluctuations in Ottoman foreign trade; the price indexes of exports to and imports from industrialized countries; the flow of foreign capital into the empire (both Ottoman bonds and direct investments); agricultural production for export, along with conditions of farm landholding and tenancy; and the decline but partial survival of Ottoman textile manu-

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facturing in the face of massive imports. Pamuk is interested in the degree of integration of the Ottoman economy into world capitalism and at various points notes effects of world capitalism on the empire, especially of the crisis and depression of 1873. He compares the Ottoman experience to that of countries in Latin America and Asia.

Many of Pamuk's findings are to be expected, but it is useful to have them documented. Others are surprising. He divides this era into four basic periods: 1820–53, 1854–76, 1880–96, and 1896–1914. Fund inflows exceeded outflows from 1854 to 1875 and from 1886 to 1896; otherwise the reverse was true. Over the whole period (1840–1913), Ottoman exports increased by 900 percent in constant prices and imports by 1000 percent. By 1913, 26 percent of Ottoman agricultural production was exported, but the empire never became a one-crop exporter like some so-called peripheral countries. The major exports remained two grains (wheat, barley), two fruits (raisins, figs), two fibers (silk, wool), and two drugs (tobacco, opium), together making up two-fifths to one-half of total exports. And Ottoman farming did not fall under large-scale capitalist control; the small and medium producer remained the norm. One surprising finding is that over the long term (1844–1910) the Ottoman empire enjoyed a surplus in its balance of payments despite fund outflows, treasury bankruptcy, and an unfavorable trade balance; invisible income made the difference.

Although Pamuk has used published Ottoman statistics for 1878 and after, his basic sources are trade figures from sixteen other countries, especially the major powers, out of which he has squeezed a remarkable amount. He says that information from Ottoman unpublished sources is especially limited (p. x). This may be so, but he apparently has not undertaken the arduous archival searches needed to prove or disprove his claim, nor has he used newspapers from Istanbul and Izmir. Some parts of the book, on method and calculation, make hard reading. Parts also seem divorced from reality; almost no human appears until suddenly, in appendix 4, British consular reports on real farming situations bring the book to life. A few small errors do not affect the volume's contribution, although not all notes are as precise as is desirable.

The real contribution lies in Pamuk's thirty-six tables and the painstaking calculations that produced them. Some are ingenious, such as his calculation of the Ottoman per capita consumption of cotton. The tables reveal a good deal about the Ottoman economy. They show how much it was influenced by a Europe that was industrial and industrializing, a relationship even more significant than incorporation into world capitalism.

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ABBAS AMANAT. *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844–1850*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 461. $34.95.

This study is unquestionably the most important treatise on the Babi movement thus far written. It is much more detailed and comprehensive than H. M. Balyuzi's *The Bab* (1973) and other previous works, such as F. C. Andreas's *Die Babis in Persien* (1896) and H. Roemer's *Die Babi-Behai* (1912). It starts with an introduction and three lengthy chapters that provide a historical background to the Babi movement. Two chapters follow on the formation of the movement, and five chapters examine its expansion and suppression. Finally, there is an epilogue that discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the movement, as well as its development after the execution in 1850 of its founder, Sayyid 'Ali Muhammad Shirazi, also known as the Bab, or "Gate," to truth.

Abbas Amanat provides us with both a critical analysis of a religion in the making and a biography of its self-appointed prophet. The Bab, we are informed, was born in a family of small bazaar merchants in the southern Persian city of Shiraz in 1819. He grew up at a time when the Shi'i clergy had become venal, intolerant, and spiritually barren, and he rebelled against the rigidity and cruelty of his teacher at the local Qur'anic school. At the age of seven or eight, he took advantage of his father's death to drop out of school and to start his training as a merchant. Thus, he was only half-educated, even by the standards of his time. But that did not bother him, for he was always to rely more on his intuition than on his learning in making decisions.

Between 1835 and 1840, he lived in the port of Bushehr, where he assisted his maternal uncles in the Persian Gulf trade. There, while refining his skills as a merchant, he also spent his time in prayer and meditation. His pronounced asceticism, devotion, revealing dreams, and prophetic remarks mystified some who met him but deeply impressed others. Esoteric ideas and ascetic practices finally drove him to spend eleven months in the Shi'i holy cities in Iraq. There he fell under the influence of the Sheykhis, who believed in a cyclical theory of spiritual evolution and were forever watching for the appearance of a Mahdi, or Messiah.

In 1842, the Bab returned to Shiraz, married, and established himself as a merchant. But, while outwardly leading an ordinary life, he became obsessed with the notion that he had been chosen by God to be the deputy of the Missing Imam and to bring about a resurrection and renewal of the Islamic faith. Beginning in 1844, he proclaimed ever more openly that he was the Mahdi, with whom a new cycle of prophethood would start. Amanat suggests that what prompted the Bab to believe that he was a divinely inspired figure was that he was a "self-educated layman who never truly benefited from the scholastic knowledge of the time" and that he "possessed a degree of devotion and sanctity that was considered exceptional" (p. 151). But is it not possible that he was also struck by similarities between his life and that of the Prophet? Both were sons of small merchants, lost their fathers early, had almost identical names, and had wives by the name of

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Khadija. Moreover, both had a limited education and led simple, ascetic lives.

In any case, because of his magnetic personality and the timeliness of his message, the Bab was able to gather about him a growing body of disciples and followers. His backers included Sheykhi mullahs, who resented their exclusion from high clerical office and bemoaned the intellectual aridity of the clerical establishment; merchants who were victimized by corrupt officials; and women, who suffered from multiple indignities as a result of their debased social status. Despite the diversity of their resentments, these converts to Babism regarded the movement as the only hope for a change in their fortunes, and they found in it a new sense of identity.

Fired by the Bab's teachings and his many books, the Babis rapidly proliferated, and the movement spread throughout Persia. But Babism remained essentially town-oriented, and Babis ran into stiff opposition from the solidly entrenched Shi'i clergy and Qajar autocracy. The Babis even alienated Amir Kabir, the reformist prime minister, who was the first Persian statesman to attempt to westernize his nation and who did not want religious reform, which would have revitalized the Shi'i clergy and prevented its subordination to the authority of the state.

In 1847, the Bab was arrested and imprisoned in Maku, far from his native Shiraz. In 1850, Amir Kabir decided, once and for all, to eliminate the movement. A fearful massacre ensued. The Bab was taken to Tabriz and publicly executed, along with two of his disciples. The few Babi leaders who managed to avoid the mass slaughter fled to the Ottoman empire and there created an offshoot of the movement called Bahaism. Ironically, only a few months after the massacre of the Babis in Persia, Amir Kabir was himself arrested and executed, falling victim "to the calculative callousness of the same Qajar autocracy that he had tried so tirelessly to reform and save from collapse" (p. 405).

Amanat argues that, by trying to incorporate the notion of recurring renewal and the theme of progressive revelation into the body of religious doctrine, the Bab offered Persians "the last chance for an indigenous reform movement" before Persian society became "truly affected by the consequences of the Western predominance, first in material and then in ideological spheres" (p. 413).

The book is well written, and, in spite of its length, it sustains the reader's interest.

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ROBERT BRENTON BETTS. *The Druze*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 161. $22.50.

The Druze are perhaps best known for their active military role in the continuing war in Lebanon and as the only community of Arabs in Israel whose young men are regularly conscripted into the army. In the pages of American and European newspapers, they are often confused with Islamic groups in Lebanon and are identified as ruthless warriors in the fight against Christians; in Israel, they are thought to be ethnically distinct from the larger Arab community and thus passive and trustworthy.

Robert Brenton Betts has provided a brief history of the Druze community and faith that will be useful to Middle East specialists and accessible to wider audiences. He dispels a number of myths and misconceptions about the Druze and depicts their different political and social roles in Lebanon, Syria, and Israel, the three Middle Eastern countries in which they are concentrated. He also provides valuable demographic data on the Druze in those countries. Although population statistics for the Druze of Lebanon and Syria are imprecise, reasonable estimates today give the Druze three hundred ninety thousand adherents in Lebanon (approximately 10 percent of the total Lebanese population), four hundred twenty thousand in Syria, and seventy-five thousand in Israel.

By weighing different historical accounts, Betts ably traces the origins of the Druze faith to eleventh-century Egypt. It emerged as a splinter movement from Isma'ili Islam during the last years of the reign of al-Hakim, the eccentric Fatimid caliph, who demanded to be recognized as a divine figure, a rank that was unacceptable to most Muslims regardless of sect. His first major adherent, al-Darazi, was unsuccessful in propagating al-Hakim's cult, but he did lend the movement its name (from whence the term *Duruz*, or "Druze," comes). Another adherent, Hamza, was more successful; he assumed the leadership of al-Hakim's mission and called his own followers "unitarians," who could purify themselves only through knowledge of the life of al-Hakim, imparted to them through Hamza's teaching. This teaching became an independent religion that Hamza claimed superseded Isma'ilism and all other manifestations of Islam. After al-Hakim's disappearance in 1021, the ideology found followers in Syria near Mount Hermon, and ultimately the Druze established their main center of power in the mountains of Lebanon, a natural refuge for non-Muslim religious minorities.

The Druze eventually rejected missionary activity and conversion and became a closed community with a strong proclivity for intermarriage. They developed clear lines of division; their religious leaders concealed Druze religious doctrine (which includes a belief in the transmigration of souls) from the vast majority of the community, who were referred to as the "ignorant." In addition, a group of aristocratic feudal families who were not part of the Druze religious leadership, in particular the Junbalat family in Lebanon and the Atrash family in Syria, dominated local politics.

The chapter on the Druze in the social fabric of the Middle East depends extensively on A. Layish's *Marriage, Divorce, and Succession in the Druze Family* (1982) and Betts's own extensive knowledge of the Druze in

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Lebanon, among whom he lived for several years. Druze clannishness, their historically antagonistic relationship with Lebanese Shi'i Muslims, the resilience of Druze marriage patterns in the face of massive socioeconomic transformations, their higher level of education by comparison to other non-Christian Arabs, and their increased movement from the rural hill areas to the towns are all discussed. Betts might have compared Druze social and cultural life with that of other Arab hill and mountain minorities, in particular the Maronites of Lebanon and the Alawites of Syria. His suggestion that Druze traditions are "unlikely to yield under the external pressure of the changing times or to succumb to internal forces desirous of 'modernization'" (p. 54) appears to contradict the recent experiences of these historically insulated and isolated religious communities.

Betts concludes with an interesting discussion of the impact of the war in Lebanon on the Druze community and the political leadership of the Junbalats, Kamal (who was assassinated in 1977) and his son Walid. The historic Druze homeland in the Lebanese hills south of Beirut, where the Junbalat family reigns supreme, has been spared the widespread destruction of other areas. Consequently, many Druze who had moved to Beirut and other urban centers have returned to participate in the efforts to develop their region. The war itself has caused massive population movements that have only helped perpetuate the homogeneity of certain districts along sectarian and communal lines. Betts argues that the Druze of Lebanon are perhaps more fortunate than other religious communities such as the Maronites and Shi'is who are also heavily concentrated in particular regions, for the Druze "possess a geographically unified and politically tenable base that they are sufficiently strong culturally and militarily to defend" (p. 118). It is unlikely that the Druze will abandon their efforts to develop their autonomous canton in Lebanon unless a resolution of the Lebanese conflict is reached. The long-term economic viability of the Druze statelet, however, is highly problematic. And, despite a panoply of ties between the Druze communities in Lebanon, Syria, and Israel, the Druze are even less likely to come together under a single political umbrella in the foreseeable future.

The book is not without errors of fact and interpretation. Salah al-Din al-Bitar, and not Akram Hawrani, was one of the two Damascene political theorists who formed the Ba'th party in the early 1940s (p. 94). Gamal Abdel Nasser considered himself to rule over an Arab socialist state, not an "Islamic Arab socialist state" (p. 98). There is no real evidence to support the contention that "in some respects the Ba'th Party of Syria today is an outgrowth" of the Partie Populaire Syrienne (p. 90).

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HISHAM SHARABI. *Neopatriarchy: A Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 196. $22.50.

The argument of this important, and even profound, extended essay is that the historical patriarchal authority structure of the Middle East has not succumbed to modernization and disappeared or even been fundamentally revised. Instead, it has adapted to change and lives on as neopatriarchy. Neopatriarchy, according to Hisham Sharabi, represents an inherited patriarchal authority that manifests itself at the level of the state and the family in the form of the attributes of modernity, while retaining the essence of patriarchy in family, clan, and religion. In the modernization process, neopatriarchy comes to exist in a dependent relationship to central capitalism, and this relationship results in economic benefits that in turn reinforce traditionality. Neopatriarchy concentrates in the petty bourgeois class where it manifests either in the "progressivism" of Arab socialist regimes or in Islamic fundamentalism. Although progressivism and fundamentalism may appear to differ in lesser and greater emphasis on religion, they both act to inhibit genuine change. Thus, for example, modernism as a model that permeates all aspects of European culture becomes in the Middle East an external fetish with the result that genuine scientific endeavor fails to take root. Imperialism in its political, cultural, and economic aspects created the conditions of surface accommodation to modernity, which in turn suffocated any possibility of a genuine modernity of authentic self-emancipation. The languages and discourse of neopatriarchy are treated to a penetrating critical discussion of the educational constraints of the cultural gap of colloquial Arabic, on the one hand, and classical Arabic, on the other. Classical Arabic as the language of the elite reinforces neopatriarchy. Even the large number of foreign-educated Arabs and their knowledge of other languages does not displace neopatriarchy because of the fetishism of their knowledge. Instead, a few Arab scholars within the region and others abroad actually engage in the kind of critical intellectualism necessary to transform patriarchy. Finally, petty bourgeois hegemony in both the progressive revolutionary and the conservative monarchical Arab states expresses itself as socialism or Islamic fundamentalism and operates to consolidate neopatriarchy. The importance of this book is its sociological suggestiveness about the modernization of tradition in the Middle East and the Third World. It is also important intellectually as an example of the kind of engaged scholarship reflective of a post-positivist social science. Its Marxist approach is well suited for this task because the author used it as a critical apparatus in order to diagnose the political and cultural ills of the Middle East. As he suggests in his conclusion, such criticism and intellectual, nonviolent contestation are

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the most important tasks to be undertaken in order to rid Arab society of the burden of neopatriarchy.

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AFRICA

PROSSER GIFFORD and WILLIAM ROGER LOUIS, editors. *Decolonization and African Independence: The Transfers of Power, 1960–1980*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xxix, 651. $50.00.

This worthy sequel to a standard work on decolonization in Africa, 1940–1960, also edited by Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis, takes the story up to 1980. The question of imperial initiative versus national struggle is a convenient point of departure for all twenty-one contributors. That issue generates steam but no great interest because the complex historical reality of shared agency is too obvious. A deeper issue addressed in this work concerns the relationship of decolonization to Africa's postcolonial economic decline and political turmoil. In a concluding chapter, Basil Davidson contends that these dismal outcomes were fated and could not have been otherwise. But the essays, as I read them, divide on just that question; all but one of them fall on one side or the other of a determinist-voluntarist divide.

This dichotomy is implicit in Crawford Young's introductory chapter on the colonial state, with particular reference to Zaire, which attempts to establish the study of decolonization on evolutionist foundations. By contrast, both Anthony Low's Africanist thesis for British Africa and Keith Panter-Brick's Europeanist interpretation of decolonization in French Africa range on the voluntarist side. Panter-Brick's analysis is noteworthy for its portrayal of Pierre Mendes-France and Edgar Faure as architects of a policy designed to "preserve rather than destroy" (p. 73) the French presence in Africa. Yet Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch's study of the transfer of economic power to the French colonies exemplifies strict determinism of the dependency genre: the belief that Africans never had any real alternative to the path that led them to economic failure. David Fieldhouse's parallel analysis of arrested development in English-speaking Africa represents a voluntaristic policy choice approach, although his argument is not far removed from pessimistic cultural determinism.

Most of the single-country historical studies are written from voluntarist standpoints. Thus, William Louis depicts the ingenuity of British strategic planners in the postwar Labour government who created a client state in Libya as part of their vain effort to preserve Britain's strategic independence from the United States. M. W. Daly attributes the long Sudanese tragedy to the expedient subordination of Sudanese priorities to the requirements of Britain's postwar relationship with Egypt. Adu Bohaen argues that Nkrumah is mainly to blame for Ghana's postcolonial economic decline, just as he is entitled to credit for a few uplifting achievements. Lansiné Kaba describes a structure of tyranny in Guinea made up of minor tyrants without whom Sékou Touré, the great tyrant, could not have ruled for so long. J. F. Ade Ajayi and A. E. Akoko stress the reality of choice in Nigeria despite the salience of formidable cultural determinants.

Boubacar Barry contributes a sophisticated, deterministic essay that portrays the leading figures of Senegalese nationalism as political agents of the Islamic religious leaders who have controlled a "peasant monoculture" on which the allegedly neocolonialist Senegalese state was reared. Marc Michel's account of the mobilization of international opinion by Togolese nationalists, operating through the United Nations, is voluntarist. Richard Joseph contends, however, from a determinist perspective on the trust territory of Cameroon, that French colonial policy could not be reconciled with a genuine movement for self-determination and independence. Nevertheless, the defeated radicals have created a political tradition that augurs well for the future of Cameroonian pluralism. Timothy C. Weiskel's dependency thesis for the Ivory Coast is erected on deterministic foundations despite an abundance of evidence presented that could be interpreted differently. Ilunga Kabongo avers that Congolese democracy was murdered in its cradle by the United States and its allies, although he still thinks, voluntaristically, that wiser actions by the Congolese leaders themselves might have made a difference. Bethwell A. Ogot and Tiyambe Zeleza artfully weave the strands of political narrative with those of scientific analysis into a cogent explanation of the transition from anticolonial nationalism to postcolonial, interest-based politics in Kenya. Their voluntaristic account is almost within sight of ideas that would resolve the apparent contradiction between economic nationalism and internationalism, which they perceptively identify.

From Aquino de Bragança, confidant of Mozambique's first president (with whom he perished in 1986), we learn that the revolutionary Armed Forces Movement in Portugal sided with Mozambiquan revolutionaries, in opposition to the diplomacy of President Spinola, on the ground that the issue of succession had been resolved "by force of arms" (p. 443). This important essay, gracefully introduced by Basil Davidson, is not classifiable into one category or the other.

Hasu H. Patel and H. H. K. Bhila find that Zimbabwe is a potential, but uncertain, exception to their determinist view of capitalist neoimperialism. Michael Crowder's voluntarist exposition of the cultural foundations of democracy in Botswana can be read as a rebuttal to ethnocentric theories of democracy that often reside in the minds of those who justify one-party dictatorships. Finally, Sam C. Nolutshungu observes that South African foreign policy is designed to identify white supremacy with capitalist values and interests. From a determinist perspective he discerns no reason to believe that the interests of capitalism and

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racism "could be uncoupled more or less voluntarily" by any "significant state in the Western alliance" (p. 501).

In his determinist conclusion, Davidson writes cryptically that in no case did the transfer of power permit a "thorough-going radical transformation through which descent into crisis might have been averted" (p. 506). This suggests that failure to include a chapter on the paradigmatic Tanzanian case is a serious omission. Moreover, the relevant analysis of Tanzania's economic decline is predicated on a voluntarist policy approach, favored by the World Bank and endorsed by Fieldhouse. Indeed, Davidson cites it as common ground for all realists.

Plainly my determinist-voluntarist interpretation of these essays is no more satisfactory than the book's own activist-passivist starting point. The crucible of testing for degrees of determinism and voluntarism, however, can reduce judgmental excess to a remainder that is relatively objective. Perhaps the subject of decolonization should be reexamined from the standpoint of historical periodization, an approach that would encompass both the intentions of the principal actors and the main characteristics of their era. Meanwhile, we must admire the authors (and the bibliographers) for their collective ascent to a commanding, though intermediate, height.

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FREDERICK COOPER. *On the African Waterfront: Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 290. $27.50.

Frederick Cooper has, as he says, an obsession with the history of the East African coast. That obsession has already resulted in two splendid books on slavery and plantation agriculture. This book treats equally effectively the history of dock labor in Mombasa from the early 1930s to the 1950s.

There were three general strikes that took place in 1939, 1947, and 1955 plus a series of lesser strikes and confrontations before, during, and after World War II. Cooper shows how the British reacted by abandoning casual labor in Mombasa after 1947 at a much faster rate than occurred in Britain itself and how they transformed that work into permanent labor paid at a considerably higher rate of pay. He also indicates how European companies eliminated work gangs contracted from local entrepreneurs and created a much more controlled workplace. Africans reacted to this process by creating trade unions and using other pressures to modify managerial control. All this, as Cooper shows, was a remarkable revolution in the organization of work among the dockers of Mombasa. The account would have benefited, however, from a fuller comparison with other dock workers on the coast between Mozambique and Somalia.

Although recognizing local circumstances, Cooper believes that the strikes and confrontations were part of a larger crisis within the European colonial empires that, in his view, occurred between the late 1930s and the early 1950s. This crisis, he thinks, commenced with the strikes and riots in Trinidad and Jamaica between 1935 and 1938 and involved the mine strikes in Northern Rhodesia (1935 and 1940), South Africa (1946), and the Gold Coast (1947), the five-month railway strike in French West Africa in 1947–48, and the general strikes in Nigeria (1945), Dakar (1946), and Dar es Salaam (1948).

Cooper sees this period as the time when the British required more production from their colonies during and immediately after the war but also realized that such increased productivity was unlikely to be forthcoming from a labor economy based on the use of large numbers of casual, unskilled, and, frequently, migrant workers. The economy had, therefore, to be transformed from an old-style imperial paternalism to a modern capitalist structure. This meant, among other matters, encouraging the creation of a permanent urban class with reasonable wages, opportunities, decent housing, and industry-specific trade unions. Particular groups such as railwaymen and dockers could hold up the colonial economy to ransom and thus needed to be converted into partners in the capitalist enterprise through mechanization, higher wages, and eventually Africanization.

The British tried, Cooper suggests, to separate welfare and labor policy from politics. To a certain extent they succeeded, for the dockworkers in Mombasa after 1955 were much less willing to participate in city-wide general strikes than were workers in 1939 and 1947. These changes, however, provoked new political crises within the colonial empire partly because they gave some Africans the experience of power and partly because in the countryside, and even in many urban areas, new ideas frequently failed. This situation in turn fueled the nationalist agitation of the 1950s and early 1960s.

Cooper thus joins the debate over the process of decolonization in Africa and challenges those who suggest that the British made their decision either independently of events in Africa itself or in advance of the rise of mass nationalism in the late 1940s. The dilemmas faced by the colonial powers in trying to exercise effective control over economic and social change are, he argues, at the root of decolonization.

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SARAH MIRZA and MARGARET STROBEL, editors and translators. *Three Swahili Women: Life Histories from Mombasa, Kenya*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 157. Cloth $25.00, paper $9.95.

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The collection of life histories is very much in vogue, but somehow the published versions always sound more like academic discourse than one might wish. Whole portions of testimony are summarized, footnotes drown out passionate and biased accounts, and, as Sarah Mirza and Margaret Strobel point out, "the agenda of the collector . . . is often easier to discern than that of the narrator herself" (p. 1). Happily, this book is different: we get three women, representing different experiences in a society composed of Arabs and Africans, descendants of slaves and freeborn people, in which Swahili ethnicity offered both hegemonic controls and ways to assert identity that were distinct from status.

Mirza and Strobel let these women speak about their lives in their own words, and the results are wonderful. The women introduce East African coastal society to us. All of the smug satisfaction and ethnic pride of Mombasa Town are forcibly brought home when Kaje wa Mwenye Matano, born in 1890 to a poor but free Mombasa man and his slave concubine, announces: "The Swahili are the kernel of Mombasa. . . . The European is a foreigner; the Indian is a stranger. . . . This is not their place" (p. 28). She does not sound all that different from Shamsha Muhamad Muhashamy, the well-educated activist daughter of elite Swahilis, who argued against interracial political alliances in the 1950s because "the Indians are foreigners. With us it's the lack of education that's making us backward" (p. 109). But it is the early life of Mishi wa Abdala, who was the granddaughter of slaves brought from Mozambique, whose freed parents converted to Christianity, and who was reared a Muslim by a rich Arab woman who fostered her, that reveals the elasticity of Swahili ethnic identity. Her later life, practicing the Central African ritual initiations that survived in Muslim Mombasa, reveals how strongly Muslim domination was mediated by the assertion of slave heritage.

These women's words offer us a vision of African society that most monographs miss. The women talk about purdah ("my job," says one [p. 51]) and dance societies ("Every place has its own rites" [p. 81]) and shop boycotts ("our war" [p. 104]) with candor and sophistication. These women are earthy ("some have buttocks like a mortar" [p. 59]), analytical ("This European sophistication brings the feeling that you and your family are enough" [p. 114]), and astute observers of law and labor. Bi Kaje vividly recalls the complexities of domestic slavery and the ambiguities with which household slaves remained in the household after abolition: "After the British had come you didn't dare to call a person a slave" (p. 40).

This is an excellent book with which to introduce students both to Africa and to life histories, and the editors and Indiana University Press are to be congratulated for an inexpensive paperback edition.

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ASIA

AINSLIE T. EMBREE, editor. *Encyclopedia of Asian History.* In four volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons or Collier Macmillan, London, for the Asia Society. 1988. Pp. xiii, 528; 538; 516; 478. $325.00 the set.

With this publication, the Asia Society has come close to the ideal in its quest "to make available the highest level of contemporary scholarship on Asia to a nonspecialist audience." This encyclopedia should be acquired by every undergraduate college or university library and by every library that serves a general readership, and it would be a useful addition to the reference collection of anyone who teaches broad courses on world, Eurasian, or Asian history.

Considerations of thematic cohesion and limitations of scale have led the sponsors and editors of this work to confine its geographical range to the still-enormous area stretching from Iran in the West to Japan, China, and Malaysia in the East and to limit the scope of its content to history as "the interaction of the political, social, intellectual, and economic movements that produce civilizations," allowing "less attention to art, religion, and literature" (p. xii). Given the vast reaches of knowledge that remain to be covered even with these territorial and topical exclusions, it is not surprising that a work of four hefty volumes contains entries on just the truly big subjects. But the selection of topics is by no means boringly conventional. Indeed, it is refreshing to see entries on subjects that are neglected in most general reference works, such as *kambun* (Chinese-style writing in Japan), and on figures of such recent importance as the late chairman of the Chinese Communist party, Hu Yaobang. There are some puzzling omissions, however, such as the ancient Chinese thinker Mozi and his school of thought.

Welcome at the end of each article are thorough cross-references and brief bibliographical citations of major English-language sources. Over three thousand articles by nearly forty contributors have been skillfully honed by the editors to an even style of clear, economical prose. The editors are to be commended for obtaining the services of such a broad range of outstanding scholars in Asian history. Most of the essays, as claimed, are written by "authorities on the topics" under examination, although there are enough exceptions to this rule to cause disappointment in the flat, uninspired quality of some expositions. The thematic articles are especially useful. For instance, the section on money is a well-balanced, well-illustrated treatment of this subject in East Asia, pre-Islamic India, Southeast Asia, the ancient Near East, and the Islamic world from prehistory to recent times. But the greatest unevenness also occurs in the thematic category. For example, the related article on mines and metallurgy is surprisingly brief and treats that subject only as it pertains to prehistoric western and central Asia, and the one on metalwork concerns solely that of Iran.

A useful feature of the end matter is a synoptic outline of the contents of this encyclopedia, which

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enables the reader to see at a glance the entries that are available in general areas of interest. Tastefully chosen photographic illustrations are sprinkled throughout. These do not compare in quality or helpfulness, however, with the numerous, large, clear, well-executed maps for which the cartographers deserve special credit.

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LEO DE HARTOG. *Genghis Khan: Conqueror of the World.* New York: St. Martin's. 1989. Pp. vii, 230. $24.95.

Leo de Hartog has written an accurate and thorough, if not ground-breaking or novel, treatment of Chinggis Khan (Genghis Khan in the popularized spelling) and his military campaigns. Accompanied by eight well-drawn and uncluttered maps, this book retells for the general reader the story of the rise of Chinggis and his campaigns of conquest throughout Eurasia in the early thirteenth century. Originally published in 1979 in Dutch, the book has been revised to incorporate much of the newer scholarship on the Mongolian empire that has come out over the past ten years.

De Hartog clearly has great admiration for Chinggis Khan as a military genius, referring to his "brilliant gifts as a general" (p. 115), and as an empire-builder, referring to Chinggis's "enormous gift for organization" (p. 147). Overall, however, the author offers a less than flattering portrait of the thirteenth-century Mongols, describing them as having "what we would regard as filthy eating habits" (p. 10), writing that "no attention was paid to hygiene" (p. 10), and adding that the Mongols were "quite unfamiliar with regular and continuous work" (p. 11). The point of view that emerges from such descriptions (descriptions that might incidentally apply to some medieval European peoples as well) is that of a detached observer standing far afield, separated by centuries and geography. This perspective contrasts with other scholars who, in their study of the Mongols past and present, have so co-mingled with their subjects that they feel completely at home with them and thus suspend critical comment. Both sorts of viewpoint have their benefits and their problems.

In this case, the author's detachment from his subject at times leads to questionable statements. For instance, to describe all Central Asian nomads as "carefree and easygoing" and the life of the nomad as devoid of "regular and continuous work" (p. 11) is to underestimate the arduous nature of pastoral livestock raising and the climatic perils that made the nomadic economy so easily disrupted. Similarly, the author displays little interest in pre-Chinggisid Mongolian social structure, writing that, before Chinggis set forth his instructions, the Mongols "had lived in utter anarchy" (p. 142).

De Hartog devotes much space to recounting the Mongols' massacres of conquered populations. This may indeed be unavoidable in a history of this period of Eurasian history. Yet de Hartog seems to read the contemporary reports of massacres fairly literally, even if he for the most part avoids giving statistics of slaughtered populations (statistics that other historians have shown must be used with extreme caution). After reading de Hartog's book, however, the general reader may wonder how any urban population at all could have survived the Mongols in this period. The suggestion by David Morgan, in his recent book *The Mongols* (1987), that their destructiveness in Persian, Russian, and Chinese territories was geographically uneven and patchy in nature would certainly explain why certain areas of Eurasia thrived economically once the campaigns of conquest were completed by the mid-thirteenth century. Although commenting that Chinggis Khan was not excessive by contemporary standards of violence (p. 143), de Hartog as a rule relies on the explanation that the Mongols' violence sprang from their "backwardness": "[u]ndoubtedly the Mongols did not kill, ravage and plunder out of sadism: they did not know any better" (p. 76).

Although specialists will wince at certain spellings of Mongolian words (for instance, *jurt* instead of "yurt" or, more correctly, *ger* for "tent" and "Yasa" instead of *jasagh* for Chinggis Khan's instructions), the author has succeeded in presenting a succinct narrative history for the general reader.

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CHARLES HARTMAN. *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1986. Pp. x, 459. $57.50.

Charles Hartman wrote his compact and tightly reasoned study of Han Yü (768–824) to complete an image left incomplete in modern scholarship. Han Yü has been studied most thoroughly by students of classical Chinese literature and therefore is appreciated most as an advocate of stylistic reform, the first notable writer to use the radical new prose style called the "literature of antiquity" (*ku-wen*). Although students of Chinese thought have taken note of Han Yü, they have not probed the depths of his ideas and do not fully appreciate his significance as a political thinker or philosopher. To the extent that Han Yü is appreciated for his contribution to Chinese thought, it is as a precursor of neo-Confucianism, which developed in the eleventh century. Hartman demonstrates in convincing fashion that this appraisal does not do justice to Han Yü as a thinker and argues that he (and others) "had in fact already worked out many of the major 'philosophical' premises that underlie the 'Neo-Confucian synthesis'" (pp. 173–74).

Hartman organizes his study around Han Yü's commitment to unity: political unity, philosophical unity, and literary unity. The most visible element in his quest for political unity was his steadfast opposition to the separatist movements that plagued the T'ang court in

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the post–An Lu-shan era. A cultural orthodoxy crafted to define what it meant to be civilized, that is, Chinese, was to underlie the political unity that he envisioned. To determine the genuine attributes of Chinese civilization, Han Yü and like-minded men engaged in what Hartman variously calls "focused eclecticism" (p. 129) and "selective eclecticism" (p. 175), in either case a survey of earlier Chinese tradition in search of a model for their era. For Han Yü, this search meant reexamining all existing records in order to formulate new cultural standards and social goals "that resulted naturally from his adherence to Confucian moral injunctions" (p. 175). But, because of his commitment to political unity, it also meant for Han Yü—normally characterized as a passionate and strident Confucian—the adoption as symbols of his political program the likes of Kuan Chung and Shang Yang, both associated with the School of Realistic Statecraft.

The most prominent expression of Han Yü's quest for philosophical unity is his innovative concept of the sage that unifies in an organic whole the inner private life and the outer public life, the pursuit of personal spiritual goals, and a career in government service. Although noting the non-Confucian elements (Mohist, Buddhist, and Taoist) in this holistic view of sagehood, Hartman places special emphasis on the inspiration that Han Yü derived from the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Great Learning*, going so far as to say that Han Yü "was probably the first to join together the *Mean* and the *Great Learning* to form an organic conception . . . of the new Confucian Sage" (p. 179). In perhaps the most lofty claim made for Han Yü in the book, Hartman says that his new conception of sagehood "was to form the intellectual basis for the spiritual and political world of Neo-Confucianism" (p. 155).

As understood by Hartman, Han Yü's vision of a new Confucian order inspired him to craft a new literary style, one that would enable him to give clear expression to his vision and that would make literary activity respectable for the new Confucian intellectual. The result was a "unity of style" marked by the identity of literature (*wen*) and the Way (*Tao*) on the theoretical level and, on the practical level, by transcendence of the distinctions between the various genres of earlier literary activity.

To the reader accustomed to thinking of Han Yü primarily as a literary reformer and at most as a precursor of eleventh-century intellectual developments, some of the claims made by Hartman may seem a bit overstated at the outset. But his masterful use of primary sources and secondary historical, biographical, literary, and philosophical material yields a compelling argument, and his image of Han Yü is convincing and reasonable. This book is essential reading not only for the T'ang specialist but for anyone interested in the unfolding story of Chinese culture in its varied aspects.

RONALD G. DIMBERG
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ANNE D. BIRDWHISTELL. *Transition to Neo-Confucianism: Shao Yung on Knowledge and Symbols of Reality*. Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 317. $37.50.

Shao Yung (1111–77), an original thinker who lived in an age of unusual intellectual ferment and creativity, has long defied easy classification and analysis. Given to expressing highly abstract ideas in charts and numbers, he has been seen as an intriguing and also a formidable figure. By providing a philosophically and sinologically informed account of his thought, Anne D. Birdwhistell's book makes a major contribution to the study of Chinese philosophy as well as intellectual history.

The subtitle reflects the focus of Shao's thought on ontology and epistemology as having equal importance. His thought as a whole is seen as constituting an "explanatory theory" (a concept developed by Stephen Graukroger and others) rather than an attempt (merely) to describe the world. The author is always sensitive to the levels of abstraction on which Shao is operating. There are careful, often original discussions of Shao's conceptual tools and implicit assumptions, new and illuminating translations of key terms, a fine discussion of the logic of correlative thinking, and numerous original comments for the reader to mull over at leisure. As in any philosophical explication, much attention is devoted to making explicit what is implicit in the text, and there is just enough metaphilosophy to do the job.

Birdwhistell has put to rest once and for all the idea that Shao was a numerologist or a mathematical astronomer. He was first and foremost a philosopher. Consequently, much of this book is about philosophy and about sagehood, for it is the attainment of perfect perception that defines Shao's sage. But this book is also about history and metahistory. Shao himself saw human affairs as constituents of reality on the level of heaven and earth. He anticipated later thinkers by understanding the classics as accounts of human affairs, and he characteristically correlated them with different historical epochs. He also had a grand vision of the pattern of time, developing a scheme of cosmic and calendrical cycles based on twelves and thirties so that, for example, one cosmic cycle equals 126,000 years. Birdwhistell, helpful as usual, follows Shao's son in pointing out that "the segmentation symbolized by numbers is more important than the calculation possible with numbers" (p. 139).

Here, as elsewhere, Shao is concerned with underlying theoretical structures, not with particular, concrete historical events. Granted that "the central question for Shao was where does one event begin and end" (p. 16) and given his views on levels of reality and moving observation points, it is noteworthy that he did not believe it necessary to indicate how his theoretical structures and patterns were to be linked to actual experience. This may stimulate the modern reader to wonder to what extent mainstream neo-Confucianism eventually filled this intellectual gap. But Birdwhistell

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wisely refrains from such speculation herself. She explicates and only rarely criticizes.

This book is also about Shao's own place in history. It is especially good at depicting him in terms of his own intellectual tradition. Although sensitive to the varied provenance of the strands of his thought, Birdwhistell places him in the tradition of learning based on the *Yi-ching* (*Book of Changes*) of the Han and intervening period, particularly the cosmological branch concerned with images and numbers. It is well to be reminded also of the importance of the *Yi Ching* to neo-Confucianism in general.

Shao was sensitive to differences in perspective provided by changes in observation points. Birdwhistell, who is also sensitive to these differences, provides an account in her penultimate chapter of how Shao was understood (and misunderstood) by contemporaries and later scholars down to the present. This is one more reason why this book deserves the close attention not only of students of neo-Confucianism but also of anyone with an interest in the history and content of Chinese thought.

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SECHIN JAGCHID and VAN JAY SYMONS. *Peace, War, and Trade along the Great Wall: Nomadic-Chinese Interaction through Two Millennia.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 266. $29.95.

When first published in Chinese in 1972, Sechin Jagchid's study was a scholarly landmark. Western and Japanese scholars were then beginning to reexamine the history of nomadic interaction with China, and the time was ripe to discard clichés about barbaric nomads and peace-loving Chinese. Now, nearly twenty years later, Jagchid and Van Jay Symons provide a condensed English version of the original work with a good new introduction.

The book remains a rich source of information. From the Chinese sources Jagchid has culled literally hundreds of examples of interaction between nomadic and settled peoples over two millennia and arranged them topically: frontier markets are treated in chapter 3; tribute and bestowals are covered in chapter 4; everything about intermarriage is in chapter 5, and so on. No one interested in the grand theme of these relations will be able to do without this volume.

Yet anyone who knows the literature will also find Jagchid's treatment dated. For him, the story of China's frontier has a single simple script. The nomads really did not want much, just a chance at open trade that let them sell their livestock and buy the grain, metal, and luxury goods that their own economy could not provide. For reasons never specified, however, the Chinese sometimes denied them this access, and the nomads were forced to fight. The nomads might be Hsiung-nu or Turks or Mongols; the Chinese might be Han or T'ang or Ming. It does not matter much. The play does not change, nor does the moral: "For a period of two thousand years, trade was the chief determinant of peace and war between the nomadic and Chinese peoples along China's northern borders" (p. 165).

The real story was far more complex. The pattern of nomadic-Chinese relations did not repeat over time; it developed. And it was not unidimensionally economic; trade was but a single dependent variable. At root these relations involved two very different kinds of states. Nomadic polities, as anthropologists Thomas Barfield and Anatoly Khazanov have argued, were based on the systematic tapping of settled wealth, sometimes by trade but as often by what amounted to armed extortion. Chinese willing to spend enough might have been able to buy peace from such neighbors (and at a lower cost, often, than war), but the payment was in effect a subsidy. Payment of such subsidies, however, conflicted with basic cultural values that in turn helped hold the Chinese kind of state together. So the relationship between the two types of polities was never straightforward. Furthermore, it evolved as each learned more about the other. Nomads grew more ambitious: first they established states beyond the frontier, then dynasties in the north, and finally states that encompassed all of China. Chinese were similarly drawn into the steppe, adopting nomadic styles of military organization, intermarrying with nomadic ruling families, and actively participating in political contests north of the border. As these processes ebbed and flowed, both participants were changed: the nomads learned how to create and manage bureaucracies; some Chinese at least learned how to play nomadic politics. Ultimately, there was convergence in the form of the late imperial Chinese state, a relatively stable amalgam that originated during the Yüan dynasty, of nomadic and Chinese elements.

Much of this story is told in books and articles to which Jagchid unfortunately does not refer. Jaroslav Prusek's work would have alerted him to the particular significance of the *hu* or horse nomads and the challenge they posed to a Chinese culture whose defining political texts had been written before their arrival. My work might have saved Jagchid from supplying a "Great Wall" for periods when it did not exist. Other gaps in the bibliography include works by John Dardess, Rafe de Crespigny, Edward L. Dreyer, Louis Hambis, and Michael Loewe. But, in judging, let us remember Jagchid's importance: his research informed and stimulated much of the work that now revises his conclusions.

ARTHUR WALDRON
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XINRU LIU. *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges, A.D. 1–600.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xxi, 231. $24.95.

Born in China in 1951, Xinru Liu never went to school. Instead, she worked as a peasant and factory hand

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during the Cultural Revolution. Yet she taught herself enough English and history to get into the University of Pennsylvania where she received a Ph.D. in 1985. Liu works at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing. It is her dissertation, with Romila Thapar's foreword, that is reviewed here.

The book contains eight chapters in three parts, six appendixes, a chronology and bibliography, seven maps, seven figures, names and words in Chinese, along with an introduction, conclusion, and index. The author first describes the Kushan state during the first three centuries A.D. and its role in the Roman empire's trade, via India and Central Asia, with China. The Chinese attempted to control warlike people, such as the Hsiung-nu, and the silk route connecting major Indian cities is discussed next.

Liu argues that, because "Buddhism was the most active religion in the Kushan state . . . and became the dominant religion in China in the period under study (first-sixth centuries A.D.), and because the transmission of Buddhism from India to China paralleled an active trade between the two countries, it would be logical to expect some connection . . . between these two developments" (p. 2). Liu finds four historical processes—long-distance trade, urbanization, developments in Buddhist theology, and the spread of Buddhism to China—that overlapped and depended on each other (pp. 21–22).

The trade items from India were largely luxury goods, for example, coral, pearls, glass vessels and beads, precious stones, lapis lazuli, incense, perfume, bdellium, costus, and myrrh. China exported mainly silk in large quantities. These luxury items were initially used by royalty and later by the aristocratic elite. Then, through active merchant participation, royal patronage, and needs of "seven treasures" in Buddhist worship as a result of the Mahayanist developments, trade flourished. Liberal donations from the royalty, elite, monks, nuns, and the laity strengthened both trade and the spread of Buddhism in China.

There was a tremendous growth in Buddhism under the Northern Wei. In A.D. 534, more than thirty thousand monasteries were registered and Buddhism, for the first time in China, was treated in a separate monograph by Wei Shou (p. 145). Political legitimacy and crises, social pressure, and spiritual need attracted all—king, elite, and masses—toward Buddhism. Although Buddhism in fifth-century India had already passed its golden age, it was just reaching its maturity in China. Buddhism in post-Han North China developed into an institution capable of surviving numerous disasters through many dynasties and, ultimately, came to survive even longer than its Indian model (p. 173).

Liu has used a rich variety of literary, archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic sources from both India and China. She has produced a solid study of luxury trade and of the spread of Buddhism to China. She writes in a straightforward manner. Her judgments are well balanced, and she throws more light than heat on the topic. Liu is a unique scholar who needs to be profusely commended for her worthy contribution to an important and neglected subject. I hope that she continues her research on the later period. I was surprised, however, not to find the works of P. C. Bagchi, Edward Conze, Charles Drekmeier, G. C. Pande, M. S. Pandey, J. P. Sharma, C. S. Upasak, and N. K. Wagle cited in the bibliography. Oxford University Press, Delhi, has done a good job of printing on poor quality paper. The binding is weak, but the book is reasonably priced.

JAGDISH P. SHARMA
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WILLIAM T. ROWE. *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796–1895*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 440. $42.50.

In the second volume of his study of Hankow, William T. Rowe sets forth a masterful analysis grounded in a wealth of empirical detail: this is social history at its best. The work is an insightful study of social actors and structures—their functions, development, and interaction—in the important nineteenth-century Yangzi River city. It culminates in a depiction of an attempted rebellion in 1883, which the complexity and nuances of Rowe's analysis enables us to understand more fully.

One of the many strengths of this study of "early modern" Hankow is Rowe's knowledgeable and incisive comparisons and references to European urban development. Rowe's firm grounding in Western social science theory and European social history coupled with his deep knowledge of Chinese society and culture has produced cogent descriptions and interpretations of the city and urban change. He clearly delineates the aspects and significance of Hankow's social space and the composition and origin of the city's population. He examines the distinctive urban *mentalité* of the city and explores the significance of class, which he considers a "fluid and situational" concept (p. 50).

More important, this work probes a number of themes that are significant for our understanding of late imperial China, one of them indicated in the subtitle. Rowe finds that, unlike European cities at a similar level of development and unexpectedly, given Hankow's "own violent and contentious society" (p. 6), the level of open conflict and social protest was low. Following Georg Simmel, he argues that conflict and community are not necessarily antithetical, that conflict indeed may play an integrating role in a community, and that it is interdependence rather than commonality that binds a community together. Rowe shows the contentions between various social actors in such episodes as the plot of 1883 and the stall keeper's riot of 1894 and as ritualized in the Dragon Boat Festival. In each case he finds the reassertion or strengthening of community and consensus based "on the interplay of subcommunal competition and cooperation, conflict and mediation" (p. 8). This interpretation of community and conflict offers a powerfully suggestive ap-

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proach for viewing Chinese communities and arenas of social action beyond Hankow. Not defined clearly in this model is the point at which conflict leads not to integration but to social disruption.

Rowe argues that local elites were in large part responsible for containing large-scale or widespread social rupture. Their "paternalistic concern" (p. 214) and their active pursuit of a social consensus enhanced the possibility of strengthening already existing community bonds. In regard to elites and community, Rowe, as throughout the book, considers the crucial implications of his interpretations; such a judicious and balanced approach is another strength of his work. Here he notes that such positive contributions as working for community consensus and providing the leadership in community services can be seen obversely as the defining and shaping of this consensus and service by elites holding a dominant cultural hegemony over society.

The relationship between state and society is a crucial theme in Rowe's treatment of the urban community. Using the provision of social services, he argues that impetus for change came mostly from society itself with the state bureaucracy playing a subsidiary role. An especially important societal initiative was the benevolent hall (*shantang*) system, which played an integrative role in the city as a whole. In this regard, Rowe's discussion of the rise of the public sphere is important. He argues that there was an "expanding sphere of collective but extragovernmental responsibility" throughout the century (p. 61), resulting from both a cyclical and a secular retreat of state initiative and a willing resourcefulness among societal forces. Rowe's thoughtful reflections on the public sphere as opposed to the governmental and private spheres in the late nineteenth century add much to our understanding of this important development.

This book points with great clarity to the nineteenth-century turning point of the Taiping rebellion: Rowe calls it the "most important watershed in [the] local history" of Hankow (p. 247). Had he chosen to organize the book chronologically, pre-Taiping and post-Taiping would have been the obvious appropriate periodization. In many, perhaps most, aspects of city life—for example, the emergence of the public sphere, social mobility, crime and self-defense, the work force, and the structure of commerce and work organization—the devastating rebellion wrought great changes. Rowe finds the city to have been affected after the rebellion by a "cultural anomie" stemming from the "new and unsettling openness" of commerce and society (p. 21).

Finally, Rowe points to the last decade of the Qing when conflict began to overwhelm the elite-led community and consensus amid the dynasty's new policies and the rise of more class-based interests. This community disaggregation may have become apparent in significant strikes, riots, and protests only in that decade, but it is clear that the unraveling of the community as it had been began with the Taiping catastrophes.

In sum, this work is a brilliant contribution to our understanding of the morphology and workings of the Chinese city with its various communities, of the relationship between state and society in the last days of the empire, and of significant social change in the last years of the Qing.

R. KEITH SCHOPPA
Valparaiso University

JANICE E. STOCKARD. *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 221. $32.50.

Until fairly recently, scholars thought that they understood the basic parameters of the Chinese family. Recent research is undermining that understanding and suggesting exciting new approaches.

Janice E. Stockard has uncovered and meticulously documented startling marriage practices in the silk-producing areas of the Canton Delta. She shows that, in many places in Sundak (Shun-te) County, the normal form of marriage was what she calls "delayed transfer marriage," a form of marriage in which the bride returned to her natal family three days after her marriage and remained there for several years before eventually taking up residence with her husband. During this interval, she periodically visited her husband's home. On her first visits, she took her own food. Only gradually did she partake of food offered by her husband's family. The nature of the sexual relationship of the couple during this interval is somewhat ambiguous, but the event that precipitated the woman moving in with her husband was frequently pregnancy. That this form of marriage existed at all is remarkable enough; that it was the dominant form is truly astonishing.

During the late nineteenth century, a variant of delayed transfer marriage developed in which a "bridedaughter" (Stockard's term for the already married woman who had not yet left her natal home) paid her husband's family a sum of money so that they might purchase for him a concubine who relieved the bridedaughter of most of the duties of wife. But the bridedaughter remained ritually tied to her spouse—after her death, she received sacrifices as his wife. The necessity of having a husband in the next world seems to have been more pressing than the need for one in this world. The practice of marrying a living woman to a dead man (spirit-marriage), known in other areas of China and usually interpreted as a practice inimical to the best interests of the woman, was regarded by women in Sundak as a highly desirable form of the institution. Indeed, families in which an unmarried man had died were besieged with offers from young women wanting to marry him. Stockard also finds sworn spinsterhood in this region.

In addition, Stockard documents the existence, again in silk-producing areas of the Canton Delta, of "girls'

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houses," where adolescent girls lived together. Among their activities was the sponsoring of a festival occurring on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month. The festival was one of the major local celebrations, and its management was entirely in the hands of these young women.

Stockard's interviews were conducted in Hong Kong a decade ago. Her informants were elderly women, reminiscing about their own marriages and those of their peers. There is a paucity of written information on delayed transfer marriage. Stockard has been able to find a few accounts in local histories but not much else. Part of this paucity can be attributed to elite disinterest in the details of peasant domestic life. But Stockard also suggests that there was a widespread awareness that the custom violated norms, and, hence, discussion of it was suppressed.

It is hard to imagine arrangements more subversive to a traditional patriarchal society than the marriage system that Stockard documents. Indeed, Stockard suggests that the origins of the system may well lie with non-Han minority peoples, although the evidence on this is sketchy. It would be interesting to know what some of the wider implications of this marriage system are for gender relations. Some of Stockard's informants do suggest that, in Sundak, female children were preferred to male children because of the particular capacity of women as wage earners in the silk industry.

This is a splendid book. It is well argued and well written. It is easily accessible to nonspecialists. Indeed, it should be read by anyone with a serious interest in the cross-cultural dimensions of marriage.

ANN WALTNER
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THOMAS G. RAWSKI. *Economic Growth in Prewar China.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xxxiii, 448. $48.00.

Thomas G. Rawski's book is a significant contribution to the literature on Chinese economic history. It contains Rawski's comprehensive new estimates of agricultural and nonagricultural production, investment, consumption, money supply, and per capita output in prewar China. Rawski also forcefully presents his revisionist view that China's economy did not stagnate or decline from 1912 to 1937 but grew significantly and with a momentum that carried it through the war years and facilitated its rapid recovery and expansion after 1949.

Rawski argues that China's prewar economic expansion was predominantly a product of domestic private market forces. The state's role was limited by its fiscal weakness. Although direct foreign economic influence was small, foreign trade played a catalytic role in China's economic expansion by exerting a demand for agricultural exports, which stimulated the commercialization of agriculture, and by introducing new goods and processes, which spurred imitation and import substitution. The impact of foreign trade was magnified by innovations in money and finance and in transport and communications, which lowered transaction costs and expanded the market. Impetus for economic growth radiated from advanced core regions of the lower Yangtze River and the Northeast to affect even remote rural areas. Far from engaging in Schumpeterian creative destruction of old forces, modern economic initiatives complemented traditional agents in producing a strong forward impetus for China's economy.

Three considerations lend strong support to Rawski's thesis, despite the often shaky data on which he based his estimates. First, Rawski makes ingenious use of indirect methods of estimation to by-pass the problems of inadequate or nonexistent statistics. Realizing that the report in John L. Buck's survey of improving rural living standards may have been the result of nonrepresentative sampling, Rawski persuasively argues for a growth in rural incomes on the basis of rising cotton consumption and industrial and mining wages, under the assumptions that the income elasticity of demand for clothing (ratio of percentage change in expenditure on clothing to percentage change in income) is significantly above unity and that industrial employers had no incentive to pay more than the minimum to attract rural workers. Second, he takes great care in adopting conservative figures so as not to exaggerate the rate of growth for the Chinese economy. Third, his numerous estimates produce a consistent picture of prewar economic expansion.

Rawski's book will stimulate further debate on a number of issues. First, was China's market structure competitive, as Rawski argues, or was it dominated by monopolistic and monopsonistic forces, as other scholars have contended? Rawski himself suggests a possible modification of his assumption, with competition characterizing the core regions and market power prevailing in the peripheries. Second, although government expenditures amounted to only a small percentage of national income, state involvement might have been critical for particular regions and times, especially if externalities of government policies are taken into account. Rawski himself points to the surprisingly high ranking of Shansi province in per capita industrial output in 1957 as a consequence of the prewar industrialization efforts of Yen Hsi-shan. The relatively strong performance of the Chinese economy during the depression years of the 1930s might have been partly the result of externalities of banking and tariff reform and government investment in transport and communications. Third, as Rawski points out, his book does not deal with the issue of income distribution by region and by class. Future research on the economies of backward regions may throw light on the degree to which economic benefits were diffused.

Students of Chinese economic history will continue to consult Rawski's book, both for its many provocative challenges to conventional wisdom and for its wealth of

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economic data and information on economic institutions and processes.

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DAVID STRAND. *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 364. $29.95.

David Strand's excellent study of urban politics in Beijing (Peking) during the 1920s marks a great advance in the study of Chinese urban history. He builds his interpretation around a detailed account of a labor dispute and an analysis of the urban sociopolitical context that produced it. The narrative traces the struggle between Beijing's rickshaw pullers and the Beijing Street Car Company. Their natural antagonism over competition for ridership began with the company's formation in 1921 and expanded when the streetcars went into operation in 1924. In October 1929 a major riot occurred in which rickshaw men disabled sixty of the company's ninety cars and halted service for two months.

Strand becomes so intent on analysis of Beijing's urban society that the narrative account of the streetcar riots themselves becomes the backdrop for his larger concerns. Strand emphasizes how urban politics of the 1920s had moved beyond norms of the late nineteenth century when merchants and guilds dominated city life. In the 1920s, new elements—for example, the numerous but unskilled rickshaw men and new foreign-derived institutions such as the police and labor unions—created a dynamic, fractious urban society. In this atmosphere of troubling change, all elements among urban residents struggled with new technology, new governmental forms, and new social configurations.

Strand's chapters on the rickshaw men and the police are probably the best in this book. In 1900, rickshaws were a new, semimodern form of transportation, but within a generation they employed sixty thousand men in Beijing. Together with their families, rickshaw men made up an estimated 20 percent of Beijing's population in the 1920s. The police also were a new instrument of urban order, replacing a melange of Manchu bannermen, gendarmeries, and neighborhood watchmen. The rickshaw men and police were often at odds, but Strand emphasizes that the police, drawing on neo-Confucian notions of authority, favored mediating roles over bureaucratic enforcement of the law.

To make his larger points about urban life, Strand is compelled to describe the complex Beijing politics of the 1920s. Inevitably, Strand finds that the convoluted strands of warlord struggles created a tangled shroud for his message of increasing urban social integration. What order Strand is able to convey from the often-impenetrable political byplay among rival heads of the Beijing Chamber of Commerce comes from employing ideas of Jürgen Habermas about "the public sphere" as advanced by Richard Sennett in *The Fall of Public Man* (1977). Following the work of William Rowe on nineteenth-century Hankow and Mary Backus Rankin on Zhejiang province, Strand adopts Habermas's conception of the emergence of a public sphere in late precapitalist Europe. Strand joins Rowe and Rankin in finding that, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in China, new forces, especially nationalism, and new social groupings created by the development of capitalism saw the creation of a "new political arena or public sphere [that] was a synthesis of old and new practices and attitudes" (p. 168).

Strand argues that, in the 1920s, the appearance of great nationalistic demonstrations in Chinese cities, especially the May 4th (1919) and the May 30th (1925) demonstrations, provided avenues for new elements, as well as for the old gentry and merchant elites, to display their commitment to civic affairs. Strand's discussion shows how labor interests developed their own voice through the nationalistic demonstrations.

Finally, he describes the efforts of the newly established Nationalist regime to further the civic culture of Beijing in 1928–29. Its goal was to create and control a citywide federation of trade unions. This federation, established in the summer of 1928, with some sixteen thousand members, was soon split by factionalism. Nationalist party leaders hoped to retain control by incorporating the rickshaw pullers unions while excluding the fractious streetcar workers union. Their efforts failed, and the streetcar riots of October 1929 were the result. Strand concludes, "The mingled atavism and modernism of the riot demonstrated the paradoxical nature of social change in the modern era: the more one resists progress, the more one becomes entangled in the advance of modern capital and modern state power" (p. 283).

Strand's complex account of Beijing politics in the 1920s is, like other accounts of local politics in China, often difficult to follow because of the wide range of personalities and considerations involved. Yet his evocation of the atmosphere and character of Beijing city life in the 1920s, so different from today, is impressive. The real accomplishment of the book, however, lies in his notions of an emerging civic culture and the contradictory play of traditional and modernist forces that permit him to present an important new interpretation of Chinese urban life in the period before the establishment of Communist rule in 1949.

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JOHN WILSON LEWIS and XUE LITAI. *China Builds the Bomb*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 329. $29.50.

In October 1964, after one of my lectures at National Taiwan University, a Chinese student from Indonesia came to me to inform on his classmates; to his horror,

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they were all delighted that the People's Republic, "the Communists," had exploded an atomic device. I warned several students of the informer in their midst and asked how they felt. They unhesitatingly manifested intense pride. Chinese scientists had produced a Chinese bomb. That pride is central to the story that John Wilson Lewis and Xue Litai tell.

China's decision to commit scarce resources to the attempt to become an atomic power had two roots. One was a widespread sense that China had to have nuclear weapons to command the respect it wanted from the international community. Without power, there was no respect; without nuclear weapons and delivery systems, there were no clear symbols of power after Hiroshima. Similarly, Chinese scientists wanted to prove that their skills were equal to those of their colleagues in the developed world.

If the primary root was nationalism, fear was a close second. In the Korean War, China had suffered enormous casualties. Chairman Mao Zedong might have preached people's war and disdained modern military technology, but China's military leaders had learned otherwise. Moreover, the Chinese perceived a military threat from the United States in the 1950s. They were profoundly troubled by American nuclear blackmail and by indications that the United States intended to sign a military alliance with Jiang Jieshi. Only a bomb of their own would protect them against the Americans. Only the ability to strike the United States would put an end to American nuclear threats.

Lewis and Xue are a little too quick to equate Chinese perceptions with the reality of American policy. Particularly questionable is their interpretation of the relationship of the Quemoy-Matsu crisis of 1954 to the U.S.–Republic of China treaty of 1955. Recent scholarship based on newly available American sources, but also on the long available papers of Wellington Koo, indicates American reluctance to sign the treaty, based on mistrust of Jiang. Had Mao not overplayed his hand, negotiations between Taipei and Washington might never have culminated in a treaty.

Throughout this book, Mao plays a role almost like Ronald Reagan's, demonstrating minimal understanding of the strategic implications of the decision to build the bomb and the ensuing successes. From time to time he offered Delphic pronouncements that Zhou Enlai and Marshall Nie Rongzhen, the hero of the effort, attempted to interpret sensibly. For better or worse, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution demonstrated that Mao could do more damage to his people than Reagan appears to have done to his.

Lewis and Xue do a marvelous job of conveying the enormity of the task that the Chinese confronted—the problems of finding the necessary resources, both material and human, of reaching the necessary standards of quality control, so alien to the people of developing countries, of surviving Mao's mass movements. In 1960, famine swept the country and hit especially hard the remote areas where the bomb was being developed. Workers lived on elm leaves and foraged for wild plants. And then there was the mess caused by the abrupt Soviet withdrawal. Soviet assistance had been vital, but Soviet personnel had been contemptuous of their Chinese colleagues and withheld essential information. Fortunately, the Soviets were careless about shredding the material they left behind, and the Chinese succeeded in piecing together the necessary bits.

Perhaps only those of us who have lived and worked in China, or another poor, developing country, will be impressed by the accomplishment. But anyone who reads this book will recognize Nie Rongzhen's Herculean performance.

WARREN I. COHEN
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HELEN F. SIU. *Agents and Victims in South China: Accomplices in Rural Revolution.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xxiv, 378. $37.50.

This sweeping historical analysis examines the economic and political transformation of a Chinese county during the past fifty years. It combines unique insights from difficult fieldwork (conducted over a ten-year period that produced rare diachronic evidence from interviews and observations) with skilled use of county archives, local gazetteers, and lineage genealogies. Helen F. Siu uses her findings to address important theoretical questions about modern Chinese politics and social history. Moreover, since her ultimate concern is with the nature of cultural and political hegemony in peasant societies and the ways in which the ruled conspired in creating the conditions of their own domination, her study will capture a broad interdisciplinary audience beyond the China field.

Siu re-poses the historical question: to what extent and how has China's rural society been changed by Communist rule? She marks fundamental change in two arenas: first, in the growing isolation of the local community from complex economic, religious, and kinship ties that linked the villages of late imperial times; and second, in the role of the local cadre as a broker mediating between an autarkic local administrative unit and the state. Communist cadres, she argues, do not resemble the degree-holding "gentry" of old, with whom they are often compared. Far from being Janus-faced like the gentry—beholden to a local constituency as well as to the government—communist cadres have been utterly dependent on the party-dominated state. One reason for this, Siu suggests, is that cadres have no access to the complex local structures that once gave the gentry weight in a delicate balance of power between center and locality that was a hallmark of late imperial society.

This shift and its consequences are the fascinating subject of Siu's densely constructed narrative describing the Huancheng commune in Xinhui county, not far from the city of Canton. The author's modern history of Huancheng presses arguments by other social scien-

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tists and historians—William Parish, Martin Whyte, G. William Skinner, and especially Prasenjit Duara—who have stressed the demise of transvillage bonds under Communist rule. Siu's work expands Duara's in two respects. Her evidence from Xinhui confirms that the Republican governments (1911–49) took a crucial step toward redefining the nature of state-society relations, a process both Siu and Duara term "state involution." As in the north China villages studied by Duara, Republican rule in Xinhui county created a new class of political brokers operating outside the established arenas of kinship, religiosity, and marketing. Siu also shares with Duara a conception of late imperial cultural hegemony constructed from overlapping lineage ties, religious beliefs and organizations, and claims on land and water use.

But Siu goes beyond previous research in the scope of her study. Her meticulously documented chronological analysis reaches back to the Ming-Qing period (as early as the fifteenth century) and forward through the early 1980s when China's well-known economic reforms were implemented. She is the first to examine fully a transition that scholars have hitherto addressed only in piecemeal fashion. Beginning with the reclamation of "the sands" that formed the basis of Xinhui's political economy in Ming and Qing times, she follows local residents into the "involuted" state system of the Maoist era. Her account of contemporary Huancheng, focused on the cadres themselves, argues that successful cadres might lead political campaigns or economic programs but that they were in the end forced by state policies to ignore the resulting conflicts and interests that emerged among their own constituents. Caught "between peasants and party" (p. 294) and lacking an economic or political base of their own in local society, cadres became both agents and victims, as Siu puts it, in the making of a new popular morality and a new state system.

Siu's historical perspective ironically causes late imperial society (Sun Yatsen's world of "loose sand") to appear unfamiliar by making it seem remarkably pluralistic and complexly organized. By her account, Maoist China stands in stark contrast: a society dominated by a single monolithic structure, the party-state. Nor does Siu expect that the new reforms will restore "multiple bases of power" from the past. Post-Mao Chinese, she observes, entertain merely nostalgic memories of their cultural history. Land reform, collectivization, and communization have produced insularity and alienation where a vigorous community culture once flourished. Siu thus discounts the potential for resistance and doubts the vitality of revived traditions—for example, religious fetes—in local communities under Communist rule. Here she may encounter disagreement from other scholars.

Siu's empathic identification with her subject is frank, and her narrative is often poignant. In her effort to keep many levels of analysis simultaneously in the foreground, she sometimes overwrites. Nonetheless, she has produced a compelling reconstruction of what Joseph Levenson once called "Confucian China's modern fate."

SUSAN MANN
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RICHARD CURT KRAUS. *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 288. $36.00.

What can historians learn from a political scientist writing about music? From the evidence of this book, they can learn plenty, perhaps even more than from musicologists or fellow social scientists and China watchers.

The book covers the introduction of Western classical music to China over the last few centuries. It is mainly concerned with the social history of that music's connection to China's new bourgeoisie and the political and cultural tensions arising from that association.

In that sense, Richard Curt Kraus provides rich, and unique, material for historians of China's long revolutionary process as he explores the intricacies of changing Communist party cultural policy and the intimate details of factional infighting as revealed in the world of music. But this is not just a book for China specialists. The broad themes that Kraus discusses—musical acculturation as part of Western imperialist expansion, the precarious position of Westernized urban elites in largely indifferent or hostile native cultures, the tensions between modernizing cosmopolitanism and populist nationalism—are of almost universal significance in the world-wide process of spreading Western power, technology, and culture.

China is rather large, and unique, to be taken just as a "case history" in this general process, but historians of modernization (or "Westernization") elsewhere will find many important insights here. So will social and cultural historians interested in the rise of "bourgeois" music in the West as they see it acquire similar, yet different, meaning in another historical context.

This, then, is a book for comparative historians, or even world historians, as well as China specialists. There are no statistical tables, models, or paradigms, but there is plenty of rich historical detail, particularly in four lively biographical sketches. One is of the venerated Communist composer Xian Xinghai (1905–45), the others of a trio of piano prodigies—Fou Ts'ong, Yin Chengzong, and Liu Shikun—all of whom received great acclaim in the People's Republic for winning prizes in prestigious international competitions but whose subsequent careers were bent and reshaped by the tortuous twists of Chinese politics over the last twenty years.

These four extremely dramatic lives alleviate the tedium that can sometimes come from following Chinese Communist cultural policy through the tightly censored and highly propagandistic official sources.

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Certainly this is not a tedious book, although, as Kraus himself admits, some of the liveliness comes from using the kind of gossipy hearsay that abounds among Chinese intellectuals and in the Hong Kong press. But none of this affects the book's central arguments.

Personally, I had more problems with a sometimes shrill and argumentative tone (for example, overuse of the terms "racism" and "imperialism"), especially in the last chapter. That chapter, felicitously titled "The Power of Music, The Music of Power," attempts both to recapitulate Kraus's major themes and to extend discussion of them into the late 1980s. I thought it less successful than the rest of the book, partly because he had already fully orchestrated those themes earlier, partly because inclusion of the 1980s makes his exclusion of Western popular music even more problematic for a discussion of Chinese and Western cultural interaction.

But this is quibbling when compared to the book's originality, scope, and importance. For enhancing our understanding of the patterns of cultural interaction in an increasingly global history, historians can only be grateful to Kraus.

RALPH CROIZIER
University of Victoria

JAMES C. DOBBINS. *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan*. (Religion in Asia and Africa Series.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 242. $35.00.

This book examines the development of the "True Pure Land School" (Jōdo Shinshū) of Buddhism in Japan in the three-hundred-year period between Shinran (1173–1262), its founder, and Rennyo (1415–99), under whose leadership it became one of the largest and most powerful institutions in the country. In this short study (161 pages of text), James C. Dobbins examines the teachings of Hōnen, Shinran's teacher; the life and teachings of Shinran; the early history of the Shin school and its scriptures; the establishment of the main Shinshū temple (Honganji); Shinshū's relations with other schools of Buddhism; the branches of the Shin school and the differences among them; and, finally, the teachings and activities of Rennyo.

Although the book adds little to our understanding of the history of the Shin school as it is presented in many studies in Japanese, it does provide non-Japanese readers with a one-volume account of the establishment of what is still the largest school of Buddhism in Japan. Dobbins's study is nicely lean and trim, it was carefully and well researched, and it contains admirably few errors.

There are, however, a number of problems with the book, which, in a review of this length, can only be pointed out. First, Dobbins adopts a "gradualist viewpoint" according to which the mature Shin school was the fruit of an "evolutionary process" (pp. 1–2). Historiographically this approach is problematic: the process was a more fractured and disjointed one than Dobbins implies and portrays, as the Shin community was transformed from an egalitarian assembly of "companions" (*dōbō*) of Shinran to a hierarchical, authoritative organization under Rennyo and a number of his twenty-seven children.

Second, Dobbins examines the development of the Shin school in the context of an "orthodoxy and heresy . . . conceptual framework" (p. 8). There are problems with applying that paradigm to medieval Japan. Thus, the book is largely a history of Shin theology, and in places it has the tone of a Shinshū apologetic. For example, Dobbins notes the idiosyncratic character of Shinran's views (p. 34): "Shinran often had to redefine the grammatical function of words" (read: *he rewrote the Buddhist scriptures in* order to derive the meanings he had in mind), but Dobbins tends to play this point down. The development of the Shin school is portrayed as an extended exercise in interpreting Shinran's teachings, especially his notion of faith and its antinomian implications (at least to some of his followers). The reader receives the impression that it is primarily ideas that drive the historical engine.

Third, Dobbins pays insufficient attention to the fact that the Shin school arose in an age in which Japanese society was undergoing major sociopolitical and economic changes, and he does not analyze adequately the relation between those changes and the rise and character of Shinshū. The politically revolutionary implications of Shinran's teachings are also treated only cursorily. For instance, Shinran's rejection of worship of *kami* (divinities) is treated mainly as a theological issue, yet, because the *kami* were the main symbolic supports of the prevailing disposition of power and privilege, to reject them was to reject that way of constructing and organizing the world. Dobbins's approach makes it difficult to understand why the Shin school was persecuted both by other schools of Buddhism and by the civil authorities.

Fourth, the main Shin teachings are portrayed as almost exclusively concerned with rebirth in the Pure Land, which, in Dobbins's interpretation, is a postmortem, other-worldly refuge. The here-and-now attainability of the Pure Land is mentioned once or twice ("From the moment that faith arises in the believer . . . , birth in Pure Land becomes an immediate reality" [p. 105]), but this belief and its implications are generally disregarded. It is hard to imagine that huge numbers of (mostly) peasants joined the Shin school because of its views on the afterlife.

This book is a good representative of one set of interpretations of medieval Japanese religions. No doubt it will be used widely in university courses, for no other study in English of the True Pure Land School of Buddhism rivals it. Perhaps Dobbins's book might serve as the occasion for addressing some of the problems that plague our treatment of the Japanese religious traditions.

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University of Toronto

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CONRAD TOTMAN. *The Green Archipelago: Forestry in Preindustrial Japan.* (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 297. $35.00.

Although Japan is estimated to have at best 15 to 16 percent of arable land because of mountainous terrain, the study of its forests has long suffered from academic neglect, particularly by Western scholars. This is the first book in English on the history of the relation of the Japanese to their forests and the attempt to redress the imbalance in work on the Japanese relationship to the environment, which to date has focused primarily on agriculture and secondarily on fishing.

Conrad Totman starts with the premise that "Japan today should be an impoverished, slum-ridden, peasant society subsisting on a barren, eroded moonscape. . . . Instead it is a highly industrialized society living in a luxuriantly green realm" (p. 1). His purpose is to determine why the Japanese "have done less to ravage their land . . . than many other societies" (p. 1). As a historian, Totman's examination of forestry "focuses on human interaction with the environment" (p. xii). His history is chronological with a millennium of "exploitation" from approximately 600 to 1670 in part 1 and the emergence of regenerative forestry during the seventeenth century in part 2.

Because Totman has always been interested in larger historical questions, he attempts wherever possible to analyze forestry in Japan in the context of Japanese history. He relates developments in the history of forests to population change, politics, the economy, society, technology, and the development of silviculture (the development and care of forests). Although part 1 contains a considerable amount of historical speculation, necessitated by the dearth of materials particularly on the earliest periods covered, part 2 is notable for its wealth of detail on everything from government regulation to the economics of silviculture and forestry techniques.

This book's main fault is also its major asset: the wealth of detail on seemingly every related subject that Totman could find. The work is encyclopedic, and readers not primarily interested in forest management and its politics will find it slow moving. But, because it is the first book on its subject, the detail is useful, and historians will find that this book will serve as a source for other research on premodern Japan. The history of how the Japanese have treated their forests sheds light on changes in political control, refines our understanding of Japan's economic history, and provides clues to changes in Japanese lifestyles such as in architecture and cooking methods. I think the strength shown by various levels of government in the Tokugawa period (1600–1867) in terms of control over forests must make us reconsider the power wielded by government during this period. The attention has too long been focused on the waning strengths of this regime with the goal of understanding why it fell so quickly in 1867. Totman's work makes it clear that this regime was very powerful as demonstrated by the authority at various levels that made the regeneration of the forests possible.

Unfortunately, I do not think that this study bears out Totman's larger purpose: to try to stop human beings from ravaging our planet. Totman himself admits that it would be "misleading" to attribute "the rich forests of contemporary Japan . . . directly to pre-twentieth-century policies" (p. 6). And it is ironic that a country that retained its forest cover—even if not in original forests—today is responsible for denuding large tracts of other Asian lands such as Borneo in order to feed its construction industry. But Totman may provide the key in the end, for he concludes that the Japanese made the transition from exploitation to regenerative forestry because the benefits "substantially outweighed the costs" (p. 190).

Researchers will find this book useful for its detailed footnotes, maps, a bibliographical essay on "Scholarship on Preindustrial Japanese Forestry, 1880–1980," glossaries, and a bibliography. Although many may not read every page in this work, Totman's study should in no way be ignored either by historians of Japan or those of other societies.

SUSAN B. HANLEY
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CHUHEI SUGIYAMA and HIROSHI MIZUTA, editors. *Enlightenment and Beyond: Political Economy Comes to Japan.* Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1988. Pp. xi, 334. $69.50.

Readers of this book must be prepared to confront significant obstacles of organization and format; nevertheless, they will find their efforts rewarding. This book deals with an important, interesting, and timely subject, namely, the growth of political economy in Japan during the Meiji period (1868–1912). It presents information that enables readers with interests in current Japanese economic and business affairs to put them into a proper historical perspective. It sheds light on how ideas and institutions developed in one culture or society are accepted by and function in another. And last but not least, it introduces readers to Japanese intellectuals' views of what have typically been thought of as "Western" historical issues, for example, the Irish economic crisis of the mid-nineteenth century.

Certain Tokugawa writers (1600–1867) were interested in political economy, but major developments only occurred in the Meiji period of relative Westernization. The subject was considered crucial by many officials and intellectuals because of its importance for economic growth and its connection through jurisprudence and law with Japan's relentless campaign to eliminate the "Unequal Treaties" imposed on it by major Western powers in the 1850s. This campaign, which required wholesale reform of the country's legal and constitutional systems, succeeded by 1900, and full

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recovery of tariff autonomy in 1911 enabled Japan fully to set its own course in economic policy. A broad range of Western writings became available through translation, and conflicts between adherents of the British classical school and the German historical school enlivened both public and private discussions of political economy.

In order to develop political economy, Japanese opinion leaders and officials established schools (in law, commerce, and general education), founded journals, and offered lectures to members of the business community and general population. These efforts were considered so important in the 1880s that government offices and larger firms dismissed their employees at 3:00 P.M. daily so that they could attend appropriate lectures and seminars. Indeed, such lecture attendance illustrates an aspect of Japanese business culture that has continued to the present: the reliance on book learning as a recipe for success. It was not a post-1945 development for the Japanese to argue that human resources could offset meager local endowments of mineral resources. The contributors point out that Fukuzawa Yukichi, Meiji Japan's single most influential writer, made this point in about 1869.

Because the book is a conference volume of sixteen essays by nine different authors (seven Japanese and two British nationals), it lacks the stylistic unity and intellectual clarity of a single authored monograph and frequently presents a disjointed picture of the developments it seeks to describe and explain. It often paints a confusing picture of the growth of institutions, especially of the school known today as Hitotsubashi University. And some authors, in seeking to describe intellectual developments in political economy, too often resort to listing titles of books read or used as texts at particular schools, tacitly assuming that the significance of their use will be clear to all readers. Despite these shortcomings, the book is worthy of careful scrutiny not only by historians and economists but also by patient readers who wonder how Japan has become so rich. Those who take the trouble to read it carefully will be reminded once again that many elements in the country's success far antedate the present postwar era.

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Ohio State University

ANDREW E. BARSHAY. *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan: The Public Man in Crisis*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xx, 315. $38.00.

Andrew E. Barshay's book is an introduction to a study that Barshay proposes to write in the future. As such, it is long on promises and possibilities and short on delivery. Delivered are truncated versions of biographies of Nanbara Shigeru (1889–1974) and Hasegawa Nyozekan (1875–1969). Promised is a full-scale study of Maruyama Masao (b. 1914), the eminent political theorist of contemporary Japan. Nanbara and Hasegawa were chosen because they exerted formative influences on Maruyama, Nanbara as Maruyama's teacher in the Faculty of Law of Tokyo Imperial University and Hasegawa as his father's colleague in journalism who visited Maruyama's parents when he was growing up. The lives and thoughts of these men are examined up to 1945 not only because it was the year of Japan's defeat in World War II but also because Maruyama reached intellectual maturity about this time.

But for Maruyama's unifying presence, Nanbara and Hasegawa are good candidates for a study in contrast. Nanbara was a liberal political philosopher of a highly conservative bent with a career in the prewar Home Ministry. After the war, he served with distinction as the president of Tokyo University, formerly Tokyo Imperial University. Hasegawa was a journalist who had no formal relationship with the academic world of Nanbara's caliber but became the dean of modern Japanese journalism through varied professional associations including collaboration with Marxists in their prewar heyday.

To bring such intellectually and professionally diverse subjects under the same analytical umbrella, Barshay presents, beside Maruyama, the concept of "the public men." These were "intellectual specialists [who] sought to interpret and guide the development of the public sphere, of public discourse, in imperial Japan" (p. 14). They were Westernized men of prewar Japan who earned their status by purveying Western ideas to enlighten the public. Their activities were "legitimative" (p. 19); if they ever seemed like "heretics," they did not become so by intent (p. 15). Barshay's definition permits the inclusion, among the public men, of Kishi Nobusuke, the prewar elite bureaucrat who is not normally considered an intellectual, yet it excludes Noro Eitarō, the brilliant Marxist economist who was a member of the Japanese Communist party.

To these public men, and not to heretics, Barshay also applies an insider-outsider dichotomy. The basic criteria are not occupation and organizational affiliation. Insiders belong to "large organizations and occupy . . . upper-level positions within them" (p. 13) and enjoy "social approbation" (p. 12) as well as security of employment. Outsiders "work in small scale, or socially suspect, organizations" (p. 13) that provide less employment security. Bureaucrats in the central government rank highest among insiders, while free-lance journalists and labor union organizers come close to the bottom of the hierarchy. But outsiders no less than insiders accept as public men the basic legitimacy of the system of rule under which they live.

The "legitimative" bias of Barshay's public men arises from the meaning of the term "public." "Public" is the standard modern English translation of the Japanese term *kō*, or *ōyake*, but, as Barshay learns, in premodern times it meant the "governing authority" first of the sovereign and court aristocrats and later of the *shōgun* and *daimyō* (p. 5). The premodern meaning,

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Barshay argues, was transmuted into the "governing authority of bureaucracy and bureaucrats" in the prewar language of politics.

Barshay built the above model apparently in an attempt to develop a paradigm to explain the state of Japanese intellectuals in general in the prewar period. In this book, he applies the model to Nanbara and Hasegawa in particular. Nanbara, a bureaucrat working at either the Home Ministry or the government university, was a public man of an insider status in the prewar Japanese sense, while Hasegawa, addressing public issues as a powerful outsider, possessed the quality of a public man in the word's English meaning as well.

Barshay's work is a mixed success. Problems arise partly because he ignores the fact that, in the prewar Japanese legal system, the only legitimate *kō*, or "public," was the emperor; the term *kōfu*, signifying promulgation of laws and decrees, was used exclusively when the emperor himself acted on them or when they bore his name. This means that Barshay's *kō* as "governing authority of bureaucracy and bureaucrats" was theoretically derivative. Implications are significant. For example, both as an official of a government ministry and as a professor of an imperial university, Nanbara exercised the emperor's authority and, for this reason, was responsible to the emperor. If before and during the war, Nanbara appeared to act in an extremely circumscribed manner, as he does to me, is not the derivative nature of a bureaucrat's authority an explanation for the behavior of so conscientious a man as Nanbara?

Another problem is that the insider-outsider statuses were continuous and minutely stratified. Like radio waves, the line between the two spheres was difficult to determine. In fact, even Nanbara was at times an outsider while remaining a bureaucrat personally appointed by the emperor.

In conclusion, let it be emphasized that, invaluable as Maruyama is for Japanese studies, both Nanbara and Hasegawa deserve scholarly attention in their own right. Viewed apart from Maruyama, Nanbara's role as a postwar academic statesman was probably more important to Japan than his role as an intellectual in the fascist crisis. As for Hasegawa, his life and thought can cast light on almost the entire intellectual history of modern Japan. I look forward to seeing in print not only Barshay's study of Maruyama but also books that do justice to the two men that he looked at. In addition, I hope that in future publications Barshay will pay more attention to his prose, making it appear less hurried and using far fewer parentheses as an explanatory device.

ATSUKO HIRAI
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PETER WILLIAMS and DAVID WALLACE. *Unit 731: Japan's Secret Biological Warfare in World War II*. New York: Free Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 303. $22.95.

This rambling, overwritten narrative mixes anecdotes, reportage, and speculation in order to recount Japan's experiments in biological warfare during World War II and subsequent denials by the American and British governments that such experiments had ever taken place. Peter Williams and David Wallace rely partly on newly available documents, on interviews with Japanese participants and researchers, and mainly on information that has long been available. The result is the most complete English-language account thus far about Japan's atrocities involving biological warfare experiments on human subjects.

Part 1 chronicles the activities of a biological research unit founded near Harbin in northern Manchuria in 1932 by Ishii Shirō, a Japanese army medical doctor. By 1936 it had been renamed Unit 731 and had grown to a thousand-person army detachment, some of whom secretly began to develop bombs carrying plague-infested fleas to be dropped on enemy troops. The unit carried out a flea raid on Chinese soldiers at Ningpo in late 1940, apparently leading to ninety-nine deaths; other experimental attacks with biological agents took place against Chinese forces in 1941–42 (some specialists believe that hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians died in these assaults).

The authors report that Unit 731 also secretly tested the effects of epidemic diseases, mustard gas, and cyanide beginning in mid-1938 on White and Red Russian as well as Chinese prisoners at a new facility in Pingfan, Manchuria. Malnutrition, limb-freezing, and vivisection experiments are detailed here as well. The book also relates how certain British and American prisoners of war were subjected to biological warfare experiments at a detention camp near Mukden, although as recently as 1986 the British Ministry of Defense continued to deny having any evidence on the subject. Williams and Wallace quote a Strategic Air Command report to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in March 1956 that confirmed that the United States knew of the experiments on prisoners of war almost as soon as the conflict was over.

For their account of Unit 731's operations, the authors rely extensively on an English-language volume issued by the Soviet Union in 1950 following the conviction of twelve captured Japanese army medical researchers at a trial held the previous year at Khabarovsk. Williams and Wallace argue that "the trial at Khabarovsk has for thirty-five years been dismissed in the West as an exercise in propaganda. Yet the evidence recorded there was, we now know, accurate in most details" (p. 230). Unfortunately, the authors' documentation, which is occasionally confusing and marred by factual errors, does not (and perhaps cannot) offer enough independent verification on certain crucial points to corroborate the Soviet account.

Part 2 examines the U.S. decision not to prosecute Lieutenant General Ishii or others involved in the experiments at the Tokyo war crimes trials. "There is no question," the authors write, "that the American

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government corrupted the workings of the Tokyo trial by offering [an] immunity deal in exchange for the scientific data acquired by Unit 731" (p. 235). When the Americans agreed shortly after Japan surrendered not to seek indictments, they apparently were not yet aware that human guinea pigs had been used. General Douglas MacArthur, supreme Allied commander in occupied Japan, ordered the prosecution to "keep quiet about human experiments" (p. 138) when they became known. Press reports about Japanese experiments on Allied prisoners in Manchuria began to appear in January 1946 but were met with denials from the U.S. War Department. Even when the Soviets offered evidence about Unit 731, the prosecutors said they could not clearly link any of the accused with the biological warfare experiments. Officials in Washington, London, and Tokyo have been reluctant to discuss the atrocities and the reasons for hushing them up ever since.

Some readers may be annoyed by the authors' unruly, often hugger-mugger prose style or by their frequent (and clearly labeled) indulgence in imaginative but undocumentable speculation about what authorities knew and about individuals' motives and thought processes. But all historians will be curious to know why a chapter on charges that the United States used biological warfare in the Korean War, contained in the British edition of this book (*Unit 731: The Japanese Army's Secret of Secrets* [1989]), was omitted from the Free Press version.

THOMAS R. H. HAVENS
Connecticut College

THEODORE C. BESTOR. *Neighborhood Tokyo*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 347. $35.00.

This engaging ethnographic study of Miyamoto-chō, an urban neighborhood just outside the center of Tokyo, asks an intriguing historical question: Does the past account for the kinds of traditional social organization observed in contemporary Japan? If it does, Miyamoto-chō is a good example of the persistence of traditional forms of behavior in an urbanized advanced industrial society. Theodore C. Bestor's first chapter leads us to believe that this is the case. He describes a compact and densely populated urban neighborhood, its houses and apartment buildings squashed together, punctuated with occasional small factories, interwoven with a dense network of narrow alleys, and centered on a two-block shopping street containing about sixty businesses ranging from a rice dealer to an abacus school. In later chapters he describes first the political organization of the association (*chōkai*) that operates a recycling program and carries out projects such as crime prevention, disaster preparedness, and traffic safety and then the organization of the annual festival centered on the neighborhood shrine. Thus, Miyamoto-chō seems to be the prototypical urban village.

Yet, as Bestor argues, this initial impression is deceptive. Miyamoto-chō is not the urbanized remnant of a preindustrial village but a neighborhood newly created in the early 1920s as a consequence of Tokyo's explosive growth. Moreover, it is one that is not officially acknowledged in the administrative hierarchy of urban places and thus must continually defend its boundaries against the attempts of government bureaucrats to dissolve it into larger administrative units. Finally, only about 2 percent of the households currently in Miyamoto-chō predate 1920, and perhaps a quarter of them were established in the five years preceding Bestor's fieldwork from 1979 to 1981. Thus, this urban neighborhood is not an autochthonous entity but something that is continually being re-created both through the overlapping social ties of those who live and work in it and by the symbols of traditional behavior that they appropriate to identify it. Bestor explores the conflicts within the neighborhood between the younger and older generations of leaders and between the egalitarian ideology and the actual hierarchical structure of local offices. He also notes the considerable competition between neighborhoods as business districts and, centering on the festivals, as social ones. Thus, this book both explores an important theoretical issue and gives us a detailed portrait of the lives of the merchants, petty industrialists, and artisans who make up the "old middle class."

Initially I had planned to criticize this work on the grounds that Bestor ignores the majority of households in the neighborhood, those that do not participate in the activities of the neighborhood association. They include not only transient but especially white-collar workers in large bureaucratic organizations who constitute the "new middle class." In the concluding chapter, however, Bestor deals both with this problem and with that of explaining why local shopkeepers choose the traditional symbols that they do. He argues that the "old middle class" mitigates its low status in the current occupational hierarchy by creating a separate world that it can control, one identified by symbols of high rank imported from the past. This argument deserves fuller treatment because it touches on the rarely examined topic of class differences in contemporary Japan.

Those who are unfamiliar with how anthropologists obtain the data to substantiate their arguments will also derive insight from this volume, for throughout Bestor includes himself both as an inquiring observer and as the subject and object of neighborhood discourse. This self-reflective approach is illuminating because it avoids both the suspicion of the ethnographer's role, inherent in much recent criticism of anthropological method, and the deliberate concealment of their presence practiced by earlier scholars. Readers will also find in this book several fine photographs and an excellent bibliography that will lead them to sources on urban life in Japan, both well known and obscure. Finally, the book is a pleasure to read, which should make it attractive

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even to readers with no professional interest in the topic.

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MICHAEL EDSON ROBINSON. *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920–1925*. (Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1988. Pp. x, 217. $25.00.

This book is an important contribution to the current reinterpretation of the history of modern Korea under Japanese colonial rule (1910–45). Not since Chong Sik Lee's *Politics of Korean Nationalism* (1965) has there been such an in-depth study in English of the ideological subcurrents of that period. Michael Edson Robinson's work is important to world history because it shows that the Left-Right struggle in Korea originated long before Korea became a battleground for Soviet-American rivalry, and it is important to Korean studies because it demonstrates the depth of the differences in ideologies that drive the rival regimes of North and South. The result is clearer insight into why Koreans disagree so vigorously and even violently as they practice politics in the South and a sense of how much settling of scores will have to attend any effort to reunite the Korean people, if they can be reunited at all.

Robinson starts out with a quick review of turn-of-the-century reform efforts and then skips ahead to the early 1920s, where he focuses on two groups of Koreans reacting against Japanese rule—the "cultural nationalists" and the "radical nationalists." The cultural nationalists, seeing that political action had failed in 1919, were resigned to enduring colonial rule for the time being, until the Korean people could be educated into a state of national consciousness. Members of this group were often persons from privileged, property-owning classes in Korea, exactly the class targeted by the Japanese for cooptation after 1919. Using Yi Kwangsu's "Treatise on the Reconstruction of the Nation" ("Minjok kaejoron," in *Kaebyŏk* [May 1922]), among other works, Robinson shows that the cultural nationalists thought that their own people were too ignorant to create a modern nation. Before they could be entrusted with anything like participation in a democracy, they had to be given education and national consciousness. Assuming the role of teachers, therefore, the cultural nationalists set about promoting Korean tradition, defining it in terms of language, history, and values. Through newly founded journals, which the Japanese permitted them to publish, they reexamined Korea's past, its Confucian tradition, its relations with neighbors, and the challenges of new ideas from the West. This literature raised questions about "being Korean" and sparked a debate about the purpose and meaning of Korean independence. If Korea was intended to be free, was freedom to be only for the elites? And, if the elites were those who had published with Japanese approval, engaged in business with Japanese subsidies, or taught or preached under Japanese surveillance, could they really claim to be leaders of independence?

Such was the essence of the radical nationalists' critique of the cultural nationalists. The radicals were inspired by the ideals of the Russian revolution and sought a more assertive movement. Following leftist themes popular in China and Japan, the Korean radicals saw their society in terms of historical materialism and began to think of their business, landholding, and scholar elites as handmaidens of the Japanese. Although there was a short-lived united front in the late 1920s, the radicals eventually parted company with the cultural nationalists and then were driven underground. In the meantime, however, they helped create class alienations that boiled over in the 1940s, when Korea finally was freed from Japanese rule. Robinson shows that the issue was differing visions of "Korea" at the time—the "imagined community," to use Benedict Anderson's term.

In South Korea, the cultural nationalists have always claimed the independence movement of 1919 for themselves, touting it as the single fount of modern political legitimacy. In this book, Robinson demonstrates that it spawned conflicting visions of Korean nationhood. Through the writings and activities of people with differing views of the community, he shows that the struggle was not only against the Japanese but also among Koreans themselves for ownership of the movement. The Korean nation, destroyed by the Japanese annexation in 1910, had to be reconstructed—by the United States and the Soviet Union, as it turned out—in the late 1940s. Robinson's study helps us understand the climate that developed in Korea under the Japanese and why, after Liberation, the Koreans themselves seemed to split so readily along cold war lines.

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RANAJIT GUHA and GAYATRI CHAKRAVORTY SPIVAK, editors. *Selected Subaltern Studies*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 434. $9.95.

We are told by Edward Said in the foreword to this collection of essays and in the long introduction by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak that the scholarship represented here is a significant intervention in the postcolonial, postindependence, post-Marxist, poststructural, and postmodern intellectual world in which we find ourselves. With due regard to Said himself, it is also, at its best, significant postorientalist scholarship. Said, in a brief six pages, does a respectable job on the unfamiliar turf of Indian history in defining these relationships for the "general Anglo-American audience" (p. x), for whom this book is apparently intended. Spivak's essay,

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"Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," which can only have been intended for the committed critical theorist or for those familiar with the jargon and literary style of critical theory, is a slightly revised version of her contribution to *Subaltern Studies* (*SS*), volume 4 (1985) and attempts more explicitly to make the poststructural connection by examining the ideology and discursive tactics of writing history, namely, who is doing it, why, how, and to what political purpose.

The most important consideration for readers of this journal, however, is that, language, ideology, and interpretation aside for the moment, the work of those members of the series' editorial team presented here is superb historical scholarship and a useful entrée to the prolific achievements contained in the five volumes of *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society* produced between 1982 and 1987, which are the source of the essays we have before us. These five volumes and volume 6, published in 1989, under Ranajit Guha's editorship, are very much the product of Guha's intellectual and ideological inspiration.

The main thrust of Guha's argument is that Indian history, whether colonial, national, Marxist, or neocolonial, has been written by the elite, about the elite, and for the elite and by definition and intent in the process has ignored everyone else, namely, "the people," or, in Antonio Gramsci's term, the "subalterns." By this denial, elite historians have robbed the subalterns of a conscious will to be themselves, to be actors of purpose in their own history, an autonomy that Guha and his colleagues are committed to restore. The logic is most pointedly spelled out in Guha's preface (pp. 35–36) and essay, "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India" (pp. 37–44), both in *SS*, volume 1, and in his extended historiographic piece, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," in volume 2 (1983, esp. pp. 82–84).

There is much force in this argument, but there are also problems. For example, it needs to be said that Indian historiography cannot be so easily categorized between good guys and bad guys in the manner that Said and Spivak, following Guha, seem to suggest. To juxtapose the new "*alternative* history to the official one provided both by historians and by post-liberation Indian historians who adopt the formulae, the narratives and above all the ideology of history-writing from their own elite class alliances and from the British raj" (p. vi), as Said does, shows an unfortunate misreading of Indian history and historiography. There have, in fact, been dozens of authors including, among others, deeply involved social and political activists as well as historians and sociologists, Indian and non-Indian, who have been concerned with the experience of resistance among the subalterns of India and who were so concerned as early as the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. And, of course, there is a more recent and equally rich scholarship, interacting with but quite independent of the subaltern studies group, moving in increasingly deeper and more complex streams of subaltern inquiry and placing that inquiry within the broader framework of human experience of which it is a part. The resilient dynamism of Indian history has been significantly a function of the experience of dissent, dissidence, and resistance of the Indian people over many generations of that history. To suggest that that fact and its representation have suddenly entered the consciousness of the Indian people and the world of professional scholarship through the exclusive agency of the subaltern scholars or anyone else is patronizing at best and at worst verges on a new orientalism, no matter what its source.

I would argue that this debate is a contrived piece of intellectualizing that diverts us from the central issue of what happened in Indian history and more specifically from revealing the ways in which the autonomy of peasants, workers, tribals, and all subalterns was experienced as an active and interactive part of that historical experience. Following that logic, I would suggest that the major contribution of the subaltern group is precisely in achieving that object and doing so both by listening closely to the voices of the subalterns and by a richly rewarding rereading of the official evidence. All of the remaining essays in this volume, excluding Partha Chatterjee's theoretical piece, "More on Modes of Power and the Peasantry," (*SS*, vol. 2, 1983), make this point. These include, in order, Gyanendra Pandey's "'Encounters and Calamities': The History of a North Indian Qasba in the Nineteenth Century" (*SS*, vol. 3, 1984) and his "Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism: The Peasant Movement in Awadh, 1919–1922," (*SS*, vol. 1, 1982); Gautam Bhadra's "Four Rebels of Eighteen Fifty-Seven," (*SS*, vol. 4, 1985); Dipesh Chakrabarty's "Conditions for Knowledge of Working-Class Conditions: Employers, Government, and the Jute Workers of Calcutta, 1890–1940" (*SS*, vol. 2, 1983); Shahid Amin's "Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern U.P., 1921–1922" (*SS*, vol. 3, 1984); and, finally, David Arnold's "Touching the Body: Perspectives on the Indian Plague, 1896–1900" (*SS*, vol. 5, 1987). Each of these essays, as some of the titles almost suggest, illuminates, often in intricate detail, what is, to repeat, one of the central themes of this project, namely, that the quality of being subaltern, whatever social group may be involved, is defined very much in terms of superordinate and subordinate power relationships and that in this political equation the autonomy, intent, and will of the subaltern is explicit. Another theme, argued more by Guha in his initial essays (and in his book *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* [1983]) than by most of the other authors, is the degree to which that subaltern will and resistance does or does not feed into the idea of full-blown systemic revolution. It is a theme obviously beyond the consideration of a book review.

For a volume that is essentially a reprint, there are far too many awkward misprints here, most carried over from the original editions. One also wonders why there is no index and why there was no effort to justify footnotes and cross references from the original vol-

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umes, quite ordinary devices that would have facilitated considerably the usefulness of this book. And, finally, a note on contributors, who include among them some of India's finest historians, would have served the introductory purposes of this collection admirably.

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MUZAFFAR ALAM. *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab, 1707–48*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. xv, 365. $29.95.

Muzaffar Alam, in this erudite and highly original work, convincingly argues that the crisis of the Mughal empire in north India in Awadh and the Punjab after the death of Aurangzeb was the result not so much of the internecine party politics of the nobles at the imperial court and the weak Mughal emperors as of the very prosperity that the long spell of stability and peace under Mughal rule brought to those regions over a period of one hundred years. The network of flourishing mercantile enterprises that linked the main economic centers of the north to the hinterland, to the northern frontiers and beyond, and the coastal areas and the steady rise in rent and revenue receipts given by the peasants to their *zamindars* generated enough wealth and power in the hands of the *zamindars* to encourage them to defy the Mughal central authority. The Mughal governors of Awadh and the Punjab by necessity, therefore, according to Alam, had to have more military power, authority, and independence to curb the rebellious tendencies of the now militarily powerful and wealthy *zaminadari* class of those regions.

Alam gives a much-needed corrective to our perception of eighteenth-century northern India as an area of total chaos and anarchy ruled over by weak Mughal emperors. His painstaking analysis gives us the picture of two dynamic and economically developed regions ripe for the picking by the right kind of enterprising, high-ranking Mughal officials. The Punjab and the Awadh offer us a study in contrast. In the Punjab, the Mughal governors, with their central officials, the *divans* and *faujdars*, were unable to curb the agrarian unrest generated by the *zamindars* and the Sikh insurrections. In addition, in the Punjab, the Mughal provincial governors, who were of Turani descent, became entangled and dependent on the extended and homogeneous Turani network of nobles, who expropriated imperial revenues assigned to the imperial armies at the frontiers and favored their own kind with tax-free *madad-i ma'ash* lands (grant of revenue for the support of the learned) and who were ruthless in demanding revenue receipts from the local *zamindari* class, the rich trading classes, the holders of the *jagir* (revenue yielding land given in return for service), the holders of tax-free *madad-i ma'ash* lands, and the local and provincial officials. The Awadh governors at times could afford to confront the imperial authority and to act independently at its expense. For example, they could carry on negotiations with the Marathas and use their friendship with the Marathas to bolster their position at the imperial court. The Punjab, interestingly, offers a picture of the political and diplomatic failure of the governors, which led to the Sikh uprising and eventually paved the way for the Afgan Abdali's inroads. The governors (*subhedars*) of the Awadh, on the other hand, stabilized their governance of that province and began their dynastic rule. Alam is quick to point out that the Mughal emperors were still the effective symbols, and the rules of the political and diplomatic games played by the Mughal governors were within the framework of imperial party politics, at least from 1707 to 1748. Despite Alam's brilliant political, social, and economic analysis of the two provinces, one could wish that he had put that analysis, however cursorily (perhaps in a few pages), in the context of the other Mughal *subhedaris* such as those of Bengal, Gujrat, Malwa, and, more important, the Deccan. Could Alam's analysis of the rise of the powerful *zamindars*, their demands, and their interests and the rise in mercantile economy be applied to the Deccan and Gujrat regions? Could it offer an explanation for the rise of the Marathas and the Nizam of Hydarabad?

The book is a very thorough and careful analysis of the structure and function of the *zamindari*, the workings of the Mughal bureaucracy at the local and provincial levels, the interrelationship between provincial governors with the social groups within the province, and, of course, the intriguing politics at the imperial court. Alam has used an impressive number of sources in Farsi scattered in the archives and libraries of South Asia and Britain. In fact, the author's annotated bibliography of Persian sources is in itself a valuable research tool for the study of eighteenth-century India.

In terms of the depth of analysis, exacting scholarship, and brilliant insights, the book is decidedly one of the best regional histories written on the twilight period of the Mughal empire.

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NANCY GARDNER CASSELS. *Religion and Pilgrim Tax under the Company Raj*. (South Asian Studies, number 17.) Riverdale, Md.: Riverdale. 1988. Pp. xii, 184.

The history of British cultural policy in India has been treated ambivalently by historians, presumably because it has seemed marginal to such "crucial" concerns as exploitation, bureaucratic rule, and the movement for freedom. The interesting ways in which Anglo-Indian interaction helped shape Indian languages, literature, education, and religion have been deemed unworthy of critical attention. Whether studying native elites, peasants, or subalterns, conventional historians have shamefully neglected the multifaceted history of the intercivilizational encounter between India and the West under British colonial rule.

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Nancy Gardner Cassels's book is a refreshing exception to the rule. It deals with the East India Company policy of noninterference with Hindu religious practices and traditions at the Jagannath temple in Puri, Orissa, between 1806 and 1841. It was a period when cultural policy was dominated by liberal-minded British civil servants known as Orientalists whose background was the European Enlightenment and whose intellectual development was nurtured by the pedagogy and scholarship in such institutions as the College of Fort William and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Specifically, according to Cassels, the principle "dubbed the 'Compact' binding Company officials to protect the religion of their Indian subjects" (p. 9) was enacted into law in 1793. In 1806, the Governor-General's Council passed a regulation that authorized the British authorities to collect a tax from Hindus who worshiped at Jagannath and to accord them, in return, protection from hostile forces. Chief among the antagonists were the Christian missionaries who resented official recognition of an "idolatrous" religion.

Well-researched studies of cultural policy such as this monograph seem to run counter to the paranoiac school of history that views the British in India as a vast monolith operating from a consensual design that originated with a conspiratorial elite bent on impoverishing the colony. Conventional historians look on the British servants in India as tools to satisfy a huge collective greed. In fact, as cultural historiography demonstrates clearly, Britishers in India were deeply moved by issues relating to matters of the spirit, such as how conversion to Christ could improve the mentality of a whole people or civilization. How the British reacted to Hinduism was of importance not only to fellow Britishers but also to the Indians who were often compelled to react strongly to decrees radically changing their own culture. Examples of "cultural" issues that transcended questions of blood, money, and power were the controversial abolition of *sati* (widow immolation at the pyre of a departed husband) and the shift in government patronage for the English language at the expense of Indian languages, both classical and modern. And there was Indian public support for the Pilgrim Tax on Jagannath that kept alive a tradition of official recognition of Hindu institutions that, interestingly enough, went back to the thirteenth-century period of the Muslim sultanate.

Cassels has written a tightly organized narrative in which history is fundamentally a story supported by a wealth of archival sources and secondary works largely found in London and Calcutta. The author should be commended for the way she has carefully traced the positions of those who defended the company policy of religious tolerance against those who sought to bring Evangelical Christianity to a people they believed were being victimized by "a system of Brahmanical tyranny . . . cleverly devised to keep the masses . . . in ignorance and slavery" (p. 4). It would also be beneficial to remind critics of Orientalism that British Orientalists defended Hinduism for the right reasons during this period against other Britishers who did not.

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FARZANA SHAIKH. *Community and Consensus in Islam: Muslim Representation in Colonial India, 1860–1947.* (South Asian Studies, number 42.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 257.

Although this book's dust-jacket blurb announces that it is "a bold attempt to re-introduce the role of ideas in the interpretation of Indo-Muslim politics," the reader may find that the ideas and information that it contains are not all that new, and the work is bold only in the sense that it lacks the subtlety that the topic requires. For example, Farzana Shaikh tends to divide contemporary scholars as well as historical personages into good guys and bad guys. In terms of the present, the bad guys are assimilationists like Imtiaz Ahmad or "instrumentalists" like Paul Brass. The good guys are any Pakistanis of the "modernist" school, notably Aziz Ahmad and Fazlur Rahman, or Euro-American scholars such as Barbara Metcalf and David Lelyveld, who Shaikh thinks agree with her focus on Islamic political ideas.

The good guys in historical terms are communitarians such as Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan or Amir Ali, and the bad guys are regionalists like Fazl-i-Husain or nationalists like Hasan Madani. With regard to the regionalists, however, Shaikh's concentration on Muslim political ideals permits her to accommodate regionalists and nationalists by saying that any differences between them and Muslim separatists are more apparent than real (p. 48). All of them shared the same Islamic ideology; they merely pursued divergent policies. Although the book contains a number of solid observations on Muslim politics, these tend to be obscured by that sort of reductionist analysis.

Of the book's six chapters, the first attempts to delineate a "model of Muslim political action"; the rest treat in chronological fashion the major political trends and events of the period between 1860 and 1947. Throughout the book Shaikh seeks to demonstrate that Islamic political ideals shaped in the prophetic era and the early centuries of Muslim history, not political expediency, dictated the political path that South Asian Muslims followed. Although these ideas may have been congruent with the views of the British imperial administration, the British did not create Muslim separatism. This is, of course, a variation of the familiar argument that Pakistan became a historical inevitability the moment Muslims first set foot on the subcontinent.

Shaikh's construction of a model of Muslim political action focuses on the notions of consensus (*ijmā'*) and community (*ummah*). With regard to consensus, she carefully distinguishes between *ijmā'* and the "Western" notions of public opinion. This distinction enables her

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to conclude that separatism constituted the *ijmā'* of the South Asian Muslim community, even though the majority were either ignorant of or opposed to separatism.

In her chapters on Indian politics, Shaikh usually gives scant coverage to individuals with nationalist sympathies (with the possible exception of Abu'l Kalam Azad, whose ideology, in Shaikh's view, is the same as that of the separatists). Similarly, she touches only lightly on significant movements, such as the Khilafat Non-Cooperation struggle, which demonstrated that Muslims and non-Muslims could develop a joint political agenda. In addition, although one would expect that a book concerned with the Islamic political tradition would pay attention to the religious scholars (*'ulamā'*), Shaikh's modernist bias consigns them, for the most part, to political irrelevancy. Throughout the book, she makes surprisingly little use of original sources. The majority of her references are to the works of contemporary scholars, well-known published works, and the occasional government memorandum. Employment of a greater range of Urdu material would have given the book greater depth. Although Shaikh has taken into account the works of many contemporary scholars, she has missed a few important ones. For example, had she considered the articles by David Gilmartin on the politics of the Punjab Unionists, she might have modified her opinions on that subject.

This book does have value as an introduction to the politics of the period between the Revolt of 1857 and the partition. Shaikh manages to refer to most of the important scholarship on that era. Specialists will be able to place the book in perspective. Beginners or nonspecialists, however, will want to make sure that they read the works noted by Shaikh in order to gain a more complex appreciation of the interplay between Muslim ideals and social reality.

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JOAN G. ROLAND. *Jews in British India: Identity in a Colonial Era*. (The Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series, number 9.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press, Waltham, Mass. 1989. Pp. xiii, 355. $40.00.

This book is an excellent case study of the way in which Jewish communities in areas remote from the major centers of Jewish life underwent significant change as a result of Westernization and colonialism in the modern period and drew closer in identity, outlook, and politics to their coreligionists elsewhere. Joan G. Roland focuses on the Bene Israel and Baghdadi Jewish communities, which numbered twenty thousand and five thousand respectively at their maximum strength in 1951. The Bene Israel, speaking Marathi and constituting a caste in the Konkan, were well integrated and had adopted many of the customs and mores of the surrounding society. Anti-Semitism was virtually nonexistent and was never a feature of Jewish life in India. The arrival of the British and the transformation of Indian society under their rule altered the place of the Bene Israel. Migrating in large numbers to the city of Bombay, they entered the professions and the military, adopted increasingly the use of English in day-to-day discourse, and underwent a process of Westernization. Paradoxically, it was Christian missionaries who familiarized them with certain aspects of modern normative Judaism and led to their embrace of modern orthodoxy. British rule in India also attracted Jews from Baghdad and Basra who settled in South Asia as a result of increasing commercial possibilities. Families such as the Sassoons and the Kadouries played a significant role in the economic life of the whole region.

Roland portrays sensitively the evolution of the identity of the two groups from the arrival of the British to the emergence of independent India. There was never any doubt about the loyalties of the Baghdadis. As a group that flourished with the British, they identified totally with the rulers and took considerable pains to distance themselves from the Indians, and indeed from the Bene Israel, their "Indian" coreligionists. They had stronger ties with world Jewry and saw themselves as an extension of European Jewry in India. The picture was considerably more complex for the Bene Israel, and it is here that Roland excels in analyzing the transition of the identity of this group from that of caste to that of an ethnic group. The British policy of classifying all communities for the purpose of political representation played a crucial role, transforming what had been fluid social boundaries into much more rigid ones and introducing an element of competition into the economic and social spheres. Ethnicity in a culturally pluralistic society became the choice identity for the Bene Israel, just as it did for the Parsis, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Muslims. The Bene Israel remained ambivalent vis-à-vis the issue of Indian nationalism. Although identifying themselves as Indians and sympathetic to many of the aspirations of the nationalists, they could not but remain apprehensive in the face of the limited range of economic and social possibilities open to them in an independent India where their miniscule number would be dwarfed by that of much larger ethnic groups. The rise of Zionism, World War II, and the creation of an independent Jewish state all offered new identity options. Although initially hesitant in the face of Zionism, the move from an ethnic to a national identity did not prove too difficult in the face of the uncertainties that followed the independence of India, and the majority of the community migrated to the state of Israel.

This is an important work that illuminates not only a little-known aspect of Jewish and Indian history but also the process of the emergence of ethnic and national identities in multicultural settings. In the context of modern Jewish history, it also shows that the rise of modern Jewish ethnicity, and indeed nationalism, need not always be tied to the emergence of modern anti-Semitism but is also intimately linked to the processes

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that went into the making of what Theodore von Laue has called "the World Revolution of Westernization" as it affected the Jews of the East and the West.

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UNITED STATES

HOWARD P. CHUDACOFF. *How Old Are You? Age Consciousness in American Culture.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 232. $19.95.

Using a wide range of evidence, Howard P. Chudacoff investigates the intriguing subject of age consciousness in American culture. He demonstrates that age distinctions were neither clear nor significant before the mid-nineteenth century. He locates the origins of age grading in developments in education and medicine. Educators gradually embraced the idea of child development (beginning with the theories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi in the late eighteenth century). By the 1840s, new schools were being built not with one large room but with several classrooms for different age groups of children. In medicine, French researchers began focusing on the peculiar diseases and differences in the bodies of children. The first children's hospital in the United States was established in Philadelphia in 1855. Educators and physicians' ideas about the significance of differences between children and adults helped shape public perceptions and led to late nineteenth-century drives for such reforms as child labor laws and juvenile courts. Thereafter, age consciousness, age grading, and age peer groups developed quickly.

The first three decades of the twentieth century saw the ascendance of age consciousness and the imposition of specific age norms. The creation of the junior high school in the early twentieth century, for example, signified society's endorsement of age peer divisions. At the other end of the age spectrum, the old were increasingly identified as a group with special problems, as evidenced by the rise of pensions and retirement.

Despite some recent challenges to age-based norms and to "ageism," such as raising and then eliminating age limits in employment and lowering the age for voting and drinking, age remains a convenient organizational tool for our modern bureaucratic society. As more and more people live long lives, Chudacoff suggests, age may even come to replace economic class in political struggles over resources.

For historians of the family or stages of the life cycle, Chudacoff's book holds few real surprises. He has drawn on the literature of family, demographic, old age, childhood, medical, and educational history—some of which he wrote himself—for the outline of his story. Yet his book is in many ways a model of how to mine known sources and monographs for useful indicators of social change. His evidence includes the use of clocks, the rise of the celebration of birthdays via cards, the architecture of school buildings, his own original analysis of the lyrics of popular music and the growth of age-specific record and radio audiences, prescriptive literature, Sunday school curricula, psychology, and law.

Although this book covers many subject areas well, it does not give sufficient attention to the profound impact of the shift from an agricultural to an industrial and service economy (which allowed children to be excluded from the labor force). Nor does it discuss relevant changes in Protestant theology in the early nineteenth century, which led to a belief in the innate goodness of children and thus a desire to separate children from the corrupting influence of adult life.

Chudacoff neither praises nor condemns the emergence of age consciousness and peer group society. In this effort to be even-handed, he plays down some of the negative social consequences of age-segregated society, especially the evils of exclusively peer-based social life for children and youths.

Chudacoff presents a convincing, if not entirely comprehensive, description and analysis of the rise of age consciousness in America. His book gives us a fresh perspective on a century of social and cultural development. Much of his material is not new, but it is deftly woven into an interesting account of the origins and development of our fixation on chronological age.

MICHEL R. DAHLIN
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JURGEN HERBST. *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 231. $25.00.

In this useful monograph, Jurgen Herbst provides a brief descriptive history of teacher education within the context of current debates about educational reform in the United States. Beginning with a critical analysis of the ill-informed reliance of mid-nineteenth-century Whig school reformers on Prussian models of teacher education, Herbst moves on to survey the antebellum founding of the first normal schools in Massachusetts, the post–Civil War development of various patterns of teacher training at normal schools and universities in the Midwest, and the turn-of-the-century establishment of graduate schools of education at the nation's premier research universities. Avowedly more selective than comprehensive, this book sketches the early years of some of the nation's lesser-known institutions of higher education and identifies many of the tensions that have beset teacher training since the early nineteenth century. Some of Herbst's more interesting findings—for example, that normal schools in the Midwest were often more analogous to "people's colleges" than to professional schools—will be familiar to some readers as a result of their appearance in previously published essays. But Herbst's study is neverthe-

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less an important addition to the historiography. The history of teacher education has been badly neglected, and the clear outline that this book presents will help fill the vacuum, while stimulating further research.

The thesis of Herbst's book is that "the forgotten person . . . in the onward march of professionalization in American public education has been the American elementary school teacher" (p. 190). If secondary school teachers, administrators, and educational researchers benefited from increasingly advanced and professionalized patterns of teacher training, elementary school teachers did not, Herbst maintains. The conclusion is incontrovertible, especially in the face of Herbst's historical evidence, but the causes of the problem are not clarified by this account. Did the professionalization of secondary school teachers, administrators, and educational researchers necessitate a subsidiary category of workers, in this case classroom teachers, as seems to have been the case with nurses in the professionalization of doctors? Has the growth of educational research as a subject of university study tended to militate against increasing status and autonomy for school teachers, not as an aim but as a consequence, ironic, unwitting, or otherwise? Can predominantly female occupations ever gain the public deference necessary to structure the markets for vital services, which is, among other things, what professions do? If not, is unionization the best route to occupational autonomy? Unfortunately, questions such as these, which derive from the new and exciting studies of professionalization being undertaken by sociologists as well as historians, are not asked by Herbst, who tends to avoid explicit discussion of theoretical matters and of the larger social, political, and economic contexts that shaped professionalizing efforts in the nineteenth century. This criticism aside, this book is a necessary first step toward developing a fully rounded history of teacher education. It is well worth reading and pondering.

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Columbia University

THOMAS P. HUGHES. *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm, 1870–1970*. New York: Viking. 1989. Pp. xii, 529. $24.95.

Thomas P. Hughes's book is a work of singular importance for American history as well as for the history of technology. First, it sums up two decades of the work of one of the pioneers and leaders of the field. From his *Elmer Sperry: Inventor and Engineer* (1971) through *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880–1930* (1983), Hughes has been developing his notion of technological systems. In his present book, he extends the analysis into the postwar period, addresses artistic responses (mainly Modernism) to the new technological systems and styles, and, finally, considers critics of the resulting transformation of society (primarily Lewis Mumford).

Hughes argues that during the 1870s such heroic inventors as Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell ushered in an era of invention that, after the turn of the century, was carried on under corporate auspices by industrial scientists. Early in the century the great system-builders, for example, Henry Ford, Frederick Winslow Taylor (the creator of scientific management), and Samuel Insull (the electric utility magnate), built "networks of power" by combining technologies into large systems. By the 1920s they had created in the United States the first modern technological society, one based on the principles of order, system, and control. The revolutionary nature of this new technological civilization and its American character were most clearly seen by European intellectuals and artists who, reeling from World War I, were seeking a new basis for social meaning. During the crisis of depression, the federal government's own system building in the Tennessee Valley, and even more so in the Manhattan District during the crisis of World War II, added official and powerful confirmation to the true nature of American society. Led by social critics such as Lewis Mumford, a postwar generation began to lose its enthusiasm for technological vanguardism, but by now the systems or the "megamachine" (to use Mumford's phrase) had taken on a "momentum—almost a life—of their own" (p. 12).

This story, powerfully argued with convincing detail and nuance, is not really the author's major argument. "The age of technological enthusiasm," he asserts, has "left behind a burden of history" (p. 12), and this is nothing less than the mainstream of American history for the years 1870–1970. The author insists that his book is not a mere history of technology, some footnote to the main American saga of political reform and foreign adventures. Rather, his story is that of "mainstream American history, an exploration of the American nation involved in its most characteristic activity" (p. 2).

Hughes's claim, therefore, is not unlike that of feminist scholars who are not content with the sprinkling of a few formerly unsung women onto the pages of history but insist that the very outlines of history look different when viewed through the lens of gender. This work is a powerful first effort to place technology at the center of the American experience. Not everyone will be immediately persuaded, but Hughes's argument must be taken seriously by all American historians. I, for one, find it convincing.

CARROLL PURSELL
Case Western Reserve University

SUSAN D. MOELLER. *Shooting War: Photography and the American Experience of Combat*. New York: Basic Books. 1989. Pp. xvii, 474. $25.95.

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Susan D. Moeller's study is impressive on two fronts. First, it is an insightful study of the cultural values embedded in war photographs. Second, it offers a fine short course on the history of American wars dating from the Spanish-American conflict through the war in Vietnam.

The book opens with an insightful chapter on interpreting war through photographs. Photographs, Moeller insists, are less factual re-creations than angles of vision, interpretations of life (and death) that open revealing windows on the American cultural experience with war. Indeed, Moeller posits a "synergistic relation of the events depicted in war to the themes embedded in American political culture" (p. 22), especially the guiding metaphor of the frontier as the meeting point between "savagery" and "civilization." At the beginning of the century, photographers, no less than the public at large, embraced the idea of the frontier as a place of heroic new beginnings. By the close of World War I, however, another aspect of the frontier experience—its violence—was framing photographers' ideas about war. By mid-century, photographers and, through them, the public were coming to see war less as a noble calling than as a "murderous pursuit" (p. 22). Policy makers and the public were influenced by these developments. According to Moeller, "There is at least an indirect causal link between the increasingly graphic portrayal of dead Americans and, for example, the growing hesitancy of the government and the military to engage in the dramatic frontal assaults . . . that were so much a part of the Civil War . . . or even the Spanish-American War and, to a degree, World War I" (p. 6).

World War I marked a pivotal moment for the development of photojournalism as photographers, publishers, and military censors saw that photographs could be turned into narratives to influence public opinion. Moeller details the struggles throughout the century among photographers, military censors, and editors (who generally had the power to caption photographs and thus guide a viewer's line of vision) as they tried to come to terms with how best to portray war. However discouraging, the story of external and internal censorship, beginning with the military censorship of World War I and continuing through the "news management" of the Vietnam era, is skillfully told. Her account should interest anyone concerned with the relationship between war and democratic values.

For all of its strengths, the book is not without weaknesses. Although rich in detail about the involvement of photographers in the various conflicts, the hardships they had to endure, and the technological, editorial, and environmental constraints that shaped their work, the work includes little biographical information about the combat photographers, which leaves one wondering how their own life histories intersected with the broader cultural structures of thought and feeling so ably detailed by the author's introduction. And too little attention is paid to the audience that vicariously experienced war through these photographs. Moeller contends that Joe Rosenthal's depiction of six marines raising the U.S. flag over Iwo Jima attained iconographic status because it tapped into "symbols of the American community: the barn raisings, quilting bees, the all for one and one for all" (p. 246). Her argument is suggestive but not altogether convincing because it assumes an undifferentiated audience sharing a common response to this and other photographs.

These criticisms notwithstanding, this study offers a provocative reading of American cultural values through photographic evidence and presents a fine account of how combat photography developed and influenced public perceptions of war. This book deserves to be read by a wide audience and certainly should be recommended to students curious about how Americans have experienced their twentieth-century wars.

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Montana State University

WARREN LEON and ROY ROSENZWEIG, editors. *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. xxvi, 333. Cloth $34.95, paper $14.95.

The contributors to this essay collection purport to offer "the first book-length critical assessment of historical museums in the United States" (p. xiii). To that end, Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig have assembled twelve essays by historians, American studies specialists, and museum curators, all of whom "seek to explicate the *why* of history exhibits" (p. xix) and, thereby, to contribute to the "process of professionalization" in museums (p. xx). Of the fifteen authors and editors, six currently work in museums or historic sites; the others work in the academy and have consulted on museum exhibits. Several note the influence of the National Endowment for the Humanities in bridging the gap between museums and academy.

Leon and Rosenzweig acknowledge that those preparing history exhibits operate under constraints that they define as institutional, political, and "history itself," the last because "museums can be understood only in relation to their pasts" (p. xx). How much can curators expect volunteer docents to learn? Will visitors pay to see exhibits about the violent parts of our past? Can we break away from traditional forms of exhibits that evoke uncritical nostalgia?

Throughout the book the emphasis is on the message instead of the medium. This is not the place to learn the technical aspects that can affect an exhibit, such as providing security or proper lighting. Occasionally, we learn about the internal politics and decision making in an organization that affect what is or is not said in an exhibit.

The contributors survey places where history is exhibited to the public, from Disney World to Lowell, Massachusetts. Gary Kulik's initial essay, "Designing

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Past," focuses on four institutions: Peale's Museum, the Smithsonian Institution under George Brown Goode, the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Farmers' Museum at Cooperstown. This is followed by essays on big city museums, living history museums, historic houses, pioneer museums, Gettysburg as a historic site, and EPCOT, all explaining "the museum and historic site in context" as part 1.

The five essays in part 2 on "the new history and the new museum" explain the importance of women's history, African-American history, and the history of technology (two essays) in museums. In the final essay, "History Museums and Material Culture," Thomas J. Schlereth concludes that integrating material culture with written and oral historical sources "remains an engaging future task for both museum and academic historians" (p. 314).

Overwhelmingly, the authors advocate the inclusion of the new social history in museums. They argue that the research of these historians enhances museum exhibits by ensuring the inclusion of groups traditionally excluded, such as women and African-Americans. In turn, the museums' artifacts teach us about those who left tools and clothing instead of correspondence as documentation of their lives. This history, notes Barbara Melosh, challenges "periodization and interpretive paradigms based solely on a history of politics and great men" (p. 184).

Only John S. Patterson and Joseph J. Corn focus on an approach other than the new social history. Patterson's fascinating discussion of Gettysburg tells us more about the efforts to memorialize Gettysburg than about interpreting military strategy. Corn reviews various methods of interpreting technical artifacts. This is also one of the few essays to include an extended discussion of the politics of museum exhibits; the author discusses the close ties between the Smithsonian Institution's National Air and Space Museum and the aerospace industry.

Some of the essays will sound familiar in tone to those who have followed recent public history literature. Leon, Rosenzweig, and Melosh along with Michael Frisch and Michael Wallace have contributed to or edited *Past Meets Present: Essays about Historic Interpretation and Public Audience* (1987) and *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* (1986).

Although the academic review essay is used as their model, the editors acknowledge some limitations in their efforts to review museum exhibits. First and foremost, many exhibits are temporary; if there is no catalog, then the exhibit can disappear before it is reviewed. Second, one must see an exhibit in order to review it, and the exhibits reviewed here are almost entirely east of St. Louis and the Mississippi River except for sites referenced in David Lowenthal's essay on "pioneer museums" and a few sites in California and Hawaii. This is probably because all but three of the contributors live in the region from Washington, D.C., north to Massachusetts and would be most familiar with exhibits there. The exhibits critiqued, however, are in "the largest, most influential, and best-attended museums" (p. xxi), including Colonial Williamsburg, the Smithsonian Institution, Old Sturbridge Village, and Disney World. The editors believe that these represent "a much larger percentage of those museums and exhibits that have influenced both the public and museum practices" (p. xxi).

The editors acknowledge that the history museum field is too large to be documented easily. Although the geographic concentration is understandable, it is unfortunate that there is not a broader range of examples. For instance, the traditional historical society museum operated by volunteers or a very small staff is virtually ignored. Although National Park Service (NPS) historians work on interpretation and exhibits, only a very few sites operated by the NPS or state and local park systems are included. The museums and exhibits operated by federal government agencies outside NPS and the Smithsonian Institution are also excluded. Sites focusing on Asian or Hispanic history are not included probably because of the few references to areas with large Asian or Hispanic populations.

These essays are part of a proliferating literature on public history, and the extensive endnotes will lead readers to many more sources. Leon and Rosenzweig hope that their work "will open debate on a wide range of questions" as they urge readers "to scrutinize the utility of our methods and the validity of our conclusions" (pp. xxiv, xxv). Those who follow can use these essays as a foil for their own theories.

BARBARA J. HOWE
West Virginia University

JOANNE YATES. *Control through Communication: The Rise of System in American Management.* (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. xx, 339. $29.50.

Now and then a book comes along whose small size and seemingly overspecialized nature belie its importance to the majority of historians. JoAnne Yates burrows into the dusty office records of three representative American big businesses and comes up with an introduction to the evolution of modern American business management methods that historians have long needed. In the face of growing evidence to the contrary, progressives from Louis D. Brandeis to Robert M. LaFollette insisted that the huge combines that were being assembled around them could never be efficiently managed. Their effusions have been gospel to most general American historians ever since, although the American big businessman was at that moment proving that size was no necessary bar to either responsible policy or efficient operation.

Yates divides her subject into two broad topics: the largely technical matter of development of communication methods and the needs of business that called them forth and the systems and procedures that

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evolved to exploit them. Two of the enterprises she focuses on—Scovill Manufacturing Company, maker of buttons and many other brass articles in the busy valley of Connecticut's Mad River near Waterbury, and E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company—date back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The third—the Illinois Central Railroad—was incorporated in 1851 as America's first land grant railroad. These enterprises constantly bent to the task of filling rapidly growing volumes of orders and freight and passenger traffic as the American market grew. From a few letters a week, written by the firms' principals in their own hand and laboriously copied out for their records in the early years, business communications by 1920 had grown into a blizzard of letters, memorandums, directives, and reports dictated to stenographers who transcribed them on typewriters that, with the aid of a prosaic yet critical invention, carbon paper, produced the multiple copies that increasing bureaucratization demanded. Famous inventors such as Thomas A. Edison of dictaphone and mimeograph fame, not-so-famous persons such as Christopher Latham Sholes, who gave the mid-Victorian office the typewriter in the late 1870s, and a host of long-forgotten ones whose names once graced patent files, copying devices, and duplicating machines sprang to the challenge that the telegraph and the telephone meanwhile intensified.

The story of why businessmen needed better communication and what they accomplished with it is highly instructive. Some could not adapt, while those who did soon discovered that each business had its distinctive problems of communication both downward and upward in the hierarchy, as well as general psychological, spatial, and temporal problems. Such general principles as the author draws about this exquisitely pragmatic "science" of management may strike the reader as perfectly obvious but only after he or she has developed them along historical lines.

This book is not easy to read because the particulars are numerous and do not lead dramatically to conclusions. But its timeliness is remarkable. Now that the Western system of responsible (that is, profit-based) production has emerged as the victor over command economies, the secrets of how we did it may replace foreign relations as "topic A" at conferences, and historians who continue to reject "material civilization" as unworthy of genuine scholars will do so at their peril. This little book can keep them in the game.

ALBRO MARTIN,
EMERITUS
Bradley University

JOHN J. RUMBARGER. *Profits, Power, and Prohibition: Alcohol Reform and the Industrializing of America, 1800–1930.* (SUNY Series in New Social Studies on Alcohol and Drugs.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1989. Pp. xxv, 272.

John J. Rumbarger observes that the status revolution thesis is unsatisfactory as an explanation of the long history of the temperance and prohibition movements in American history. Instead, baldly summarized, he asserts that temperance and prohibition resulted when capitalists, in order to increase profits, mobilized their power to engineer a sober and submissive working class. War and depression and the introduction of industrialism between 1800 and 1820 caused severe (and presumably widespread) social distress resulting in public drunkenness. Thereafter "American capitalists organized to secure a dry working class" (p. 11). The proof lies in the fact that wealthy men belonged to early temperance societies and over the decades worked to solidify the convictions of the upper class, to politicize those convictions, and then to control the organizations that promoted prohibition reform.

The argument is weakened by simplistic methodology and by a reliance on incorrect information. A key point is that the rising strength of the Prohibition party, a middle-class organization, threatened in the 1880s and 1890s not just to wrest control of the prohibition movement from the capitalists but to combine prohibition with other reforms not in the capitalists' class interests. Rumbarger states that the Prohibition party in 1886 increased its combined statewide vote by 300,000, when in fact its total statewide vote in that election was 294,863, an increase but hardly on the magnitude claimed. The Prohibition party's growth posed less of a threat to the Eastern Seaboard's capitalist class than to Republican leaders who saw the "drys" exercising a balance of power politics successfully in the presidential election of 1884. The threat of that balance of power receded dramatically by 1888, however.

Moreover, Rumbarger also distorts important evidence. He would have the Anti-Saloon League as a capitalist organization whose founding was supported by the National Temperance Society, closely connected to an eastern mercantile elite, when in fact the society bitterly opposed the league as an usurper. He portrays the Anti-Saloon League as dominated by the upper class, although in a footnote he dismisses the league as "small potatoes" (p. 202). He asserts that Peter Odegard's evidence that the league rested on a firm base of middle-class Protestant financial support is wrong, without clear-cut evidence to the contrary. (Rumbarger uses an example of a milk and ice dealer in Zanesville, Ohio, who contributed to the league as an indication that it was a capitalist-dominated organization.)

The widespread support of (and opposition to) prohibition by business interests is well known. To assert that prohibition was directed at workers is a partial truth that misses a substantial part of the reform's history, and to claim that the reform simply had material interests obscures the important evangelical and moral impulses behind it. To be sure, the reformers wished to perfect America's "capitalist" society, not overthrow it. They also wished to deal, in a systemic way alien to most of us today, with the human wastage

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associated with alcohol misuse. Unfortunately, this book is part of a larger tradition of denial, in both alcohol misuse and alcohol studies, of the devastation that drug abuse caused (and causes) for individuals, families, and communities.

K. AUSTIN KERR
Ohio State University, Columbus

PETER C. HOLLORAN. *Boston's Wayward Children: Social Services for Homeless Children, 1830–1930*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; distributed by Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1989. Pp. 330. $49.50.

On one level, Peter C. Holloran's book may be read as an institutional history of the development and evolution of American child welfare in Boston during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Beginning with the establishment of Protestant charities for children in the 1830s (which Holloran sees as devolving primarily from bourgeois concern over the "deviant" family life of the urban immigrant and native-born working classes) and ending with the creation of the Boston Juvenile Court and Clinic in 1906, the book traces the changes that occurred in the orientation and organization of child saving in Boston as it traveled from the moral reform of the antebellum period to the social and psychological adjustment of the Progressive era. Although much of this is familiar to students of American child welfare, the focus on Boston (rather than New York) is welcome as is Holloran's detailed analysis of the ways in which both the definition of child deviance and the goals and approaches of child saving have been significantly determined by gender.

On a second level, this book may be read as a corrective to the tendency of child welfare historians to focus on elite native-born reformers and to homogenize what in reality was a complex and variegated system of competing agencies, child savers, and visions. Most existing histories, Holloran charges, generally ignore the success that targeted classes had in resisting elite reform and in establishing systems and agencies of their own.

Holloran thus devotes a significant portion of his study to the emergence of alternative child welfare institutions and systems and seeks to demonstrate how they were positive creations fitted to the needs, values, and aspirations of the ethnic and racial working-class communities that they served. He does this by looking at the development of charitable institutions and activities for Irish Catholic, African-American, Eastern European Jewish, and Italian children and by attempting to prove that the distinctiveness of each was rooted in the needs and experiences, attitudes toward childhood, poverty and relief, and existing networks of support for abandoned, orphaned, and troublesome children particular to each group. For instance, he shows how the early exclusion of Boston's African-American children from private orphanages, combined with a long tradition of communal responsibility for dependent children, produced an informal adoption system of surrogate parents that subsequently translated into formal charitable institutions that were community based and relatively autonomous.

This study is not without flaws. Holloran frequently obscures his important arguments in the minutiae of institutional history, claims to do more than he actually does, occasionally resorts to reductionist cultural determinism, has an epilogue that seems tacked on rather than integral, and in general is more suggestive than definitive. Nevertheless, in illuminating the importance of gender and in exploring the ways that targeted communities resisted elite child-saving efforts and positively shaped institutions and systems of their own, this book represents a significant addition to the existing literature on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American child welfare.

RICHARD A. MECKEL
Brown University

THOMAS PINNEY. *A History of Wine in America: From the Beginnings to Prohibition*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 553. $45.00.

The title of this impressively researched and impeccably written study by Thomas Pinney is a bit misleading. "A History of Wine Making in America before Prohibition" would have been closer to the mark, for the subject of the book is those who grew the grapes and produced the wine, not those who imbibed it. One wonders if there was an experiment in winegrowing anywhere in America before 1919 that is not at least mentioned, from the futile attempts of the Virginia Company to produce wine for export in early seventeenth-century Jamestown through the efforts of nineteenth-century optimists in such places as Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, and Brooklyn, New York.

North America, covered as much of it was with wild vines, with micro-climates surely as welcoming as those of the great wine-producing parts of Europe, seemed to have enormous viticultural potential. Early British colonists in the South were bedazzled by mercantilist visions of supplying the mother country with wine and silk. Thomas Jefferson was but one of many among his generation of revolutionaries who were certain that Virginia would one day surpass Bordeaux. In the early years of the new republic, the dream moved northward to Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and, soon, the Midwest. Yet until mid-century, confident trail blazers were almost invariably brought to heel by the very ecological environment that had initially seemed so hospitable, for lurking beneath the welcoming sun and in the fertile earth were the twin scourges of mildew and black rot that sooner or later wrought havoc with the European vines on which most hopes rested. Even the flourishing wine-producing

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area around Cincinnati in mid-century, "the Rhineland of America," eventually succumbed, even though much of it was planted with hybrid Catawba grapes thought to be particularly hardy.

Only after the discovery and propagation of the native Concord grape in the 1840s and 1850s was there hope for the long-term survival of the industry. Yet, although "grape fever" swept through upstate New York and along the shores of Lake Erie into the upper Midwest, vintners could never quite overcome the "foxy" taste of these native labrusca grapes. By the 1890s, California had become the last best hope for American wine lovers, riding on the success of the Mission grape, the first European *vinefra* grape to be able to withstand the rigors of the American environment.

Pinney concentrates on the search for the right grapes and how to process them, taking obvious delight in debunking wine buffs' myths, including the "legend" that the Hungarian Agoston Haraszthy was the "Father of California Viticulture." But he deals with the social and economic aspects of the subject only lightly. He notes that immigrants were often in the forefront of the enterprises—French, Swiss, and Germans in the eighteenth century, mainly Germans in the nineteenth—but manages to avoid the thorny question of why the large majority of Americans had not the least interest in drinking what they were producing. He also does little to place the wine makers in the economic and social milieu of their time: indentured servants, black slaves, revolutionary land developers, Jacksonian entrepreneurs, antebellum utopians, and even a turn-of-the-century California "wine trust" pass across the stage with little said about the wider context. Nevertheless, historians wishing to find out almost everything they ever wished to know about the pre-Prohibition history of wine production in America and more will find it here, written in clear, accessible prose and enhanced by some wonderful illustrations.

HARVEY LEVENSTEIN
McMaster University

THOMAS W. SPALDING. *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789–1989*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 591. $29.95.

Baltimore is the oldest Catholic diocese in the United States, organized the same year that the U.S. Constitution was ratified. It is literally, therefore, the "premier," that is, the first, see, and it originally encompassed all of the new nation in its jurisdiction. Other dioceses were organized, however, after 1808, and floods of Irish, German, and other immigrants transformed American Catholicism. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia surpassed Baltimore in numbers of Catholics. A century later, in 1962, the oldest see had fallen to twenty-second in rank among the nation's dioceses.

Three factors combined to maintain Baltimore's prominence much longer than its population warranted. Although the Vatican refused to name the archbishop of Baltimore a primate, as it often did with the ranking archbishop of European countries, it did issue an ambiguous decree in 1858 granting the archdiocese "prerogative of place" in the United States. Far more important, Cardinal James Gibbons provided inspired leadership for forty-four years, functioning as de facto leader of and spokesman for the American church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Finally, the Baltimore see encompassed the nation's capital, Washington, D.C., until that city was organized as a separate diocese in 1947. For all of these reasons, Baltimore retained a certain preeminence well into the twentieth century.

Thomas W. Spalding, the biographer and distant relative of an early Baltimore archbishop, Martin J. Spalding, has written a very traditional diocesan history. He generally devotes one chapter to each of the thirteen archbishops who served in Baltimore, although Gibbons is given three chapters and the twentieth-century archbishops, Michael J. Curley and Lawrence J. Shehan, two apiece. Each chapter details the parishes founded, churches built, and major issues faced by the archbishops. Spalding provides no comparative perspective and neglects recent historical studies of other American dioceses.

The author does, however, weave one major theme throughout this long book. He constantly contrasts the "Maryland tradition," which was a legacy from the early Jesuits of colonial Maryland, with the later "immigrant tradition" of the Irish and Germans. Adherents to the Maryland tradition, such as the first bishop, John Carroll, and the eminent Cardinal Gibbons, were broadly ecumenical, patriotic to a fault, and thoroughly at home in America. Immigrant leaders, most notably Michael Curley, were institutional in their approach and fiercely militant in defending their faith against non-Catholics.

This polarity provides a serviceable interpretive device, but Spalding diminishes its usefulness by revealing a sharp bias in favor of the Maryland tradition. Like the residents of Lake Wobegon, all followers of John Carroll are above average, and all their works flourish. On the other hand, Spalding consistently stereotypes immigrant leaders as "ghetto Catholics." This bias results in occasional absurdities, such as the author's assertion that Cardinal Shehan's concern for racial justice represents "a reclamation of the Maryland tradition" (p. 410). This claim ignores the fact that Maryland Catholics, including the priests of the Society of Jesus to which Carroll belonged, owned slaves for two hundred years. When the Jesuits decided to end this practice in 1836, they did not emancipate their slaves but rather sold them down the river to Louisiana. Early Maryland Catholics were Tidewater aristocrats, not twentieth-century Democrats.

In sum, this book presents a "party-line," liberal Catholic interpretation clothed in the very old-fashioned format of diocesan history. Nevertheless, it is

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solidly researched and will serve as a useful reference on America's oldest Catholic see.

EDWARD R. KANTOWICZ
Chicago, Illinois

LINDA S. PARKER. *Native American Estate: The Struggle over Indian and Hawaiian Lands*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1989. Pp. vii, 260. $24.00.

Although aboriginal land tenure systems of American Indians have been carefully described in recent years, Linda S. Parker gives the first comparison between customs of Indians and Hawaiian natives. She takes a lawyer's approach to historical processes, distinguishing the tenure systems from each other but noting basic similarities, especially the concept of "inherited usufruct" rights that prevailed in varied forms on both the islands and the mainland. Translated from legal language, this term means that European notions of outright ownership of land (in "fee simple") were alien to Hawaiians and Indians alike, although Hawaiian royalty held semifeudal rights of allotment and distribution that exceeded the powers of most Indian chiefs.

Having established a base in analyses of aboriginal custom, Parker carefully traces the processes by which conquerors of European descent dispossessed the natives of most of their original estates. The conquerors brought the same preconceptions and much the same methods to the islands that they had to the continent. "Both [native] groups lost their lands largely through peremptory appropriations by settlers" (p. 190). Military force prevented or suppressed rebellion, after which conquest continued by judicial and administrative regulations little understood by the conquered peoples. A main strength of this book is Parker's attention to specific legislation and bureaucratic routines craftily designed to appear fair while functioning in fact to deprive natives of property and interest. For example, homesteads were made available to Hawaiian natives (there were no reservations on the islands), but no homestead could be had until a house and other improvements were financed by the Hawaiian Homes Commission, supposedly functioning exclusively for native benefit. The fact contradicted the appearance because the agency was so underfunded that the average waiting period for a homestead applicant was fifteen years (pp. 156–57). By many devious means, ownership of Hawaiian lands became so concentrated that, by 1967, "seventy-two private owners held 47 percent with seven owning nearly 30 percent" (p. 122).

Dispossession of native lands during the nineteenth century on the continent is fairly well understood, but Parker describes how it has continued to the present day by decisions of official agencies. Although the Department of the Interior is guardian of Indian welfare through its Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the department also includes the Bureau of Mines, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, and the Bureau of Reclamation, all of which chip away at Indian reservations and rights for purposes of their own, and the BIA does not often win in intradepartmental struggles. Add the Army Corps of Engineers with its dam projects. Add also the diversion of Indian rights to essential water, which continues constantly in the arid Southwest.

The book is written in low-key, simple, declarative sentences without resort to rhetoric. (Some of the Hawaiian terminology will require close attention.) By comprehensive range and cumulative facts, the book achieves considerable power. In addition to Parker's analysis of dispossession, she attends to increasing efforts by sophisticated natives to sue and agitate for the rights ostensibly guaranteed to them. They win some, they lose some, but they are learning how to make the institutions of the conquerors benefit themselves.

This book supplements, rather than supplants, the valuable studies written and edited by Imre Sutton: *Indian Land Tenure: Bibliographical Essays and a Guide to the Literature* (1975) and *Irredeemable America: The Indians' Estate and Land Claims* (1985).

FRANCIS JENNINGS
Newberry Library

THOMAS D. CLARK and JOHN D. W. GUICE. *Frontiers in Conflict: The Old Southwest, 1795–1830*. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 335. Cloth $32.50, paper $15.95.

Thomas D. Clark and John D. W. Guice want historians to look at the Old Southwest—an area comprising present-day Mississippi, Alabama, western Florida, and southeastern Louisiana—in different ways. In this book, they devote chapters to such standard topics as land speculation, migration, the military campaigns of Andrew Jackson, and the origins of statehood. But, more important, they offer questions and suggestions designed to provoke readers into thinking about this region of the early American republic as a "frontier," to emphasize not so much its "southern" as its "western" qualities. Too often, they contend, historians have "read the Old Southwest out of the Turnerian model because of the existence of slavery" (p. 260).

Clark and Guice have a point. The Old Southwest was a fascinating place with a dazzling array of culture, including those of American Indians, Anglo-Americans, Hispanics, and French. The authors clearly demonstrate that a key aspect of the region's history was the economic, sexual, social, and political interaction among these various groups in contests for cultural survival as well as territorial control. The great value of their book is that it raises a number of significant questions about the history of a region that has not received the kind of attention that historians have lavished on the Old Northwest, an area settled by Anglo-Americans in the same period.

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One hopes that future scholars of the Old Southwest will also deal with several issues that Clark and Guice address only tangentially. Chief among them would be to think much more rigorously about precisely what constitutes a "frontier" and a "region." To say that the Old Southwest had many of the characteristics of Texas, that it had a great many cattle raisers, is not to say that it was a frontier. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to compare this region with the borderlands of the Northeast and the Old Northwest in the same period to develop more fully the idea of a "frontier" as an area of cross-cultural exchange.

In general, although Clark and Guice are comfortable with the standard literature on the Old Southwest, they seem less confident dealing with recent work, both on the region and on the development of the early republic as a whole. In this respect, more imaginative analyses of racial (both American Indian and African American) and gender networks might prove valuable. Greater attention to the cultures of women would provoke historians to address more directly questions of religious and private life and thus produce a more inclusive and deeper understanding of the world of the Old Southwest. Closer study of how the interaction of different peoples created unique patterns of economic exchange and cultural accommodation would complement and enrich our understanding of the largely male-dominated worlds of military and political conflict.

Even as Clark and Guice admirably ask historians to break out of old interpretive frameworks, their concerns remain relatively traditional. They provide a solid survey of public events on the southern frontier in the early republic. But their narrowly defined efforts to reconceptualize the history of the region are ultimately more tantalizing than satisfying.

ANDREW CAYTON
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Oxford, Ohio

OSCAR HANDLIN and LILIAN HANDLIN. *Liberty in America: 1600 to the Present.* Volume 1, *Liberty and Power, 1600–1760.* New York: Harper and Row. 1986. Pp. xix, 280. $16.95.

In the first volume of a multivolume work, Oscar Handlin and Lilian Handlin trace the development of colonial America from 1600 to 1760 by examining the changing definitions of and relationship between liberty and power. Initially, for the early colonists just as for the compatriots they left behind, both liberty and power were defined in relationship with and proportion to one's status in society. Liberty meant the ability to be secure and was interchangeable with personal and property rights. As such it connoted power, for without power one could not keep person or property secure. Further, liberty embraced the notion of civil or moral liberty expressed by John Winthrop in his *Little Speech on Liberty* (1645). It did not mean the lack of constraint on behavior, for such liberty permitted one to commit evil. Rather, liberty equated the good of the individual with the good of the community.

This conception of liberty enabled the early settlers to overcome the dangers posed by the new environment. Once the battle for survival had been won, however, the process of settlement and forces of expansion themselves redefined the notion of liberty into an inherent quality in men, separate and independent from any property or status held in society.

The Handlins argue powerfully and eloquently that the development of Anglo-American society was a process in which the experience of the settlers molded and dictated the shape of their political and social philosophy. Moreover, the authors offer strong, new evidence of the unique rather than the derivative quality of American culture. Consequently, the thesis of their book contrasts sharply with the conclusions of much of the recent scholarship about colonial America. During the last few years, numerous studies have portrayed Anglo-American society as a cluster of many smaller, divergent cultures. In addition to recognizing significant regional differences, historians have stressed the cultural differences separating whites, blacks, and Indians. Further, by the mid-eighteenth century, the colonies had become the home of a wide variety of nationalities with their own languages, religions, customs, and social institutions. In light of the diverse nature of colonial society, what developed thereafter was a society derivative and reflective of the various cultures of which it was composed. To the extent that this volume recognizes the diverse character of colonial American society, it suggests that such differences were overshadowed by the common experience with the environment and had little impact on the development of a new definition of liberty.

Perhaps the most significant weakness of the book, however, is that its thesis does not satisfactorily explain either the growth or the perpetuation of slavery. If the American environment taught colonials that liberty was rooted in inherent rights and did not depend on property and status, why did slavery continue to grow in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Possibly such an explanation will be found in the second volume. In any case, this work offers a provocative look at the concept of liberty in colonial America and suggests that we need to continue to reassess the role of the American environment in the evolution of American society.

PAUL R. LUCAS
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DAVID HACKETT FISCHER. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* (America: A Cultural History, number 1.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xxi, 946. $39.95.

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For David Hackett Fischer, American historiography in the twentieth century has failed. Early in the century, historians were mere "hunters after the anomalous fact"; mid-century was ruled by "historical relativism"; and the various new histories of the last three decades—promising in their beginnings—have "disintegrated" into a variety of specializations and been "diminished" by "materialist explanations" (pp. viii–ix). In a projected five volumes, possibly more, Fischer proposes to rectify the situation, forging a new synthesis around the notion of culture, specifically the hegemony of English cultures in the making of America. Frederick Jackson Turner, it seems, was wrong; the American environment had little to do with our evolution. Wrong, too, are the proponents of "immigration and ethnic pluralism as determinants of [our] voluntary society," who, Fischer writes, dominate today with a theme begun largely by "scholars . . . not themselves of Anglo-Saxon stock" but "central European in their origin, urban in their residence, and Jewish in their religion" (p. 5).

Fischer begins his grand synthesis with Albion's seed, the planting in the seventeenth century of four great "hearth" cultures on the Eastern Seaboard, each emanating from a specific English region: East Anglian Puritans in Massachusetts; a handful of elite Cavaliers and a multitude of farm servants from the south and west of England in Virginia—the Cavaliers to rule politically and culturally, the farm servants to persist as "a degraded rural proletariate" (p. 787); north midland Quakers in eastern Pennsylvania; and north Britons and Ulstermen in the southern backcountry. The people of these four cultures had much in common: language, law, household organization, Christianity, and Protestantism. But it is their differences that Fischer hammers home through 782 pages of text, maps, graphs, tables, and illustrations, differences all related in some way to distinctive English origins.

In the final one-hundred-odd pages, Fischer summarizes the argument and drives forward. The revolution was in reality four separate revolutions as each culture rose in defense of its autonomy; Loyalists tended to be found among imperial officials and those who lived apart from the hearth cultures, "notably the polyglot population of lower New York, the Highland Scots of Carolina and African slaves" (p. 828); the Constitution of 1787 was marked by regional compromises far more important than those lesser compromises that "generations of political scientists have misled us into thinking" were the great ones (p. 830). Through the nineteenth century the hegemonic cultures "overspread the nation" (p. 832), and presidential politics, the Civil War, Reconstruction, imperialism, the New Deal, and, indeed in the end, the very conduct of World War II battles reflected a persistent regionalism and the four hearth cultures from which it stems. George S. Patton's way of war, for example, was that of his north Briton ancestors carried to California (where Patton grew up) via the early American backcountry; Dwight David Eisenhower's contrasting style—"a soldier who hated fighting and thought of war as a business"—emanated from Swiss Mennonite and German Pietist ancestors who had settled in the Quaker hearth land in the early eighteenth century (pp. 878–79).

One is tempted to call this work simply unbalanced. There is, after all, a strong case to be made for a relationship between English cultural origins and American development; others, David Grayson Allen among them, have put the point on a smaller stage but in a more disciplined fashion. Fischer has merely replaced the materialist reductionism that he decries with cultural reductionism. But the book is also muddled. Culture is a confused concept in Fischer's hands. It is, he writes at one point, "the conscious instrument of human will and purpose," frequently "the deliberate contrivance of a cultural elite" (p. 7). Yet in effect—in Patton, for example—it seems almost genetic. Culture is dynamic, ever changing, Fischer insists, but at the same time old ways persist. That a relationship exists between culture and environment, between *mentalité* and the material world, is regularly admitted but never developed, and, in the potpourri of evidence for cultural differences between hearth regions, one regularly finds intermixed the clear effects of material conditions. Fischer, moreover, freely picks and chooses in the evidence. For example, Fischer offers a hoary plat of Wethersfield, Connecticut, to support the notion of the nuclear New England village but ignores several hundred plats presented by Joseph S. Wood to make the opposite point.

In sum, *Albion's Seed* has borne at best questionable fruit.

DARRETT B. RUTMAN
University of Florida

EDWARD J. CASHIN. *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 360. $35.00.

A fascinating and significant story is struggling to escape from this book, and the patient reader will discover that it ultimately slips free in a final chapter titled "The Legend and the Man." Edward J. Cashin tells us too little about the "American revolution," but Thomas Brown was such a dynamic figure that Cashin's portrait incidentally throws light on many significant aspects of the overall development and character of the British empire in America. Cashin is an indefatigable researcher and, in the course of a labor of decades, uncovered strikingly detailed documentation on Brown's career, especially considering its modest proportions. Unfortunately, the author gathered more facts than he needed and assumed that almost any recovered detail merited preservation.

Brown, Cashin explains, formulated a grand plan for suppressing the rebellion in Georgia and the Carolinas, which guided British strategy in the South during most of the war. It called for employing backcountry loyalists and Indians in frontier fighting, in conjunction with

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landing British troops on the coast, and was tenaciously promoted throughout the war by Brown, the governors of Georgia and Florida, and Lord George Germain. Yet Brown was thwarted in carrying out the plan, not only by American rebels but also by lukewarm British commanders, military rivals, and Indian officials, such as John Stuart, who felt threatened. Cashin sheds new light on many of the specific obstacles to implementation of the plan and convincingly demonstrates Brown's dominance on the southern frontier from 1775 to 1782. Read in conjunction with the work of Gary Olson, Robert S. Lambert, Martha Condray Searcy, and J. Leitch Wright, which Cashin generously acknowledges, this book will enable specialists to reach a deeper understanding of the southern frontier during the revolution.

Cashin devotes too little attention, however, to the larger objectives of Britain in prosecuting the war in America. And, although he does at one point concede that perhaps Brown was not actually the originator of the "grand plan," a wise concession since it was developed and set in motion by John Connolly on the Virginia frontier before British officials ever heard of Brown, Cashin often claims too much for Brown, and such concessions are too rare. Nevertheless, these objections aside, Brown's career from Yorkshire promoter and Georgia planter to manager of Indians, loyalist claimant, confidant of colonial governors, and West Indies colonizer testifies to his extraordinary ability to influence people and events. His is above all the story of an individual's impact on history. It is therefore regrettable that Brown early became the captive of Georgia historians seeking a symbol to dramatize lurid tales of frontier revenge and savagery, a development that Cashin astutely analyzes in a final excellent chapter on Brown's place in the iconography of the American revolution in the South.

PAUL H. SMITH
Library of Congress

TAMARA PLAKINS THORNTON. *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite, 1785–1860*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 244. $29.95.

Tamara Plakins Thornton's book is an original, beautifully written study of Boston's elite. Her "history of the overarticulate" (p. xi) finds fresh things to say about leading Bostonians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as it explores their obsession with country estates, livestock breeding, horticulture, and agricultural societies. Thornton believes that the trappings of these rural pursuits—"Cabot's potatoes, Quincy's carrots, Ingersoll's pigs, and Perkin's fruits"—shed new light on the commercial-industrial elite and on class relationships in the early republic.

Thornton finds that the meaning of the elite's preoccupation with agriculture and rural life changed dramatically between the American revolution and the Civil War. At first, leading Bostonians embraced experimental agriculture and country living ostensibly to demonstrate their mercantile wisdom and benevolent concern for the common farmer. They hoped to cast off "the negative connotations" of their association with urban commerce and manufacturing and to deflect political challenge (p. 2). But why did the elite do so little initially to publicize their efforts or reach practical farmers? The answer, Thornton believes, is that experimental farming and retirement to country estates were for most "an act not of public benevolence but of private self-characterization" (p. 30). The elite sought to convince themselves that they lived the plain life of British country gentlemen ("all terms are relative, of course!" [p. 34]) and that they represented a virtuous opposition to the courtly Jeffersonian Republicans who, they believed, had betrayed the revolution and ruined the nation.

After the War of 1812, Boston's elite aimed at "the complete reform of agriculture as a social and political necessity" (p. 77). The death of the Federalist party, the growth of cities and factories, and the decline of New England's political power forced elite citizens to embrace agricultural reform in order to stem westward migration and preserve rural values. The reform movement also helped Boston's leading mercantile and manufacturing families find common ground and mitigate internecine antagonisms.

Once, however, Boston's mercantile and manufacturing families had intermarried extensively and had closed their circle to new entrants in the 1830s, and after they had consolidated their power in the state's Whig party, their "concerns shifted subtly from political and social leadership to individual and class self-justification" (p. 141). The rise of aristocratic values among Boston's leading citizens led to an obsession with the breeding of plants and animals (and with the preservation and improvement of Brahmin bloodlines). Those values also led to a new "preference for the beautiful over the practical, for ornament over utility," as the elite dedicated more of their wealth to hobbies, leisure, and display (p. 84). Participants in the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, founded in 1829, and in the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture focused single-mindedly on breeding imported English livestock. And they became convinced that "they had something in common" with their fruits, flowers, vegetables, and horses, for "both were the choice products of cultivation" (p. 171).

Boston's elite became increasingly "inward-looking" (p. 84) and "self-preoccupied" (p. 141), and it was not long before they lost interest in practical farming and entertained thoughts of improving themselves "into a species" (p. 171). After the Civil War, leading citizens readily embraced the works of racist ethnologists and Social Darwinists and transformed the pursuit of prize-winning plants and animals, which at first represented antidotes to materialism, into a pattern of conspicuous consumption.

I hope Thornton will extend her work on class

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relations and elite cultures in antebellum America and compare her findings with those of E. Digby Baltzell on the Philadelphia elite (*Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia* [1979]) and Jan Lewis on the Virginia elite (*Pursuit of Happiness* [1983]). I wish she had spent as much time comparing America's regional elites as she did comparing New England's and England's. But this is simply a plea for more. Her book is an entertaining, thoughtful, and important work.

RANDOLPH ROTH
Ohio State University, Columbus

DAVID A. GERBER. *The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825–60.* (Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 531. $34.95.

In this big book, David A. Gerber uses antebellum Buffalo to develop a dynamic model of interactive social class and ethnicity at least indirectly influenced by the neo-ethnicism of the early 1970s. While acknowledging his borrowings from recent social history, Gerber also claims that his work has some significant new features, most notably his rejection of the notion that ethnic groups were preexistent in favor of the view that they were formed in America under largely American conditions by a process that he calls "ethnicization." In general, he deals with Buffalo as a public field for the operation of distinctive but overlapping processes of class formation and ethnicization.

In his discussion of the first decades of Buffalo's growth after the opening of the Erie Canal, Gerber emphasizes the emergence of a distinctively American class situation, where "bourgeois" businessmen and their allies exercised social and moral authority over a population of largely Protestant property owners. Thus, while artisans and other occupational groups existed, class differences were muted, and they were further moderated by temperance and other strivings for reform that integrated not only the classes but the sexes into a common effort to create a bourgeois social order.

By the late 1840s, this social order was confronted by a radically different social reality associated with growing numbers of Irish and then German immigrants. Each of these immigrant groups, in Gerber's view, developed a distinctive form of ethnic solidarity derived from its particular relationship with local circumstances as well as from its cultural character. After establishing the existence of three primary social groups (Americans, Irish, and Germans), Gerber then relates them first to the emergence of the modern labor class, where ethnicity affected class consciousness, and then to religion, where conflict but also some accommodation between Protestants and Catholics produced a "new interconfessional order" (p. 280).

In his last section, Gerber deals with politics as an agency of both ethnic identity and civic community among the diverse people of Buffalo. Of special note here is his insistence that the 1850s saw the ethnicization, especially under the influence of nativism, of Protestant Americans. Having thus compounded ethnic diversity, Gerber concludes on a note of unity by describing the work of the Republican party in forming a coalition of American and German ethnics that overturned Democratic domination of Buffalo and produced a strong vote for Abraham Lincoln in 1860. And so politics completed the making of an American pluralism.

There are some problems with this work. Among various irritants is Gerber's prose, which, although generally serviceable, more than occasionally lapses into clumsy pretentiousness. A more serious fault is his almost entire neglect of the racial dimensions of American pluralism, a surprise because his first book dealt with the race situation in Ohio. In other ways, too, his tripartite model of ethnicization is nearly as simplistic as the pious model of "Americanization" that it is evidently designed to replace, most notably in its tendency to play down the forces for assimilation opposed to the ethnicizing process.

This book, however, has even more noteworthy merits. Along with its thought-provoking thesis, it provides a compendium of techniques and ideas associated with the new social history, and it wins respect for its often-sensitive treatment of the interworkings of ethnicity and social class. Beyond these matters, it also furnishes numerous insights into the economic, cultural, social, and political history of Buffalo. Students of urban as well as social history will find it a useful work.

EDWARD K. SPANN
Indiana State University

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON. *Charles Fenton Mercer and the Trial of National Conservatism.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1989. Pp. xiii, 343. $35.00.

More than four decades ago, Dumas Malone wrote a lovely essay on the "great generation" of Virginians who helped make a revolution and build a nation. Douglas R. Egerton's earnest attempt to rescue from historical oblivion one of the next generation of Virginia leaders provides a sharp reminder of the steep decline in the caliber of leaders that Virginia produced after 1800.

Born in 1778 to a prominent and propertied Fredericksburg family, Charles Fenton Mercer had all the advantages that an ambitious youth could want. At the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in the mid-1790s, Mercer absorbed the notion of responsibility for "service" to his commonwealth and nation.

He did not shirk this responsibility. A committed conservative who never believed that common people were likely to make wise political choices, Mercer was shrewd enough to recognize that his times demanded public obeisance to the democratic ideal. Egerton cred-

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its Mercer, working from his base as a state legislator, with adapting to the demands of mass politics and spearheading a Federalist resurgence in Virginia during Thomas Jefferson's second presidential term and beyond.

Mercer's shrewdest move during a long and generally disappointing career was one of his first: opposing the war with England in 1812 but, once war came, joining the cause. This move afforded Mercer a measure of respectability that helped him survive the postwar undertow that killed Federalism and made possible his election to a safe seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Egerton strives mightily to portray the mature Mercer as a weighty figure who influenced the course of American economic development through legislative initiatives and personal advocacy. His evidence only marginally supports this thesis. The American System would have surfaced had Mercer never seen the light of day. As a politician, moreover, Mercer appears neither as a prophet nor as a consequential "player" in Washington but as a tiresome windbag given to acerbic personal attacks on his rivals. When challenged, Mercer tended to run. The book is strewn with references to interminable speeches that nobody listened to, great schemes largely unfulfilled, and frustrating encounters with important people that Mercer sought to influence.

Egerton is strongest on Mercer's long involvement with the African colonization movement, which he reluctantly abandoned after it changed its orientation in the 1830s. Egerton is helpful, too, in detailing Mercer's efforts to promote a canal between the Chesapeake and Ohio valleys. The political analysis, by contrast, is stunted because Egerton cannot demonstrate Mercer's influence on national legislation that significantly affected American life. Nor, despite the portentous title, does the author delineate his subject's contribution to American conservatism. There is no systematic comparison of Mercer's ideas with those of any national Whig politician and no indication that any Whig presidential aspirant relied on Mercer's support.

Mercer is a weak vehicle for an ambitious biographer. In the end, this book tells readers less about the "trial of national conservatism" than about the decline of Virginia statesmanship in the early nineteenth century.

MICHAEL J. BIRKNER
Gettysburg College

ROBERT F. HUNTER and EDWIN L. DOOLEY, JR. *Claudius Crozet: French Engineer in America, 1790–1864*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1989. Pp. x, 224. $25.00.

Claudius Crozet was a founder of the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), which sponsored publication of this biography as part of its sesquicentennial. Both authors are associated with VMI, Robert F. Hunter as an emeritus professor of history, Edwin L. Dooley as an assistant to the superintendent. That they are unabashedly sympathetic to Crozet should not be surprising.

Crozet left France for the United States in 1816, searching for greater opportunity. He was a graduate of the rigorous Ecole Polytechnique, trained as a civil and military engineer. With Napoleon's final surrender he resigned his captaincy in the Grande Armée after six years of service, including two spent as a prisoner of war in Russia. He "brought innovative changes in the teaching of engineering and mathematics at West Point, presided over Jefferson College in Louisiana, and played an important role" in establishing VMI. He also acted as Louisiana's state engineer for a brief time (1832–34) and for a longer period as Virginia's principal engineer (1823–31, 1837–43). Working as chief engineer on the Blue Ridge Railroad line from 1849–57, "he capped his career by building what was at the time the nation's longest railroad tunnel" (p. ix).

Crozet's peregrinations were matched by the authors as they pieced together their story. Research took them to France and to libraries in Louisiana and New York as well as to various collections in Virginia. Their book is quite similar in organization, length, and general tone to William Couper's biography of Crozet published in 1936. Couper (who was also affiliated with VMI) quoted more liberally from the sources that he consulted, but Hunter and Dooley have dug more deeply in the archives, paid more attention to context, and written a more sophisticated account.

Crozet appears as a man of great foresight, common sense, and consummate engineering skill. For example, as early as 1826, he understood that railroads would be important to any future transportation system; at the same time, he also understood that in some settings canals or a combination of locks and dams would be more cost efficient. The authors trace the politics of internal improvements in antebellum Virginia and show how decisions were not based solely on engineering or financial considerations. (A cleaner rendering of Virginia to supplement Crozet's map of 1838 used for the endpapers would have been helpful here.)

Hunter and Dooley do not question Crozet's motives or actions, nor do they speculate about his innermost thoughts. Apparently there is not enough surviving evidence to allow for such inquiry. Even so, adulatory tone notwithstanding, they do not lapse into simple hero worship. Nevertheless, they might have said more about the transatlantic technological transfer of which Crozet was a part. He came in the second wave of French engineers who landed in the United States, the first having arrived during the War of Independence. And they might have included more about the larger transportation "revolution" that Crozet helped advance. What they have produced is less ambitious, but it is a nicely written, easily read account of one man whose efforts have rarely been noticed.

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ROBERT C. VITZ. *The Queen and the Arts: Cultural Life in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati.* Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 322. $27.50.

Robert C. Vitz's book chronicles Cincinnati's cultural life from its tentative 1820s through its substantial 1890s in a straightforward manner, dwelling more extensively on the worlds of art and music where the cultural elite most productively concentrated their money. The reader learns of the many attempts to establish cultural institutions: orchestras, choral societies, theaters, music conservatories, festivals, artists' clubs, academies, galleries, museums, and artistic crafts industries. As the story proceeds, it often seems that Cincinnati culture gradually took hold in spite of everybody's good intentions, because the rate of failure, the numerous trajectories into oblivion, and the political and personal conflicts consumed a great share of the culture creators' energies. From start to finish, indeed, Cincinnati (variously graced with titles ranging from Porkopolis to the Athens or even the Paris of the West) was more nursery for fledgling talent than lode star beckoning genius: nearly every notable native painter, for example, became famous and remained in New York or Paris. Despite that, by the century's end the standard institutions of urban high culture were at long last in place: a resident symphony, an art museum, an art school, an art colony, and other amenities. The city had also acquired a particularly bright luster as home of Rookwood Potteries, one of the finest producers of the American arts and crafts movement. Chicago, however, had long since won cultural leadership of the Midwest, and New York continued to enjoy preeminence as national culture capital. Resigned, Cincinnati attained stability as a "thriving city of solid cultural achievements" (p. 263).

Like the nineteenth-century midwestern urban culture it describes, this book is solidly middle-of-the-road, conservative, and even old-fashioned as history writing goes. Here the reader will find no deconstruction, Marxism, feminism, semiotics, anthropology, or psychology of Lacanian or any other kind. Culture is by definition high culture, and its history is a narrative compounded by biography, anecdote, facts, and figures. Vitz is at his best in dealing with this data base. His storytelling and vividly evoked personalities are often engaging. Occasionally, the accumulation of detail overwhelms the reader; inventories of actors and events become encyclopedic. Ironically, despite such overload, specialists will find here only a starting point: art, music, and urban historians, among others, will have to go elsewhere to pursue many issues and ideas lightly sketched among these pages. One wishes, for instance, to see the Cincinnati story considered as paradigm of the mechanics and dynamics of high cultural diffusion, since from start to finish it clearly mirrors eastern patterns of ideology and action and eastern dialectics of art and money. It is obvious, however, that Vitz's study is intended primarily to be a broadly synthetic survey of the rise of culture in an important inland metropolis, and in this it succeeds. The copious notes and bibliography will make it especially useful as a reference work, and it is rich in suggestions for further study.

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JOHN F. SEARS. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 243. $24.95.

In this book, John F. Sears offers us not only an explanation of the popularity of certain tourist spots but also an enlightening discussion of the role that tourism played in helping Americans fashion a distinctive national culture in the six decades after 1820. Unable to call on the traditions, history, architecture, and literature of Europe, Americans turned to the natural and social landscapes to find their culture. Critical in this process, according to Sears, were the writers and artists who visited such spots, depicted them in words or paint, and thereby self-consciously helped invest them with special meaning for the American public. The specific function that these places served was to remind visitors that America was a land created and guided by divine providence. Tourist attractions became "sacred places," spots where Americans could escape from the cares and trivialities of everyday life and find assurance of God's role in their world.

Sears treats a broad range of natural and man-made nineteenth-century tourist attractions, describing the varied reactions that they produced. Niagara Falls, one of America's first and best-known tourist spots, evoked feelings of the sublime. Mammoth Cave, on the other hand, with its absence of light, sounds, smells, wind, or rain, reminded some visitors of the world on the brink of creation and made others feel as though they had descended into the underworld. Willey House, the White Mountain spot where an avalanche had miraculously missed the Willey's home but killed the family attempting to flee, drew visitors who found there proof of humans' inability to fathom the divine plan. It was not, however, only nature that attracted American tourists. Tourists visited prisons, asylums, rural cemeteries, and industrial mining towns. Lacking the grandeur and mystery of natural phenomena, these places nevertheless instilled a sense of national pride in their commitment to humanitarian reform, their promise of salvation, and their demonstration of American industrial and technical accomplishments. The self-conscious decision to develop Yosemite and Yellowstone in the 1860s and 1870s reflected a recognition that tourism had become "well-established both as a cultural activity and as an industry" by the middle of the century (p. 123). That the federal government set these areas aside as national parks testified less to a desire to preserve nature than to a desire to create lasting

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"symbols of America's cultural achievement" that would be readily accessible to all classes of visitors (p. 133).

Certainly, Sears acknowledges, not all tourists sought divine inspiration when they visited these places. He discusses, for example, the considerable tension between those who tried to commercialize tourist attractions and those who hoped to reserve such places for more "sacred" purposes. And he acknowledges that tourism quickly became another example of mass consumer culture. Nevertheless, the problem with this otherwise good book is Sears's close identification of "tourists" with the group of elite writers and artists who chose to publish books about and paint pictures of these sights. Although some visitors may have visited Willey House to see an example of God's irrationality, many others certainly came to view the pile of rocks that had buried the unlucky family. And, although some tourists went to prisons, asylums, and homes for the blind or deaf to be uplifted by America's innovative social reforms, others no doubt went to gape at unfortunate inmates. Sears has convincingly identified the specific cultural meaning that writers and artists attached to various tourist sights. Whether, in fact, these sights held such meaning for most American tourists still remains to be seen.

CINDY S. ARON
University of Virginia

KAREN LYSTRA. *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 336. $24.95.

The public rhetoric that defined and constricted Victorian gender roles mattered little to couples alone in the parlor or bedroom. Karen Lystra, who has analyzed the correspondence of scores of middle-class men and women, argues that romantic love bridged the distance between the seemingly "separate spheres." Many historians, inattentive to this private realm of romance, have wrongly characterized Victorian gender relations as distant, exploitative, and sexually repressive, or so she contends.

Lystra shows that romantic love progressed according to a predictable ritual. It began to unfold during courtship, when couples increasingly shared intimate thoughts whose private disclosure became all the more delicious for having been proscribed from public discourse. Courtship culminated a series of crises, usually initiated by women, to test and intensify the commitment and affection of their suitors.

Romantic love grew into emotionally intense and sexually fulfilling marriages. Husbands devoted themselves to work partly as an expression of love for their families. And women, by nurturing their husbands' affection, loosened the strictures of patriarchal authority. Romantic love was so powerful that married couples found God "in each other" (p. 258).

The love letters, cited in abundance, convey such intensity that at times it seems an invasion of privacy to continue reading. This is Lystra's point, for such evidence shatters the stereotypical picture of Victorian husbands as flinty patriarchs and their wives as docile victims. Lystra's writing is sharp, and her analysis often shrewd, as when she argues that medical advisers condemned sexual sins "so vigorously" because they recognized them as "endemic" (p. 113).

Nevertheless, her evidence fails to constitute "proof of the intensity" (dust jacket) of love among men and women. It comes as little surprise that couples expressed affection when writing love letters. Even Theodore Dreiser's adulterous Hurstwood, intent on seducing "Sister Carrie," penned love letters whose "fluency" surprised even himself. Moreover, couples had little reason to commit their indifference or rancor to paper, much less preserve it for posterity. The paucity of such letters in the family archives does not prove that unloving sentiments were rare or uncharacteristic.

On several key points, moreover, the letters are insufficient to sustain Lystra's argument. She attributes the sharp decline in the birth rate to the practice of birth control by cooperative and sexually active couples. "The idea, based upon the repressive hypothesis, that abstinence was *the* Victorian choice of birth control is false" (p. 78), she states flatly. But her evidence consists of three rather cryptic letters alluding to menstrual cycles or "some form of birth control" (p. 82). Although she posits a general availability of information on birth control, evidently none of the thousands of letters she surveyed mentioned condoms, pessaries, douches, coitus interruptus, or details of the rhythm method. If love letters indeed provided couples with one of their "most intimate private interactions" (p. 4), the virtual absence of references to contraception among this most cooperative of marital groups suggests that the falling birth rate may well have been caused by abstinence. And, if Victorians regarded sexuality as "the ultimate expression of the individual's inner self" (p. 84), protracted abstinence, or even coitus interruptus, presumably carried a psychic cost. Perhaps it even contributed to the rise of prostitution, which, though unmentioned in the letters, flourished during the Victorian era.

By delineating the complex rituals and mechanisms by which women used romantic love to attenuate the excesses of patriarchal authority, Lystra has profoundly deepened our understanding of the dynamics of Victorian gender roles. But I am unpersuaded by her sanguine portrait of nineteenth-century marriage. Charlotte Perkins Gilman—whose credentials on romantic love were, I admit, unimpressive—nevertheless struck at the heart of the matter when she declared that love cannot abide inequality. Victorian women, Gilman wrote, became "mercenary wives" who despaired of their economic dependence, while their husbands turned "with loathing from the kind of women" they had made. Perhaps, as Lystra suggests, this modern—and feminist—perspective is inapplicable to the nine-

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teenth century, yet it may be that Victorian notions of gender difference are incompatible with our understanding of companionate love.

MARK C. CARNES
Barnard College, Columbia University

MARTIN HENRY BLATT. *Free Love and Anarchism: The Biography of Ezra Heywood*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 207. $26.95.

Martin Henry Blatt was drawn to Ezra Heywood (1829–93) because he held that "the individual is the core of society, that freedom is essential for human progress, and that the power of ideas can change the way we live and treat one another" (p. xi). Heywood was a Victorian individualist anarchist, and Blatt intends this book as "a contribution to the growing body of feminist scholarship and to the efforts of historians to come to terms with the place of anarchism in American labor and social history" (p. xii). And, because Blatt has already edited Heywood's *Collected Works* (1985), this biography is solidly grounded in the anarchist's own words.

Aiming at the ministry, Heywood graduated from Brown University, where he was drawn into abolitionism, perfectionism, millennialism, and evangelicalism. He broke with his own church over immediatism, he broke with most abolitionists over means, and he turned to labor reform: the National Labor Union, the New England Labor Reform League, and the American Labor Reform League. Heywood became a tireless pamphleteer, and his anarchist journal, *The Word* (1872–93), published advanced views on the state, labor reform, and "women's slavery." Heywood and his wife, Angela, were drawn into post–Civil War reform currents: women's suffrage, spiritualism, phrenology, and free love. The Heywoods came to support women's suffrage because it represented a "wholesome revolt against male usurpation," which would "have to move beyond the particular struggle for the ballot and confront male supremacy in all of its manifestations" (pp. 134–35). Those reform currents proved to be dangerous waters; both husband and wife were equally outspoken, even offensive to community standards. Between 1877 and 1890, Ezra Heywood was arrested five times and convicted three times of mailing obscene materials. He was hounded by Anthony Comstock and Victorian purity crusaders for advertising contraceptive devices, describing birth control, advocating free love, publishing Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, and for using sexually specific four-letter words. "As the label free love became more and more opprobrious, Heywood became prouder of the label and of his free-love advocacy" (p. 136). Anarchist eroticism became expensive, and the struggle to maintain free speech cost the Heywoods their security, home, business, and, in 1893, Ezra's life.

This is a short, tight book, and some readers may wish for a bit more, especially on *The Word*'s readers and the audience for these words and ideas. The book's subtitle may be misleading. For Angela—so vividly sketched in these pages—was Ezra's intellectual partner in an anarchist marriage and ought to share his place in that subtitle. Blatt is best when he untangles the web of the Heywoods' thought—the subtle ambiguities, contradictions, and limitations within their ideas. Following Paul Avrich's work, the heroic biography has become the quintessential form for anarchist historiography: Blatt's study of Heywood is a careful, concise, and useful addition to that genre.

BRUCE C. NELSON
Central Michigan University

SYLVIA D. HOFFERT. *Private Matters: American Attitudes toward Childbearing and Infant Nurture in the Urban North, 1800–1860*. (Women in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. 229. $24.95.

Sylvia D. Hoffert's study focuses on behaviors and attitudes that encompassed the birth of children in antebellum, white, middle-class families. Her anecdotes, drawn from letters, diaries, medical texts, advice literature, women's magazines, and religious periodicals, shock us with the modernity of these nineteenth-century matrons and their husbands and show us how their decisions, influenced by ubiquitous advice givers, laid the foundation for the contemporary model family.

Hoffert uses material from many sources but relies primarily on prescriptive advice in medical journals to demonstrate public attitudes and on private correspondence to establish actual behaviors concerning an array of topics related to pregnancy and infant nurture. Interestingly, physicians and other advice givers had little to say about contraception and pregnancy itself. These issues loomed large, however, to a population that reduced family size by 30 percent in a few decades. Hoffert found no direct references to contraception, although one wife's compliment to her husband on being such a "careful man" (p. 20) reinforces other indications that withdrawal was the most common means of birth control.

Despite doctors' warnings that pregnancy was a pathological condition requiring medical intervention, women avoided professional prenatal care and socialized freely through the ninth month wearing specially designed maternity clothes. The use of a male physician for the delivery, however, became *de rigueur* not only because of the technological and pharmacological arsenals at the doctor's disposal but also because his engagement signified the couple's elevated status. Debate often focused on the use of anesthetics, with physicians loathe to use any and women and their supporters demanding relief. The holders of the purse strings ultimately won, notwithstanding physicians who denounced women as self-indulgent, lazy, and overrefined. Doctors exercised greater influence in the imme-

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diate post-partum period, which seemed fraught with physical and emotional dangers, in part because doctors themselves transmitted puerperal fever. Nevertheless, inexperienced, geographically mobile women based day-to-day decisions on convenience. Many used baby bottles with pewter, and later rubber, nipples or relied on wet nurses. Physicians' declarations that such practices would sterilize women, jeopardize infants, and inhibit mother love generally fell on deaf ears. Women also decided when and how to wean their infants, usually at nine to twelve months, paying greater attention to the comfort of the child than to scientific advisers.

Hoffert's final chapter on infant death, which relies on religious literature and fictional accounts, shows that, contrary to the notion that parents detached themselves from the trauma of infant death, nineteenth-century parents grieved intensely when they lost a child and sought consolation from religious as well as literary guides. These sources portrayed the deceased child as God's redemptive agent, a departure from the earlier concept of infant depravity and one better suited to the self-image of the urban family.

Throughout the book, Hoffert successfully connects her evidence to the emerging cult of motherhood that demanded that middle-class women invest greater time and effort in their children to enhance their family's social status and compensate for their own new-found leisure. But Hoffert avoids questions that would have enriched her analysis, particularly questions about the advice givers themselves. She is silent on the backgrounds of the men and women who appointed themselves social arbiters and on whether their legions changed over the six decades in question. Ultimately, what effect did they have on decisions about middle-class family behavior? Did the frequent shrillness of their advice and their barely veiled misogyny signal other, more global, social changes underway? Hoffert's book is a rich resource for material about a significant stage in the development of the modern family, but it would have added far more to our understanding of the period and the process of social change had she integrated it more fully with the current research in social history, women's history, and professional history of the period.

GLORIA MOLDOW
Iona College

JOHN C. INSCOE. *Mountain Masters, Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 348. $29.95.

This wide-ranging book proves that the debate about slavery's grip on highland societies is not over. Much of this volume is "high" political history, covering in depth, for example, the career of Congressman Thomas L. Clingman. But in many ways the real prey are those elusive nonslaveholders, suppliers of such plentiful grist for the myth mills. John C. Inscoe argues provocatively that the overwhelming nonslaveholding majority and the slaveholding elite united in a proslavery "interclass consensus" that grew more pronounced with time. Their accord was born of a healthy entrepreneurial spirit, a prosperous commercial economy, support for internal improvements, tax and suffrage reform, and a strong regional identity derived from those interests. A sacred respect for property rights, including those in humans, braced the whole.

Inscoe's stimulating critique dispenses with many wearisome formulas. These white mountaineers were not secluded shack-dwellers who mixed pathological individualism with strong kin-based communitarianism, nor were they egalitarians dosed with crude and thorough racism. Social depravity, primitive backwardness, and illiterate ignorance partly redeemed by riotous fiddling, charmingly antique speech, and accomplished bee going do not figure here. Other standard interpretations undergo subtle modification. Many were poor, but nonslaveholders did not suffer maladies said to be common to their hard-bitten lot. Yeomen raised Whiggish slaveholders as facilely as they did hogs, but their deference was the cagey kind. They reasoned that slavery was in their best interests, and so they loathed neither slaves, masters, nor themselves. Their racism ran the gamut. Wartime independence movements paled in comparison to eastern Tennessee's.

The reason that bondage resonated so powerfully on this periphery derived from the character of the economy. A complex commercial web based on a diversified agricultural surplus and a remarkable livestock trade linked the region tightly to slaveholder markets, especially in South Carolina. Slaveholding tourists fortified those ties. Moreover, slavery was not incidental but rather "fully entrenched and economically quite healthy," especially in counties with river access, fertile bottom land, and entrepôts like Asheville (p. 81). Slave hiring to nonslaveholders widened the institution's orbit further and, Inscoe argues, helped blur class lines significantly. Proslavery found a ready audience because disunion threatened to disrupt these profitable patterns.

According to Inscoe's analysis of slaves and the master-slave relationship, probably the least well developed parts of the book, benevolent paternalism ruled the day. Lax control, freedom of movement, humanity, intimacy, trust, and "genuine affection" distinguished the ties that bound (p. 96). The great majority of slaves belonged to a business elite and provided a variety of nonagricultural labor. Buying and selling were regional affairs restricted to close friends and family. Many strove to preserve or reestablish slave families, but even so a surprisingly high percentage of single-owned slaves were youngsters under the age of ten.

Inscoe's emphasis on "interclass consensus" will prove controversial. It is hard to imagine how bitter wartime class tensions developed had those conflicts not had deeper antebellum roots, however disguised. Nonetheless, Inscoe's analysis is a challenging addition

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to the recent critical renaissance in Appalachian history and should be read seriously by all students of slavery and the nineteenth-century South.

LYNDA MORGAN
Mount Holyoke College

ALLAN G. BOGUE. *The Congressman's Civil War*. (Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 189. Cloth $39.50, paper $10.95.

Allan G. Bogue's book is an outgrowth of the Carl Becker lectures that Bogue delivered in 1986 at Cornell University. Devoted to an analysis of congressional procedures and behavior during the Civil War, it is in part a continuation of his book *The Earnest Men* (1981), his study of Senate Republicans. In four brief chapters, Bogue examines the type of men elected to Congress between 1844 and 1865, members' relations with the president, the investigative procedures of the House, and its authority structure. As is to be expected from such an expert quantifier, Bogue's statistical sampling of congressional attitudes, votes, procedures, backgrounds, and other matters abounds throughout the volume.

The importance of studies of the legislative branch during the Civil War is self-evident. Some twenty years ago Leonard P. Curry prepared an excellent account of the nonmilitary legislation of the Thirty-seventh Congress, and other scholars have followed suit. A comprehensive history of both houses, however, is still needed, and Bogue has made a commendable beginning in trying to tie together various disparate strains of congressional activity. But to say anything new about Civil War politics is difficult, and many of the author's findings, even if bolstered by quantitative evidence, necessarily repeat previous assessments. The exceptions are the consideration of investigative procedures and the discussion of Republican caucuses documented in the diary of Congressman William Parker Curtis of Ohio.

In general, Bogue tends to stress the antagonisms within the Republican party and the Radicals' opposition to the president. Nevertheless, he himself admits that Abraham Lincoln's skillful management produced an effective collaboration. Perhaps it ought to be stressed once again that the president's final goals were not too different from those of his Radical critics, although he had a much better sense of timing.

In any study of Congress, it would seem necessary to consider the membership of all parties. Yet, with the exception of his evaluation of biographies of colleagues eulogized by their fellows, Bogue concentrates almost exclusively on the Republicans. The relationship between Republicans, Democrats, and Unionists constituted an important aspect of congressional operations, and it is regrettable that this subject has been slighted.

In spite of these criticisms and an occasional error, such as the reference to James M. Ashley as one of the impeachment managers, this well-researched volume may serve as an introductory study to a more thorough consideration of congressional procedures. It is this feature that makes it worthwhile, and it is to be hoped that Bogue will continue this inquiry so fruitfully begun.

HANS L. TREFOUSSE
Brooklyn College
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JOSEPH T. GLATTHAAR. *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers*. New York: Free Press of Macmillan. 1990. Pp. xiii, 370. $24.95.

The Civil War role of approximately one hundred eighty thousand black soldiers and their seven thousand white officers, organized into the United States Colored Troops (USCT), is hardly unknown. Dudley Taylor Cornish's *Sable Army: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861–1865*, first published in 1956 and recently reissued, is a superb study. And, in 1982, Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland edited a volume in the series "Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867" that detailed the black soldiers' experience through a deft combination of incisive essays and original documents. To scholars who have read these books, much of Joseph Glatthaar's account—the initial reluctance to accept black troops, the unequal treatment they endured from Union authorities, the atrocities that Confederates inflicted on them, and their heroic performance at Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson, Fort Wagner, and other battlefields—will be familiar.

But, as with his *March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns* (1985), Glatthaar demonstrates the ability to enrich a familiar subject by asking fresh questions and bringing new perspectives to bear. In this brief review, three examples will have to suffice. First and foremost is Glatthaar's detailed exposition of the interaction between the whites and blacks serving in the USCT. His portrayal of their evolving relationship is consistently sensitive to the complexities, ironies, and paradoxes inherent in the situation. Society's pervasive racism, for instance, ensured that even those white officers who were sincerely dedicated to the USCT's success harbored pejorative stereotypes about the black race. Second, the author pushes the story beyond Appomattox with chapters on the USCT's role as a postwar "army of occupation" and on "life after the USCT," which are topics that Cornish ignored and that Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland only lightly brushed. Reconstruction duty was especially painful for the USCT as southern whites viciously terrorized black soldiers and civilians, and the wartime bonds between the black troops and their white officers dissolved in the absence of a shared sense of mission and danger. Third, Glatthaar addresses the issue of combat stress and its long-term effects, perhaps

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reflecting the influence of the Vietnam War and its aftermath. Evidence indicates that white officers experienced greater stress than the black men that they commanded and consequently suffered more acutely in adjusting to a peacetime environment. Their divorce rate was apparently four or five times higher than the national level, and they had a high rate of alcoholism, opium abuse, and suicide.

Supporting this study are two samples, a random sample of 386 white officers and a selected sample of twenty black companies whose recruits came from specific regions. To give flesh and blood to the names and units, Glatthaar employed published primary sources, government documents, newspapers and periodicals, and personal papers in more than forty repositories, including the National Archives, where he used numerous files in seven record groups. In all, this volume is impressive: well researched, nicely organized and written, and brimming with originality.

PETER MASLOWSKI
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

JOSEPH ALLAN FRANK and GEORGE A. REAVES. *"Seeing the Elephant": Raw Recruits at the Battle of Shiloh.* (Contributions in Military Studies, number 88.) New York: Greenwood. 1989. Pp. 215. $39.95.

In 1943 and 1951, Bell I. Wiley published the first scholarly studies of the common soldiers of the Confederacy and the Union. During the 1980s, Wiley's pioneering efforts were furthered by several historians, including Michael Barton, Gerald F. Linderman, Reid Mitchell, Earl Hess, James I. Robertson, Joseph Glatthaar, and John M. Priest. Joseph Allan Frank and George A. Reaves have added to this historiography with their study, which concludes that the soldiers who experienced their first battle at Shiloh were motivated in much the same ways as their twentieth-century counterparts and that the trauma of their initial combat affected them less than some might expect.

Frank and Reaves have written a lively book, full of engaging quotations from the diaries and letters of veterans on subjects including mobilization, training, and attitudes before their first engagement. Its strongest chapter is the one on the Battle of Shiloh itself, which uses the accounts of the young volunteers to take readers to the front and confront them with the horrors of Civil War combat and the sufferings of the wounded. This chapter makes an excellent supplement to the secondary works on the Battle of Shiloh, such as those by Wiley Sword, James McDonough, and O. Edward Cunningham. These earlier narratives, written essentially from the perspectives of senior commanders, describe the battle primarily by tracing the movements of regiments and larger units, whereas this account focuses on the soldiers and their experiences under fire.

Some of this book's findings match well with those a reader might infer from common sense. Frank and Reaves conclude, for example, that, when enlisted men evaluated their officers before Shiloh, they often based their assessments on a leader's personality or appearance. After the battle, the first major engagement in the western theater, soldiers applied a new criterion, competence under fire, and this factor came to outweigh an officer's personal character or military presence in evaluations made by his troops. Some of the book's other observations are compatible with evidence from sources beyond the accounts of the enlisted men that the authors use. Frank and Reaves found, for example, that the "most frequent defense that the volunteers invoked to justify their regiment's withdrawal was to claim that it had no choice but to retreat, because its flanks had been exposed by neighboring units" (p. 135). The same assertion is common in the official reports of officers. Many of the regimental and brigade commanders who served under William T. Sherman and Benjamin Prentiss, whose divisions suffered the first Confederate attacks at Shiloh, claimed in their after-action accounts that their units retreated because they were outflanked. This rationale often appears in the official reports of this battle and of other engagements throughout the war.

It is difficult to know how representative the sources cited in this study are of the experiences of common soldiers during the Civil War. Insufficient evidence is presented to answer broad questions such as what attitudes the men of each side had about slavery or whether southerners fought more eagerly than northerners. The book's sources are too limited on some topics to establish generalizations about the views of the men at Shiloh, let alone of the soldiers during the war as a whole. Frank and Reaves drew on the writings of about four hundred fifty veterans, a sizable number in absolute terms but small relative to the tens of thousands of participants in this enormous battle. Furthermore, only a fraction of these four hundred fifty accounts address some of the book's specific subjects. Just fifty-three of the sources recounted the fighting in detail, thirty-six described the writers' emotions during combat, and twenty-six included remarks made after the battle about the officers. This work provides a valuable perspective on the Battle of Shiloh, but its limited evidence on some topics may not be representative.

PERRY D. JAMIESON
Office of Air Force History

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COOLING. *Jubal Early's Raid on Washington, 1864.* Baltimore: Nautical and Aviation. 1989. Pp. xiii, 344.

Even while locked in mortal combat with the Army of the Potomac at Cold Harbor in June 1864, Confederate General Robert E. Lee was unwilling to surrender the initiative completely to his Federal opponents. In a masterful campaign two years earlier, Stonewall Jack-

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son had used the Valley of Virginia as a conduit to play upon Union fears for the safety of Washington, D.C., and thereby affect operations further south. Perhaps, Lee reasoned, a similar campaign in the summer of 1864 might weaken Ulysses S. Grant's grip on the Army of Northern Virginia. With Jackson dead, Lee turned to the commander of Jackson's old Second Corps, Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early. Early initially met all expectations, as he drove a Federal column from Lynchburg, Virginia, then cleared the Shenandoah Valley of Federal troops. Crossing the Potomac River, he next headed for Washington, but his pace was already beginning to slacken. Outside of Frederick, Maryland, Early's men met and defeated a scratch force gathered by Major General Lew Wallace in the Battle of Monocacy on July 9, 1864. Pushing forward to the outskirts of the Federal capital, Early spent several days confronting the city's massive fortifications before leisurely withdrawing into Virginia. Although he had made little effort to enter the city, Early's thrust threw the Federal high command, both military and civilian, into an uproar and caused Grant to detach a significant number of troops from the Army of the Potomac to protect the capital. In fact, the raid was so successful that Grant ultimately was forced to rearrange the Federal command structure in order to deny the Shenandoah Valley gambit to Robert E. Lee once and for all.

The story of Early's raid on Washington has been told before, often with more style than substance. Benjamin Franklin Cooling has now produced what is sure to become the definitive scholarly account of the campaign. Drawing on a vast array of sources, including seldom-used veterans' accounts published in the *National Tribune* newspaper, Cooling presents a comprehensive campaign study from origins to aftermath. Not only does Cooling masterfully describe the specific movements of the opposing forces, but he also never loses sight of the wider context in which the campaign was fought. In fact, Cooling's greatest contribution may be his clear demonstration that Grant was fooled by Early's operations and took an uncommonly long time to react to a very serious threat. Cooling finds few heroes among the commanders on either side, reserving his favor for the common soldiers of both armies who suffered and died in the summer heat and dust of the Washington suburbs. Few monuments have been raised to them until recently. Among the memorials are the new Monocacy Battlefield Park in Maryland and a small preserved portion of Fort Stevens in Washington, D.C., where Abraham Lincoln became the only national chief executive to come under fire while in office. Joining these memorials now is this superb work.

WILLIAM GLENN ROBERTSON
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College

MICHAEL W. FITZGERALD. *The Union League Movement in the Deep South: Politics and Agricultural Change during Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 283. $25.00.

The Union League has long been a shadowy element in the history of southern Reconstruction. Because it was a secret and unofficial organization, historians have found the League difficult to identify and evaluate. In recent years revisionists have almost ignored it because they have not wanted to acknowledge the significance and approval accorded to it by many of the Dunning school. To break this impasse, Michael W. Fitzgerald has undertaken a ground-breaking study of the Union League that he has confined to just two states, Alabama and Mississippi, thereby enabling him to probe intensively and with considerable success for evidence of the League and its activities. The result is the first modern book-length treatment.

Although the League was considerably stronger in Alabama, primarily because of the support given it by the officials of the U.S. Army and the Freedmen's Bureau, Fitzgerald provides convincing evidence that it was a force to be reckoned with in both states. In 1867–68, it created the mass electoral base for the emerging Republican party, while concurrently it mobilized the freedmen and provided the organizational aid for them to resist the efforts of their employers to control the terms of labor on the plantations. In this way, the League stimulated political and economic actions that the author believes amounted to a popular movement, even an insurgency.

Although the League's political success along with the economic threat it posed to the planter class may seem to confirm the Dunningites' assertion that it was subversive and dangerous, Fitzgerald treats it approvingly as a radicalizing and liberating force. All the same, he is not uncritical. He notes that the League did not by itself create the movement. The freedmen themselves, he believes, were far from passive since they possessed social networks and embryonic organizations as well as feelings of resentment that the League built on and channeled. Moreover, the League's white leadership soon tried to check the radicalism of the blacks' demand for land and office as well as their regular practice of armed drilling and their readiness to use violence if provoked. (Fitzgerald's discovery of how widespread was this black assertiveness is one of his major contributions.) As a result, destructive political divisions surfaced when the Republicans gained power in 1868, and they were exacerbated by further pressures for moderation coming from party leaders in the North. Therefore, the League was seriously undermined and the party dangerously weakened from the very beginning.

Because it provides concrete evidence about an important aspect of Reconstruction that has previously been either misrepresented or overlooked, this book is a significant contribution. It reveals that, certainly in Alabama, the League played a pivotal role in the early phase of Reconstruction when, as historians are now discovering, a critical struggle was being waged to

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determine the shape of the postemancipation South. Studies of the League's operations in other states, if researched as thoroughly as Fitzgerald's, would help historians formulate generalizations about the role of the Union League during this formative episode.

MICHAEL PERMAN
University of Illinois, Chicago

ARNOLD COOPER. *Between Struggle and Hope: Four Black Educators in the South, 1894–1915*. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 121. $19.95.

Unlike James D. Anderson, whose recent study portrays Booker T. Washington's educational program as a vehicle for class and racial subordination, Arnold Cooper maintains that industrial schooling embodied African Americans' continuing search for autonomy and self-improvement at the community level. He examines four black educators who, to varying degrees, adopted the Tuskegee model of schooling and the social and political philosophy that accompanied it. Washington directly influenced the first two of Cooper's educators—William J. Edwards of the Snow Hill Institute, Wilcox County, Alabama, and William H. Holtzclaw of the Utica Institute, Hinds County, Mississippi—and they survived by the favor of the so-called Tuskegee Machine. In contrast, Laurence C. Jones, founder of the Piney Woods Country Life School in Mississippi, and Thomas O. Fuller, principal of the Howe Institute in Memphis, were classically trained college graduates who more or less independently embraced a philosophy of manual training and industrial education.

The potential in this approach is rich, but Cooper provides only inadequately developed answers. This is a brief book—only slightly more than eighty pages—and its treatment frequently merits more extended discussion. There is significant emphasis throughout on Washington, yet Cooper adds nothing more about that black educator or the network that he controlled than is already available in Louis R. Harlan's fine two-volume biography. Readers of Cooper's study learn little more about each of these four schools than one might reasonably suspect or already know was the case for most of the South's black industrial schools. And it remains unclear what the industrial curriculum really meant at the local level: what was taught, its social message and meaning, and what reception it had in the local community.

Equally underdeveloped is Cooper's treatment of the relationship, which was crucial, between black educators such as Edwards, Holtzclaw, Jones, and Fuller and the whites on whose support and good favor they depended. How did these black leaders respond to the very different motives of northern and southern whites? To what extent did black educators play a sort of shell game that made the actual content and meaning of industrial education something entirely different from its rhetorical message? With what degree of enthusiasm did paternalist southern whites support the "little Tuskegees"? Even more significant, Cooper says little about the role of northern philanthropy, in particular the either direct or indirect impact of the Rockefellers' American Baptist Education Board and the General Education Board (GEB). In an era in which Rockefeller philanthropy came to dominate southern education, there are no entries for the Rockefellers and only two for the GEB in this study's index. This is perhaps not surprising, for Cooper made no use of the GEB's voluminous archives—a curious omission, since they have become one of the better sources about early twentieth-century black education.

Although scholars should pay greater attention to the community-level evolution of black education, to the networks that sprang up among black educators, and to the often ambiguous interracial relationships that accompanied reform, in the end Cooper's book is a disappointing rejoinder.

WILLIAM A. LINK
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JACQUELINE ANNE ROUSE. *Lugenia Burns Hope: Black Southern Reformer*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 182. $25.00.

Jacqueline Anne Rouse's book is a biography of a southern African-American reformer who worked steadily against deficiencies that negatively affected her race and the greater society in the 1890s and early twentieth century. Lugenia Burns Hope was born in 1871 in St. Louis, Missouri; her family moved to Chicago when she was very young. One of the earliest of Hope's community activities brought her in contact with Jane Addams and Hull House in Chicago, and she worked simultaneously with Kings Daughters, a charitable organization for the sick and indigent, and with the Silver Cross Club, a food-service group for business people in the area of the Chicago Loop. Influenced by Addams's work as a reformer and having grown adjusted to the busy schedule of work and community service, Hope remained, for the rest of her life, committed to community activism and the demanding schedule that this entailed. Her marriage to John Hope, who became president of Morehouse College and later of Atlanta University, brought her to Atlanta where she continued in various community activities.

Progressive-era reformers sought to bridge social and economic gaps. When they failed to address the issues pertinent to the black community, black leaders created their own self-help organizations, often working on the local level. Lugenia Hope's efforts in Atlanta helped address that community's needs and those of her race. In Atlanta she joined women who worked to provide day-care centers for children in the West Fair area of the city; the core group from that effort later founded Atlanta's Neighborhood Union (NU). As the

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first female social welfare agency for African-Americans in Atlanta, NU, with Hope's aid, provided medical, recreational, educational, and civic services. All of Hope's early work pushed her to national levels of reform activities; she traveled to do presentations, served as a member of President Herbert Hoover's Colored Commission (for aid after the tragic Mississippi flooding in 1927), and was an assistant to Mary McLeod Bethune when Bethune directed the Negro Division of the National Youth Administration. She joined national organizations—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Urban League, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses—when regional work with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching seemed to fall short of Hope's and others' goals.

Unlike many of the white female reformers of her time, Hope married and raised a family. Her husband and children supported her sense of urgency for community activism, but sometimes they complained. And, although she had grave concern for family and any community in which she lived, Lugenia felt compelled, like other African Americans, to make the mission of "racial uplift" (p. 91) her foremost reform effort. For this reason Rouse rightly calls her a "race woman" (p. 3). Rouse is careful to clarify, however, that black women, too, were forced to confront sexism and were enthused for women's rights, but they reasoned that the fight against racism took priority over women's rights.

Rouse has written a balanced and thoroughly researched biography of Hope, being careful to show how she juggled her family life with her active role in social welfare issues. The author supplemented use of the John and Lugenia Burns Hope papers, the Neighborhood Union Collection, the Marion C. Hope papers, the John Hope II papers, and papers of various other individuals and organizations with oral interviews. Lugenia Burns Hope's life helps us understand that black women of her time had a tremendous impact on local and national issues and that the tradition they upheld carried through to the national transformation observed in the 1950s and 1960s.

LINDA REED
University of Houston

WAYNE FLYNT. *Poor but Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 469. $27.50.

Wayne Flynt's graphic description of the plight of Alabama's poor whites is often almost too painful to read, because for most of their history the lives of these people only grew steadily more desperate. Despite Alabama's abundant natural resources, the Civil War engulfed the state in unrelenting poverty that only World War II began to mitigate. Flynt examines Alabama's poor both chronologically and topically, giving careful consideration to the state's major occupations: agriculture, textiles, coal mining, lumbering, and the iron industry. Generally his analysis of their lives and work is convincing, but a nagging confusion remains about who falls into the category of "poor white" and whether state, regional, or national standards are used to determine that category.

Flynt's central thesis is that rural poverty, particularly tenancy, was the most elemental and persistent problem throughout most of Alabama's history. So bad was rural poverty, he argues persuasively, that all other occupations—however exploitative or debilitating to mind and body—were seen by most Alabamians as far better by comparison. This conclusion is in striking contrast to Ronald D. Eller's thesis that most preindustrial Appalachians fared better on their self-sufficient farms than in the coal mines, lumber camps, and textile mills of the New South.

Despite continuing hardships, Flynt argues, most poor whites managed to maintain strong family ties and enjoyed a distinctive and vital folk culture. Part of their folk culture, music and Pentecostal religion, was destined to enter the American mainstream in the twentieth century. Like other southerners, poor Alabamians were sustained by neighbors and kin through many difficult times. Family, pride in their work, and an amazing ability to cope with manifest adversity characterized these people, Flynt contends, contrary to stereotypes of their collective degeneracy promulgated by the middle class. He concedes that most poor whites remained bitterly racist, joining blacks in union organizing only in coal mines. Flynt concludes that poor whites and blacks freely associated with each other only in brothels and in the infamous almshouses, those poorhouses of ultimate despair that represented the nadir of poverty throughout Alabama.

The Great Depression and World War II constituted a second great watershed after the Civil War in the lives of Alabama's poor. Flynt draws a balanced picture of the effect of New Deal programs on poor whites, arguing that, although falling far short of any major transformation of their lives, the New Deal nevertheless provided hope and vital, if minimal, assistance to thousands of Alabamians in desperate straits. Ironically, some degree of prosperity through new industry occurred in the 1960s and 1970s but fast receded in the postindustrial age of declining markets, foreign competition, and increasing unemployment in the 1980s.

The greatest strength of Flynt's study lies in the excellent oral histories of Alabama's poor whites, used frequently and with good effect throughout. The spirit, courage, and resilience reflected in these Alabamians' own words often speak far more eloquently than does any description or analysis of them. Flynt does not, however, specifically advance our knowledge of southern farm tenancy or poor white culture through use of the Alabama example. Particularly intriguing is the largely unanswered question of poor white mobility

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into and out of the middle class. And Flynt does not satisfactorily define Alabama's middle class or give the reader any badly needed comparative perspective on poverty in other southern states. Nevertheless, this book represents an important synthesis of poor white life and culture in a critical southern state. It is thus both a necessary stepping stone toward a broader understanding of poverty in the region and a compelling invitation to further research on poor whites in other parts of the South.

DURWOOD DUNN
Tennessee Wesleyan College

A. DUDLEY GARDNER and VERLA R. FLORES. *Forgotten Frontier: A History of Wyoming Coal Mining*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1989. Pp. xii, 243. Cloth $34.95, paper $12.95.

To the north of Wyoming sits Montana, with its copper and gold; to the south lies Colorado, with its gold and silver. Wyoming has coal. Coal and the Union Pacific gave birth to the territory. Although the railroad is less important now, coal is still one of the major economic pillars of the state. In fact, Wyoming achieved a distinction in 1989. "For the first time in American history, a state west of the Mississippi is the leading coal producer" (p. 218).

This aptly named book chronicles the history of this particular mining industry in a state that is better known for its ranching and for Yellowstone National Park; it is a study long overdue. A. Dudley Gardner and Verla R. Flores make a major contribution to an understanding of Wyoming and an industry that had great significance in the development of the Rocky Mountain region.

The authors cover the entire history, from the early intertwining of the railroads and coal (small wagon mines) to the energy decade of the 1980s, with its huge strip mining operations. It is the story of repeated booms and busts, of various waves of immigrants, of coal camps born and abandoned, and of a dirty, dangerous, difficult industry. Using a chronological approach, the authors discuss the evolution of labor relations, mechanization in the mines, coal and politics, and, finally, in the 1960s, the growing awareness of environmental issues. There are skilled comparisons between the booms and busts of the 1870s and the 1970s and a fascinating look at the evolution of women in coal mining.

Wyoming's reserves are among the greatest in the world, so it is certain that the story will go on into the new century. Predicting that future "is problematical at best and falls under the category of predicting Wyoming's weather, something old-timers warn is best left to fools and newcomers" (p. 218). Through it all, the land remains. As Gardner and Flores observe, "though coal drew the miners to the area, they never quite conquered the land" (p. xii).

This book is a fast-paced, well-written narrative about a subject that is only now receiving the national attention that it warrants. The authors have combined diligent research, which includes oral histories and a wealth of photographs, maps, and drawings, with a sensitivity to the industry and their state to produce an objective study. This volume will become a standard work for students of the Rocky Mountain coal industry and the history of Wyoming.

DUANE A. SMITH
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ALAN DERICKSON. *Workers' Health, Workers' Democracy: The Western Miners' Struggle, 1891–1925*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 251. $26.95.

With the recent publication of two important volumes on the general development of the American hospital system by Charles Rosenberg and Rosemary Stevens, much has been contributed to our understanding of the evolution of the form of this important element of health care delivery in the United States. It is to be hoped, however, that the deserved excitement over these books does not obscure the valuable addition of Alan Derickson's new work to the literature. He examines in depth what has until now been a little known yet theoretically interesting segment of the hospital system in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: institutions established and administered by members of the working class for their own benefit.

The workers in question were hard rock miners of the Mountain and Pacific states and British Columbia. After 1850, the extraction of metal-bearing ores became a vital industry in these areas. Mining towns made up predominantly of men, many without families, were established as new finds were made. The great hazards of the work caused many accidents and debilities, and the single status of most of the men made home care unfeasible. The miners had organized unions, and many of their locals grappled with the issue of who controlled the provision of health care services to their members. The mine owners had sought to deduct a specified amount each month from all of their workers' paychecks that would go into contracts with local physicians and hospitals to care for injured workers. The workers where this system was adopted often argued, however, that the quality of care that they or their associates received was less than adequate and that company-hired physicians not unexpectedly took the company line with regard to liability for injuries and responsibility for returning to work. The mine workers' unions were initially socialist in politics and practice. They believed that it was the workers' right and responsibility to care for their own and placed pressure on the mine owners through strikes to retain the money from the checkoff system and to secure health care services for the locals' members.

In all, twenty-five miners' hospitals were established. Most were small institutions that, in Derickson's view,

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provided good care and boasted low mortality rates. The life expectancy of the hospitals, however, was not long; their average existence was twelve years. To a large extent, their length of service was directly tied to the economic fortunes of the mines. Played-out mines, crippling strikes, insufficient financial support from the larger community, and eventually weakened unions contributed to the closure of all but a few of these hospitals by the mid-1920s. Furthermore, a new paternalistic attitude on the part of mine owners was engendered by the passage of workmen's compensation laws that shifted a greater burden on mine owners for injury and disability. As a result, management had an incentive to reduce accidents on the job and the need for hospitalization. Derickson's point is that although unique forces made possible this type of hospital, changing social, economic, and political circumstances doomed its existence.

This is a superbly researched study. The author, as demonstrated by his copious footnotes, extensive bibliography, and heavy use of materials from a number of archives, has immersed himself in the subject. At the same time, however, he is able to take all of this detail and transform it into a well-written narrative. The book is an excellent addition to hospital as well as to labor history in the United States and Canada.

NORMAN GEVITZ
College of Medicine
University of Illinois

ROBERT M. UTLEY. *Billy the Kid: A Short and Violent Life.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 302. $22.95.

In academic circles, Billy the Kid invokes images of blazing six-shooters, mindless frontier violence, and bad history. Robert M. Utley's study should put these stereotypes to rest. Utley, who must be considered his generation's finest historian of the nineteenth-century American frontiers, has written a readable, scholarly account of this most famous of western gunmen.

Born Henry McCarty, Billy lost his mother when he was fifteen; his stepfather, Henry Antrim, offered little supervision. "'He was a good kid,'" remembered one contemporary, "'but he got in the wrong company'" (p. 7). Such is the theme as Henry McCarty, or Henry Antrim, or William H. Bonney, as he called himself variously, deteriorated from petty thief to noted gunslinger. Daring, bright, and aggressive, Billy became involved in the Lincoln County War and was branded an outlaw. The Kid's escape from the clutches of the law cemented his previously sensationalized reputation. Just as daring, or foolish, was his return to his old haunts at Fort Sumner, where lawman Pat Garrett tracked down and shot him.

Utley presents a convincing portrait of his subject. Billy, argues Utley, was a likable young man of boyish face and slight build who enjoyed excellent relations with the Hispanic community. He made several efforts to clear his own name, but his casual attitude toward the law and the intricate political and economic relationships of territorial New Mexico defeated all such attempts. In contrast to the bloodthirsty killer of lore, the boy led no gangs, personally shot and killed four men, and was a party to the slaying of six others (far fewer than the twenty-one deaths often attributed to him). Billy drifted into crime because, in the absence of any strong ethical values to the contrary, there seemed no reason not to. "The Kid," concludes Utley, "reflected the values of the frontier society that nurtured him" (p. 204).

This handsome volume, which boasts five maps and thirty-seven illustrations, is well written and superbly researched. The analysis of legends, the footnotes, and the notes on sources justify the author's interpretations and express his refreshing intellectual honesty. To the academic historian, these materials are a true joy. Rarely, for example, does one see the cautions that an author has used sources "with faintly nagging hesitation" (p. 262, n. 8) or relied on "a highly personal judgment" (p. 262, n. 13).

Utley occasionally overemphasizes the importance of the frontier code, in which violence and the use of guns seemed part of everyday life, to the Kid's development. After all, not every frontier inhabitant became an outlaw or killer. And Utley's penchant for brief biographical sketches sometimes makes the story difficult to follow among the maze of Regulators, outlaws, settlers, and soldiers. But these are minor points. An impressive outgrowth of the author's earlier work on the Lincoln County War, this book is much more than a readable biography. Rather, it is a ringing condemnation of the lax ethical values of the frontier and the Gilded Age.

ROBERT WOOSTER
Corpus Christi State University

KEVIN J. MULLEN. *Let Justice Be Done: Crime and Politics in Early San Francisco.* (Nevada Studies in History and Political Science, number 28.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 313. $24.95.

Establishment of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856 was one of the more extraordinary events in American politics: a political coup. Kevin J. Mullen describes it as the "seizure of the reins of government of an American city by an illegally constituted body of citizens" (p. xiii). The committee commands our attention because of what it reveals about deeper and more pervasive problems in American history: the maintenance of law and order in developing communities, the reality of predatory crime, and the political reaction to crime and disorder.

In this book, Mullen seeks to explain the vigilance committee of 1856 by studying its less well known predecessor, which was established in 1851. He properly notes that most of what has been written about the two events comes directly or indirectly from vigilante

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leaders and accepts uncritically their argument that San Francisco was beset by a dramatic rise in predatory crime.

As a well-written account of the vigilance committee of 1851, this book will appeal to a popular audience. Professional historians, however, will not find that it advances our understanding of the complex social and political issues involved. Richard Maxwell Brown's relatively brief analysis of the events in San Francisco, reprinted in *Strain of Violence* (1975), remains a far richer account.

Mullen's problem is one that confronts all attempts to study crime and justice in any era prior to the mid-twentieth century. Records of criminal activity are either nonexistent, incomplete, or highly suspect. He claims to have found a previously neglected source, the reports of crime in one local newspaper. Unfortunately, there is no reason to believe that these reports provide a true picture of the changing levels of crime. Thus, the data that he offers as the cornerstone of his thesis are unreliable at best.

Mullen's interpretation, it should be said, is entirely plausible. He argues that there was a dramatic short-term increase in predatory crime the year before the 1851 vigilance committee was organized but that the crime rate had fallen equally dramatically in the months just preceding the political crisis. Although plausible, his contention is by no means persuasive, given the sources. Readers will have no trouble with his argument that a "crime wave" was merely a pretext for a virtual political coup that had deeper roots. The surface detail here is fascinating, but one would have preferred a more systematic inquiry into the political forces underlying the vigilance committee.

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BRUCE C. NELSON. *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870–1900*. (Class and Culture.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 305. Cloth $37.00, paper $15.00.

In this book Bruce C. Nelson argues that between 1872 and 1886 Chicago's radicals created, within the city's working-class communities, "a distinctly working-class and socialist culture, with its own traditions" (p. 152). By 1886 the anarchists had twenty-six active groups in and around Chicago with three thousand members, a strong presence in the eleven largest unions, and seven newspapers published in four languages with a combined circulation of over thirty thousand. Seeking to correct the focus of previous studies of Chicago's anarchist movement on the dramatic Haymarket affair of 1886–87 and on the biographies of its principal victims, Nelson looks instead at the larger movement they represented and their significant impact on the developing labor movement in America's most industrialized city. He employs quantitative methods to draw a collective profile of Chicago's anarchist rank and file, who were predominantly immigrants of German, Bohemian, and Scandinavian origins; skilled and semi-skilled workers; and activists in the unions, particularly in those of the cigarmakers, carpenters, and printers and in the radical Central Labor Union, rival of the more conservative Anglo-American Knights of Labor and the Trades and Labor Assembly. Nelson suggests that if Haymarket decimated the anarchist leadership and caused many anarchists to flee repression in Chicago, two movement institutions, the anarchist press and the clubs, survived into the 1890s. Movement culture shrank rather than collapsed, because of the upward mobility of the anarchists—more marked than that of the general population—and because it merged into later movements such as the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist party, and the Industrial Workers of the World.

Nelson persuasively shows how differences between anarchists and socialists were fluid and often indistinct. His analysis suffers, however, from confusing usage and sometimes contradictory definitions of the anarchists, whom he defines variously as "political republicans" and as "revolutionary socialists, the self-conscious heirs of the failed bourgeois revolutions of 1848" (pp. 241, 156). Moreover, he restricts his account of movement culture to descriptions of club activities such as parades, picnics, lectures, and amateur theatricals, stopping short of exploring the relationships between these events and the everyday life of the streets, neighborhoods, kitchens, and bedrooms of anarchist families. Although he notes the presence of a few visible women in the movement, for example, Lizzy Swank (Holmes) and Lucy Parsons, and of what he calls a "precocious feminism" (p. 171) in the ideology of the Chicago anarchists, he fails to probe the significance of gender or to consider anarchist sexual politics. Still, he offers valuable ethnic, occupational, and social profiles of the Socialist Labor party and the "anarchist" International Working People's Association, showing how these organizations, rooted in the immigrant working-class culture of Chicago, managed to exert an influence on the city's labor movement far beyond their numbers, leaving as their legacy one of the most powerful trade union movements in the country.

ALICE WEXLER
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JAMES R. GROSSMAN. *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 384. $29.95.

CAROLE MARKS. *Farewell—We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 209. Cloth $37.50, paper $12.95.

During World War I nearly half a million Afro-Americans migrated from the South to northern cities. A million more followed in the next decade. Southern

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blacks, subjected to segregation, disfranchisement, violence, and grinding poverty, responded eagerly to the promise of freedom and gainful employment in the North.

In *Land of Hope*, James R. Grossman explores this highly complex and significant juncture in American history known as the Great Migration. He deals with this watershed as it related to Chicago during World War I and its aftermath. With great sensitivity and balance, Grossman assesses the migration through the eyes of the migrants themselves. Although the author focuses on the migrants, he does not ignore the broad impersonal forces that created the conditions for the migration. In short, this is a well-organized book that artfully combines lucid narrative, insightful analysis, and comprehensive context. It is also richly documented with a wealth of primary sources. The notes alone fill seventy-six pages. Occasionally, the narrative wanders too far from the central theme, and one wishes that Grossman had followed the migrants beyond the early 1920s to ascertain the extent of disillusionment that occurred when black hopes did not materialize.

Quibbles aside, Grossman skillfully reconstructs the traumatic uprooting of southern blacks and their adjustment to the northern city. He vividly shows how kinship ties and black institutions such as the church, the *Chicago Defender*, and the National Urban League orchestrated the migratory chain. He demonstrates how black migrants took the lowest, dirtiest, and most dangerous jobs in the stockyards and the steel mills in order to "better themselves." We also learn that, because of the racial preconceptions of industrial employers and white workers, blacks seldom moved up the occupational ladder. Nevertheless, the newcomers treasured the freedom of movement, the access to relatively good schools, and the opportunity for a taste of dignity that was theirs in Chicago. Despite inadequate housing, rampant discrimination, and even the race riot of 1919, most blacks considered Chicago a success story. Their new life, Grossman maintains, "represented meaningful progress, rather than immiseration" (p. 244). This was true because blacks judged their fate in the North from the perspective of their bitter experience in the Jim Crow South.

Above all, Grossman makes clear the centrality of race and racism in the determination of the migrants' plight. Coming from a region where color meant everything, the migrants judged their new surroundings through the prism of race. The *Chicago Defender* eschewed the term "Negro" and referred to "the Race" or "Race men." Blacks believed that they were held back not because of class or impersonal social and economic forces but because of race. Furthermore, migrant blacks showed little interest in integration. Primarily, they wanted the white man off their backs and only mingled with whites out of necessity. Conversely, whites at all levels of society, progressives and labor leaders included, prejudged blacks by racist ideology. Although only a minority of strikebreakers were black, whites viewed the Negro as a "scab race."

Carole Marks's *Farewell—We're Good and Gone* differs radically from Grossman's work. Advertised on the back cover of the book as a neo-Marxist approach to the black migration, its stated intent is to place this specific historical episode within a general theory of labor migration. In this thin volume (about one hundred fewer pages of text than *Land of Hope*), Marks attempts to bring the entire black migration from 1910 to 1930 within her analytical net. With her focus on broad structural factors, she tends to treat the migrants as passive victims of history and sociology. As Marks puts it, "Migrants play a relatively minor part in the spectrum of labor migration" (p. 152).

Unlike Grossman, Marks shows little interest in race or racism. There are no entries for these or related concepts in her limited index, and her sources on racial ideology are meager. Allowing race and racism no life of their own, she subsumes them under economics. She concedes that the case for racism as a crucial factor in explaining the lack of black social mobility appears "forceful" and "compelling" (pp. 136, 155). But in the end she rejects racism as a primary causative agent in favor of such factors as the "recency" of black migration and the structural changes in capitalism (p. 157).

Marks also belabors the obvious, arguing that blacks did not assimilate, return to the South, or form economically viable ethnic enclaves. Choosing preselected sociological criteria as the measures of migratory success, she pronounces the Great Migration a dismal failure. She goes so far as to speculate that, if the talented blacks had not left the South to become northern mudsills, the civil rights revolution might have occurred thirty years sooner. Ironically, such conjecture betrays a naiveté about the play of broad impersonal forces in history with which Marks seems so preoccupied.

Despite the surplus of reified theory, much of Marks's book reads like a primer on industrialization. It relies heavily on secondary sources, and the prose is marred by numerous misspellings and typographical miscues. The emasculation of a quotation from a famous editorial by W. E. B. Du Bois is symptomatic of the carelessness of the prose (p. 98). Space forbids discussion of several other problems with the book.

It is difficult not to make invidious comparisons when a reviewer is given two books so starkly different as these, and that may not be entirely fair. Despite its flaws, Marks's volume will provide some conceptual benefit for the beginning student of the Great Migration. But to get an intimate, human connection with the migrants, one would be better served by turning to Grossman's riveting story.

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S. J. KLEINBERG. *The Shadow of the Mills: Working-Class Families in Pittsburgh, 1870–1907.* (Pittsburgh Series in Social and Labor History.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1989. Pp. xxv, 414. $49.95.

S. J. Kleinberg has written one of the most comprehensive accounts we have of the familial and individual costs of Gilded Age industrialization. Taking the condition of Pittsburgh's working class in the years from 1870 to 1907 as her subject, she has investigated men's and women's work, residential patterns and municipal services, industrial accidents and urban diseases, and the character of family life for parents and children, the aged and the young, males and females. A grim portrait emerges from this survey. Unemployment of a month or more regularly struck one-third of the male work force even during the steel industry's most "prosperous" years. Worsening conditions in the city's steel mills triggered a 75 percent rise (1870–1900) in the rate of accidental death among men. Diarrhea and diptheria killed depressingly large numbers of working-class infants and children. Married women, barred from jobs in steel mills and burdened by an endless round of domestic chores, found few opportunities to assert their autonomy or independence. Kleinberg effectively contrasts the working class's deterioration with the improving economic security and health of Pittsburgh's middle class, a divergence accelerated by the municipal government's apparent determination to provide its rich with paved streets, sewers, and water pipes and leave its poor mired in muck. Anyone doubting—as my students frequently do—that conditions in *fin-de-siècle* Pittsburgh were really as bad as Thomas Bell made them out to be in *Out of This Furnace*, his 1941 novel, should consult this exhaustively and skillfully researched book.

Kleinberg's theme of working-class entrapment in an oppressive urban-industrial milieu represents a welcome departure from the view, popular among some historians, that working-class families easily accommodated industrialization. At the same time, however, Kleinberg's perspective seems too close to an older, and problematic, approach to social history exemplified by the work of the English scholars John Hammond and Barbara Hammond. Although the Hammonds were possessed of a profound sympathy for the working class and although they spared no effort to document its deterioration amidst capitalism's onslaught, they had difficulty viewing the oppressed as historical agents in their own right. Like the Hammonds, Kleinberg stresses working-class victimization, giving us barely a glimpse of workers defying—through protest, escape, mockery, or just plain high-spiritedness—their harsh circumstances. I imagine that the poor, frail children of Pittsburgh sometimes found ways, through various sorts of invented games, to transform their filthy streets into magical landscapes; that some rebel-minded young women surreptitiously kept a portion of their earnings from their parents and used it to purchase fashionable clothing or to sneak off to an amusement park tryst; that even overworked steel workers occasionally found the time to take in a vaudeville show and a nickelodeon reel and delighted in skits lampooning their social betters and in fantasy-laden movies that made them forget their dark, soot-filled environs. Kleinberg never seems to consider the possibility that workers were able, in small yet meaningful ways, to negotiate the terms of their own existence. "Everywhere one looks in Pittsburgh," she writes, "the mills forged daily life as well as molten metal" (p. xviii). One need not deny the awesome power of a capitalist steel economy to suggest that aspects of daily life—and of the human spirit—eluded the shadow of the mills.

GARY GERSTLE
Catholic University of America

STEVEN A. RIESS. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports.* (Sport and Society.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 332. $29.95.

If there is a better scholarly analysis of sport's development within the confines of urbanizing America than Steven A. Riess's study, I have yet to read it. Riess posits the centrality of the city and its growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the crucial determinants of sport's evolution. He defines this urban dynamic broadly, subsuming analytical elements from both modernization theory and Marxism under its rubric. For Riess, the history of American sport results mainly from "the constant, continuous interaction of the elements of urbanization—physical structure, social organizations, and value systems—with each other and with sport" (p. 1).

Riess argues that the city played more than a passive role as the geographic locus of sport's emergence and development as pastime and organized venture. Drawing on urban, labor, and social history, he links changes in the nature of sport to changes in the nature of the city. Here Riess pays attention to a range of factors as diverse as physical and spatial patterns of growth, class, race, and ethnicity. He also focuses on the important role of government and its nexus with sport and the underworld in explaining sport's evolution. The overall impact of these forces leads Riess to conclude that understanding urbanization is the key to comprehending sport's development in this society.

Riess breaks sport's evolution into three periods; his divisions are titled "Sport in the Walking City, 1820–1870"; "Sport in the Industrialized Radial City, 1870–1960"; and "Sport in the Suburban Era, 1945–1980." The bulk of the book, however, centers on the middle period.

Riess traces sport's overall journey from recreation to corporate money ball and the attendant changes in its social creed and analyzes what sport meant in particular epochs to different groups of Americans. In what I found to be the most compelling section of his work, Riess shows how urban sport differed according to class

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and what that meant in terms of contrasting perceptions of the role and meaning of sport. The breadth of his discussion ranges from the wood-paneled bastions of the *fin-de-siècle* New York Athletic Club to the grimier confines of Irish boys' social and athletic clubs in World War I–era Chicago. He also attempts to answer these questions about the role and meaning of sport in terms of ethnic differences, but he has less material to work with here.

This volume builds on Riess's earlier, important study of baseball in the Progressive era and includes additional archival work, but the foundations of this book rest on the author's careful analysis of the work of a score of historians who have assayed sport's growth in the city. Important here are the works of Stephen Hardy, Melvin Adelman, Roy Rosenzweig, Cary Goodman, and Benjamin Rader. Their studies of aspects of urban sport and its changing structure in particular cities provide Riess with the evidence he uses to fashion a synthesis and theory for urbanization's role in sport's development.

Riess knows which questions are important to ask and which factors must be considered in evaluating the answers. He raises the scholarly analysis of sport to a more sophisticated level. Riess reminds us that it is not just class and race or the tendencies toward greater specialization and standardization but also factors such as population change, the amount and nature of physical space, and the role of institutions such as the Works Progress Administration that must be considered in analyzing sport's history. This book is a densely written study, unlikely to work well in an undergraduate course, but it is probably a book to which those who take the study of sport further will turn as they begin their own explorations.

ROB RUCK
Pittsburgh Social History Center

ESTHER LANIGAN STINEMAN. *Mary Austin: Song of a Maverick*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 269. $25.00.

Mary Austin's (1868–1934) struggle to fame is an astounding demonstration of personal will and creative force. Her rise was made implausible by her gender as much as by her impoverished material and intellectual upbringing in small-town Illinois and her fruition as a writer on a desolate sector of the California frontier. Austin's literary reception in 1903 as a great regional artist enabled her escape from community controls and an unhappy marriage. Her single-minded search for creative equals won her entry into the literary and intellectual communities of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Carmel, perhaps because of interest in her daring eccentricity as much as respect for her mental powers. Nevertheless, despite her success, a central question haunted her life, as it shapes this book: given her prolific writing and acknowledged artistic standing, why was she never recognized as a foremost literary figure of her time? It seems obvious why the masculine literary canon might deny such notice to a western woman writer who wrote contemptuously of patriarchal privileges, yet feminist critics, too, have found her work disturbing.

A fierce agitator against male disempowerment of women, especially in marriage and the arts, Austin also preferred the society of male mentors and believed that only a few women of genius like herself were capable of constructive social thought. She found American literature faulty in its attention to class, race, and gender and had no peer in her capacity to express the ethnic diversity of minorities in the West. Yet this lyrical champion of Indian life patronized American Indians, was not immune to anti-Semitism, and often disparaged political radicals.

This study is the first to analyze Austin's major fictional and nonfictional work in light of modern scholarship on women. Esther Lanigan Stineman stresses how Austin's liminal status as an unloved child who suffered her widowed mother's pronounced favoritism toward a younger brother determined Austin's choice of literary themes. Early trauma made Austin the perpetual outsider who covered her insecurities with a grandiose egotism and personal abrasiveness. Bereft of community, Austin proved too much a feminist for most men and not nearly enough for many feminists.

Stineman skillfully portrays Austin's heartbreaking failure to conquer the eastern literary world during her sojourn in New York City from 1910 to 1922. Austin remained an interesting oddity to eastern literary lights, who assigned a marginal position in American letters to female authors, naturists, and the West and found Austin's assault on modern marriage absurd. Stineman's sensitive description of the troubled friendship between Austin and Mabel Dodge Luhan during Austin's last years in Santa Fe is also well done.

The study suffers from an inadequate analysis of the importance of Austin's earliest and best work—a breathtakingly brilliant statement of western grandeur that enthralled Americans longing for authenticity and relief from the alienation of urban industrialism. The book also has a narrative structure that a reader unfamiliar with the background of Austin's immediate world may sometimes find difficult to follow. But Stineman provides a thoughtful reminder of the barriers, both external and self-imposed, so often erected against the creative woman seeking notice in the public world.

DEE GARRISON
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

DEE GARRISON. *Mary Heaton Vorse: The Life of an American Insurgent*. (American Civilization.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 377. $27.95.

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Beginning with the Lawrence textile strike in 1912, the 1919 steel strike, the 1926 Passaic textile strike, through the battles of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1930s, and the scandal of the waterfront unions of the 1950s, one major labor journalist always seemed to be present, active on behalf of "labor's new millions." As Dee Garrison makes clear in her lucidly written and brilliantly realized biography, this socially committed career was one of several full-time occupations that Mary Heaton Vorse juggled throughout her long and productive life. As a woman in the first half of the twentieth century, Vorse struggled to fulfill an impossible ideal: to be a perfect mother and to find the time to write. For it was as a writer and reporter, not as a labor activist, that she came to find the cause to which she would devote herself. Her background as a child of privilege did not specifically push her toward labor militancy. If there is an omission in this fine work, it may be that the author does not specifically address the issue of Vorse's class position in relation to the working-class subjects of her labor reporting. Garrison does find in Vorse's mother the basic contradiction from which she would attempt to break free. As Vorse put it: "My mother's life was a tragedy. She had a fine mind and great executive ability and all this dynamo was idle" (p. 7).

The dynamo was not idle in Vorse, but it was strained at times. Trying to succeed as a writer of fiction, a wife to an unloving husband, and a mother with strongly ambivalent feelings about dividing her time and energy, drained emotionally and scarred physically after an affair with the American Communist Robert Minor and left for years fighting a morphine addiction inadvertently caused by well-meaning but inept medical treatment, she could not live up to all of her own expectations. Financial problems were at the root of much of her anxiety and a partial cause of her long bouts of depression. Once a highly paid writer of popular fiction, she turned her back on this lucrative income as she became more involved with labor reporting.

Garrison points to Vorse's dual life as woman and labor activist as a potent lesson for the present. So is Vorse's form of labor reporting. Support for oppressed workers could be coupled with factual reporting without being seen as a contradiction to her or to her readers. She wrote largely in a period not yet dulled by the insistence on "objectivity" in reporting imposed during the cold war. This notion resulted in a de facto promanagement stance by the news media that equated the status quo with the ways things should be. But Vorse's writing meant to move people as well as to report facts. She saw no contradiction in joining the workers' cause, walking picket lines, and organizing resistance, for she saw the struggle between capital and labor as an unequal contest, and she understood that justice was on the side of the weak. This can be seen most clearly in her position vis-à-vis the leaders of American communism and other radical and labor groups. She held them to the same standard of justice and never feared to disagree with them when she saw them pushing the rank and file around.

Benefiting from full access to Vorse's papers and the active assistance of her children, Garrison has brought vividly to life an important figure in American letters and labor, interweaving biography with the insights of feminist and labor history.

ELLIOTT SHORE
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SHELDON M. NOVICK. *Honorable Justice: The Life of Oliver Wendell Holmes*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1989. Pp. xxi, 522. $24.95.

Oliver Wendell Holmes outlived most of his contemporaries and proved too daunting for later biographers as well. Two of them—Mark DeWolfe Howe and Grant Gilmore—died before finishing their work. Sheldon M. Novick has not only survived the "Holmes jinx" but has given us a splendid book, one worthy of its monumental subject. Not all who read this work will agree with Novick's emphasis or with his conclusions on many points, but we are not likely to have very soon a better one-volume biography of perhaps the most celebrated jurist in American history.

Those who have long read Holmes through his judicial writings and published letters will be reminded once again in this book why he remains among the masters of English prose writing. On social life in Washington, D.C.: "It seems as if everybody smiled and lied" (p. 260). On returning to America on the eve of World War I: "And I thought to myself the Gotterdammerung will end, and from those globes clustered like evil eggs will come the new masters of the sky. . . . But then I remembered the faith that I partly have expressed, faith in a universe not measured by our fears, a universe that has thought and more than thought inside of it, and as I gazed, after the sunset and above the electric lights there shone the stars" (p. 309). On wiretapping: "We have to choose, and for my part I think it a less evil that some criminals should escape than that the government should play an ignoble part" (p. 363).

Novick also gives us unforgettable scenes of the Civil War battles that Holmes and his compatriots from Massachusetts endured in the state's Twentieth Regiment. After two and a half years, the regiment's losses were greater than its original strength. Captain Holmes was wounded three times. The darker side of Holmes's nature, one suspects, derived less from reading philosophy than from those harrowing days of Ball's Bluff, the Peninsular campaign, and Fredericksburg.

That Holmes possessed an eye for women as well as for *le mot juste* has long been an item of gossip, but Novick is the first to document fully (often in veiled terms) the extent and variety of his amorous liaisons. The most important involved Ursula Emily Clare St. Leger, daughter of Viscount Doneraile and wife of

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Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, Baron Castletown. Despite his many dalliances, Holmes sustained a long and loving relationship with his wife, Fanny Dixwell Holmes, and when she died in the spring of 1929 his grief was genuine. "For sixty years," he told Frederick Pollock, "she made life poetry for me" (p. 368).

Novick offers a few other surprises, too. He argues convincingly that Holmes's views on American imperialism, not his prolabor opinions in Massachusetts, proved decisive when Theodore Roosevelt named him to the Supreme Court in 1902. The justice did not become the darling of American liberals until his First Amendment dissents after World War I, notably *Abrams v. United States*.

Novick's treatment of Holmes's judicial career will raise the most questions from reviewers. Apart from a few lengthy footnotes, the discussion of major cases is very brief, and little attention has been given to Holmes's impact on substantive areas of American law, constitutional or otherwise. Given the voluminous academic literature that already exists on these subjects, Novick's decision to invest greater effort on Holmes's private life seems a wise one. His treatment of *Schenck* and the original "clear and present danger" test, however, ignores a third alternative before the court: Learned Hand's "direct incitement" test from the *Masses* case. And Novick's defense of Holmes's horrific opinion in *Buck v. Bell* will not shake those who continue to regard that decision of 1927 as one of the more reactionary in the court's history.

MICHAEL E. PARRISH
University of California, San Diego

DONALD L. MILLER. *Lewis Mumford: A Life*. New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1989. Pp. xxi, 628. $24.95.

Lewis Mumford's death last year at the age of ninety-four signaled more than the passing of one of this century's most important American intellectuals; it also seemed to symbolize the end of the line for the generalist tradition Mumford sustained in the face of increasing specialization. Literature, art, architecture, history, urban planning, technology, social criticism, philosophy: on all these subjects Mumford wrote with power and passion for over sixty years. Donald L. Miller, Mumford's first biographer, surveys that rich body of work and the life of the man who produced it.

Drawing on published and unpublished sources, including materials that Mumford let Miller alone examine, the book charts the process Miller astutely calls Mumford's self-creation. The first sections record his early determination to overcome the liabilities of illegitimacy and poverty, his ambivalent relationship with the city planner Patrick Geddes, and his decision, by 1917, to assume a role as writer and visionary. Miller detects in the young Mumford a self-assurance that, he argues, remained one of his chief characteristics. The heart of Miller's subsequent account reports Mumford's sexual experiences: his marriage to Sophia Wittenberg and his affairs with a succession of other women. Laden with intimate revelations culled from Mumford's notes and diaries, these parts of the book display the price of Mumford's egocentric determination to live "a full and authentic life" (p. 505). Miller also describes Mumford's activities in the Regional Planning Association, his contributions to the *New Yorker*, his opposition to isolationism, his reaction to his son's death in World War II, and his postwar stance as America's "urban conscience" (p. 478). The book's final chapters reiterate the theme of Mumford as a self-absorbed figure driven by a certainty of his own importance.

That narrative, however useful in establishing the framework for Mumford's social commentary, overwhelms Miller's relatively brief discussions of his subject's thought. Instead of untangling the meaning, for Mumford, of terms such as "culture," Miller typically relies on paraphrase. In addition, the intersections between Mumford's and his contemporaries' ideas receive minimal attention. The result, for example, is that *Technics and Civilization* (1934), rather than appearing in light of a widespread debate about the compatibility of capitalism, technology, and community, seems unconnected to the discourse of the Great Depression. Miller does have some significant insights. Although he slights the radicalism informing Mumford's various projects in the 1920s, he valuably recognizes the continuities underlying those efforts. Yet Miller's treatment of Mumford's later work vacillates between his defense of his subject as a "dreamer" and his unoriginal contention that Mumford's humanism was impractical.

Even Miller's more successful portrait of Mumford the man is problematic. The chapters on his sexuality are troubling, not so much because they involve explicit detail but because they play no part in illuminating Mumford's outlook: his concern, for instance, with uniting feelings and behavior. Although interesting (how could they not be?), they seem pointless. At the least, Miller might have explored more imaginatively why Mumford preserved the documents pertaining to his infidelities. The remark of his lover Catherine Bauer that Mumford had a streak of "confessional exhibitionism" is, as Miller implies, surely part of the story; one wonders about the sources of that need. Similarly, Miller accepts unquestioningly the remark of a psychiatrist who "knew Mumford only casually" that he had never met anyone "so little ridden by anxiety about himself" (p. 532). But Mumford's periodic depressions, insistence on the limelight, rigid schedules, and even his habit, at one point, of writing daily letters to ten or more friends suggest that his sense of self-importance was as much a wish as a conviction.

In general, despite some perceptive observations, Miller does not go much beyond recounting what happened, whether in the study or in the bedroom. For scholars committed to the explication of language,

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Mumford's final words in *The Golden Day* (1926) apply: "Allons! the road is before us!"

JOAN SHELLEY RUBIN
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MARC LEE RAPHAEL. *Abba Hillel Silver: A Profile in American Judaism.* Foreword by ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1989. Pp. xxxiii, 282. $49.50.

A Jewish boy accompanied his father from Ellis Island to the Lower East Side, where a barber clipped the youngster's earlocks. Then father and son ate their first American meal together, at a kosher restaurant. Abba Hillel Silver absorbed paternal ambiguities as readily as he responded to American opportunities. Raised in an Orthodox family, he nonetheless became an active Zionist as a youth. Yet he studied for the rabbinate at the Hebrew Union College, the intellectual bastion of Reform anti-Zionism. Barely two years after his graduation, he was selected rabbi of the prestigious temple in Cleveland. Nationally renowned for his fiery eloquence, and locally conspicuous in his newest Cadillac, Silver was soon ensconced in a lavish Byzantine edifice, topped by a gold dome, with a remarkable sound system that accommodated Silver and the temple organ simultaneously. By the mid-1920s, he had become the paragon of a modern American rabbi—a hybrid preacher, administrator, fund raiser, teacher, counselor, politician, and ambassador to the gentiles.

But Silver was a maverick who, at a critical juncture in American Jewish history, defied convention and boldly led American Jewry to endorse Jewish statehood. Provoked by the Macdonald White Paper of 1939, which imposed draconian restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine, Silver rejected deferential moderation for strident militancy. His electrifying demand for Jewish statehood at the Biltmore Conference (1942) launched his meteoric ascent to the pinnacle of the American Zionist movement. His challenge to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise abruptly transformed American Zionist priorities: political demands replaced humanitarian entreaties. Spurning quiet diplomacy, Silver insisted on public pressure and political power. His stunning success in mobilizing American Jewry on behalf of Jewish statehood, reinforced by his relentless pressure on Harry S. Truman to honor the American commitment to partition, was his towering achievement.

These familiar public episodes are ably narrated in Marc Lee Raphael's biography, the first complete study of Silver's life. Raphael has contributed a valuable profile—less in American Judaism, as his subtitle claims, than of an outspoken American Jewish leader of international stature, perhaps the very last one. Raphael's profile outlines Silver's life but does not penetrate it. Indeed, Raphael concludes, "we hardly know Silver at all" (p. 212). Silver was reserved and formal. His oratorical style is difficult to translate effectively for a reading audience. Raphael is hesitant to analyze some consequential issues in American Jewish history, which Silver's career might illuminate. For Silver (like Wise) personified the radical reorientation of the rabbi from lawman to minister, a process unexplored by American Jewish historians. Silver's career (again like Wise's) invites speculation about the prominence of Reform rabbis as Zionist leaders when Reform Judaism, for so long, was so conspicuously anti-Zionist. Silver's confrontation with Wise raises profound questions about the blind trust that American Jews invested in Franklin D. Roosevelt and the liberal faith he symbolized. Finally, the virtual obsolescence of American Zionist leaders after 1948 makes Silver an especially intriguing transitional figure. "When he spoke," David Ben-Gurion eulogized, "people listened." But, once there was a Jewish state, people listened far more attentively to Israeli prime ministers and generals. After Silver, American Zionism was relegated to the periphery, ironically a measure of his achievement.

Silver, a Lithuanian immigrant, found Zion in America. His idiosyncratic mixture of conformity and rebellion raises some fascinating questions that should continue to engage students of American Jewish history.

JEROLD S. AUERBACH
Wellesley College

ROBERT W. SNYDER. *The Voice of the City: Vaudeville and Popular Culture in New York.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 220. $19.95.

Beginning with Tony Pastor, "who took vaudeville out of the Bowery without entirely taking the Bowery out of vaudeville" (pp. 12–13), Robert W. Snyder examines a leading institution of American entertainment. Vaudeville linked the nineteenth-century male participatory culture of the Bowery and the popular twentieth-century culture of electronic mass media. Performers played before mass heterogeneous audiences. Entertainment conglomerates ran the show. Ethnic cultures were commercialized. Sexual boundaries were tested. And racial and immigrant outsiders, struggling to become insiders, shaped and determined the vaudeville form.

Snyder builds on the work of Gunther Barth, Daniel Czitrom, Lewis Erenberg, David Grimsted, Lary May, and Mark Slobin. Locating vaudeville's origins primarily in the concert saloon, the author provides a comprehensive panorama of the entrepreneurial innovations of B. F. Keith, Edward Albee, and Marcus Loew; their efforts at self-censorship and sexual regulation; the resistance of vaudevillians like the "white rats" to increasing corporate hegemony; and the role of stars such as Eubie Blake, George Burns, Eddie Cantor, and Sophie Tucker. At one point, Snyder effectively describes the physical geography of New York theaters and how this embodied different levels of vaudeville

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organization, notably the "small time" acts centered in ethnic neighborhoods and the "big time" productions found in Times Square and on national tours. Weaving together relevant themes in black, business, immigrant, musical, urban, and women's history, Snyder's narrative reads like his subject: entertaining, direct, and fast moving.

Most important, this book is not hagiography. Vaudeville theaters created new avenues of artistic expression and were the most open and egalitarian cultural institutions of their era. But Snyder admits that vaudeville was hardly subversive. African Americans, for example, were treated as blackface parodies. Greedy entrepreneurs sacrificed creative theater on the altar of corporate capitalism. Women, more than ever, were treated as sexual playthings. And ethnic rivalries were, at best, muted.

Some readers will yearn for greater depth and coverage of these issues. Nevertheless, Snyder successfully explores the different levels of cultural production in a single work without lapsing into romantic revisionism. Like vaudeville, he deserves a wide audience.

TIMOTHY J. GILFOYLE
Loyola University of Chicago

KATHY J. OGREN. *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. vii, 221. $21.95.

This book points out the role of jazz as a harbinger of and catalyst in the rapidly shifting social and cultural mores of post–World War I America. Kathy J. Ogren argues that jazz was not only a popular music but also a symbol of the "coming of age" of Americans who were moving away from the constraints of Victorianism and toward modern society. She views the development of jazz as an art form as well as a social phenomenon, that is, jazz was also the vehicle for overcoming or crossing emotional barriers of restraint remaining from the nineteenth century.

Ogren posits that the jazz controversy and its effects on the young were directly related to the environs of its origins and the locus of its performance. The positive or negative effects of jazz on the moral fiber are central to her discourse on the "jazz age." Although not a new idea, her approach brings a fresh perspective derived from the oral histories of the musicians who were at the center of the creation and development of early jazz. The recollections of such jazzmen as Milt Hinton, Sonny Greer, and Reb Spikes about the milieu from which their music evolved and, more important, the performance practices that shaped the music are enlightening. By establishing the context, Ogren correctly acknowledges and secures the music in the African-American experience. Her discussion of performance practices illustrates that the appropriation of the music by white musicians overlooked, or more likely, was not cognizant of the importance of the interactive principle in African-American (vis-à-vis African) music making. Thus, jazz was learned without the benefits of active audience participation in most instances. (Artists such as Mezz Mezzrow and Eddie Condon were exceptions.)

Lacking the insiders' view of the music, white listeners were most likely to receive their first jazz experience second- or thirdhand through recording or radio performances by bands such as the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (which was recorded before any of the black antecedents), the dances of Irene and Vernon Castle, or the "enlightened refined, respectable" jazz of Paul Whiteman. Ogren believes that the atmosphere in clubs such as Connie's Inn was designed to allow whites to experience the "primitivism" of black culture without being in it. The author compares the nature of jazz in those settings, which minimized the participatory element, with that in the "jook" joints, dance halls, and house rent parties: the venues of black patrons. These sections are the most powerful and insightful. By juxtaposing the printed harangues of white and black journalists, philosophers, and music critics, Ogren ably illustrates the depth and superficiality of the debate on both sides of the color line. One wishes this line of discussion had been more fully developed using quotations of critics such as Henry Osbourne Osgood, Sigmund Spaeth, and Ernest Newman and Alain Locke, George S. Schuyler, Langston Hughes and Claude McKay. Had more primary sources been used, especially the black press, Ogren would have been able to capture more of the flavor of the totality of the attitudes and activities of the general public. Use of those sources would have diminished gross errors, for example, crediting Sherman H. Dudley, a black showman, rather than Sam Barasso, a white theater owner, with founding the Theatre Owners' Booking Association.

This study has merit, but it can best be viewed as a review of the literature, especially with its bibliographic essay. It suffers from poor editing that has resulted in misplaced and missing endnotes, improper citations, and, in a few instances, incomplete sentences. The quality of a potentially good work is marred by relying too heavily on secondary rather than primary works; for example, the author uses the typescripts of the oral histories rather than the tapes. Nevertheless, Ogren has assimilated important information on the performance practices and performance settings and has illustrated their intersection in shaping the reception of and attitudes toward jazz in the 1920s.

DAPHNE DUVAL HARRISON
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SUE BRIDWELL BECKHAM. *Depression Post Office Murals and Southern Culture: A Gentle Reconstruction.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1989. Pp. xx, 338. $32.50.

Sue Bridwell Beckham approaches her evidence from a refreshingly unusual angle. She has studied New Deal

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post office murals in the South, but her book is neither the history of an art form nor the story of an arts bureaucracy. Instead, Beckham is concerned with the self-images of southerners who used the post offices. Since a federal agency and (often) northern artists were responsible for the murals, these depression-era paintings were not always direct embodiments of southern attitudes. But Beckham uses other materials that complement the post office paintings and enliven her analysis. She employs local newspapers and federal correspondence files where southerners left extensive records about how they believed their murals ought to look, as well as their copious reactions to the paintings they actually received.

The women and men who wrote those records were the white elite of small towns that received New Deal post offices. Merchants, editors, club people, and local historians, they were defensive about their region and loathed the image of a degenerate, exhausted South that Erskine Caldwell had popularized with his novel *Tobacco Road* (1932). These local leaders envisioned the South as a fruitful land populated by vigorous people. Perhaps more a dream than a reality, this boosterish vision was what they wanted on their post office walls, and they preferred renditions that were neither politically nor aesthetically challenging. Beckham's southerners liked pretty, representational pictures that kept the past heroic, the present prosperous, and the sexes and races safely within prescribed roles.

Beckham believes that such self-images can help us understand "what made the South southern" (p. xv) during the depression. Thus, a good deal of her book is concerned with southern uniqueness and requires some comparative analysis in order to demonstrate that southern self-images were actually distinct from those in other regions. Beckham does this when she contrasts southern preferences for languid characterizations of women against more vital northern renditions. Yet, at other times, the author is not so obliging. Beckham argues, for instance, that southerners had a particular fondness for scenes that "protected" human figures from the threats implied by a limitless horizon. Such iconographic analysis has rich potential, but Beckham needs to show us if the imagery was any less preferred in other regions.

Readers who know Karal Ann Marling's *Wall-to-Wall America* (1982) will find familiar issues and images in Beckham's book. Beckham shares Marling's conversational style and her belief that murals are mirrors as well as paintings. Although uneven in her discussion of southern uniqueness, Beckham makes a good application of the mural-as-mirror concept to the depression South. Her conclusion that southern small-town elites preferred uncritical renditions of themselves and their ways is unsurprising; doubtlessly their counterparts in other regions also had similar preferences. But Beckham has given us a solid example of how compellingly some Americans were drawn to visions of security and tradition amid the crises and changes of the New Deal years.

DAVID P. PEELER
United States Naval Academy

JAMES CURTIS. *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth: FSA Photography Reconsidered.* (American Civilization.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 139. $29.95.

The Farm Security Administration (FSA) was one of many New Deal agencies of the 1930s. It produced a photographic survey of rural America containing some of the decade's most powerful images, pictures often used in textbooks as poignant illustrations of the Great Depression. But, as James Curtis demonstrates, the FSA photographs are much more than illustrative mirrors of the 1930s. According to Curtis, the FSA photographers actively fabricated their images, purposefully selecting subjects, negotiating with sitters, and arranging settings. Thus, their photographs were visual hybrids, derived not only from the actual scenes before their cameras but also from both the photographers' aesthetics (the "mind's eye" of Curtis's title) and their ideologies (the "mind's truth"). Of course, we acknowledge this subjective dimension in other representational enterprises such as journalism and history. Yet an aura of pure objectivity surrounds photography, and Curtis's revelations may seem iconoclastic to those who regard photographs as simple factual reports. Curtis's point, though, is not that the FSA photographs are "fakes" but that they are in large part constructions, edifices of the mind just as much as reflections of the world.

Few other scholars have used the visual evidence with Curtis's depth or subtlety. Through very close readings of selected FSA images, especially ones that fall into pictorial sequences, Curtis has drawn some shrewd conclusions about the "personal and cultural genesis" of his sources (p. 47). Photographer Walker Evans, for instance, rearranged the interiors of Alabaman tenant farm homes in the pursuit of compositions emphasizing the residents' cleanliness and dignity. Dorothea Lange was equally active in framing her famous *Migrant Mother* photograph, coaxing a farm woman into Madonna-like poses of familial affection, poses well within the iconographic vocabulary of Lange's middle-class audience. Similarly, Russell Lee took his cue from Frederick Jackson Turner and focused on a New Mexican village's log cabins, while casting a blind eye on adobe buildings that seemed less relevant to Turner's frontier thesis.

This is a narrow book, concentrating on a handful of photographers and a fraction of their works. But it significantly enhances our understanding of how these middle-class individuals sought to comprehend and then shape the 1930s. Moreover, Curtis's work is a timely contribution to the debates over representation and the "linguistic turn" that have recently occupied historians such as David Harlan and David Hollinger

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(*AHR* 94 [June 1989]: 581–626). Even in such a seemingly mimetic field as photography, Curtis argues, the significance of an image lies no less in the photographer's ideas than in the object represented by her or his photograph. In other terms, meaning arises as much from the artist's language and value system as from the extra-linguistic objects of the world, and *Migrant Mother* is just as much about Lange's notions of family and dignity as it is about the dispossessed farm woman Lange chose to photograph.

Cogently argued and profusely illustrated, this is a good book. I look forward to more of Curtis's work.

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FRANCES K. POHL. *Ben Shahn: New Deal Artist in a Cold War Climate, 1947–1954*. (American Studies Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1989. Pp. x, 237. Cloth $24.95, paper $14.95.

Ben Shahn first made his mark as an artist of social conscience in the early 1930s. He mounted a series of painting exhibitions in New York City during 1930–33, worked with Diego Rivera on the Rockefeller Center mural project in 1932, and briefly joined the New Deal's Public Works of Art Project in 1934. Shahn worked for the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photography project and later the FSA's Special Skills Division between 1935 and 1938, creating photographs that rival those of his masterful FSA colleagues Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange.

In the 1940s, Shahn's continued involvement with the Roosevelt administration included creating murals for a federal building and posters for the Office of War Information. Yet, as Frances K. Pohl explains, it was not strictly work on government payrolls that made Shahn a "New Deal artist" but more generally a lifelong commitment to the artistic expression of the left-liberal populism epitomized in Roosevelt's New Deal, beliefs Shahn presented in an accessible, representational style throughout a career that moved from documenting specific historical incidents such as the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti to the sometimes more symbolic portrayal of "universal experiences" (p. 173). Shahn devoted himself equally to the easel paintings familiar to museum goers and to the posters, murals, and drawings that he created from 1947 to 1954 on behalf of causes and organizations including the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the Henry Wallace presidential campaign, the Democratic party, the *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Fortune*, the peace movement, and the community center of Jersey Homesteads (now Roosevelt, N.J.), where Shahn and his family lived.

The parameters of Pohl's study are primarily determined by two events that would signify major achievement in any fine arts career: a retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in September 1947 and Shahn's selection with abstract expressionist Willem de Kooning to represent the United States at the twenty-seventh Venice Biennial in 1954. These tributes were particularly triumphant for Shahn, "the opposite of the 'pure' painter" and "a financially successful and distinctively American artist who engaged in political as well as artistic activities" (p. 48). As Pohl's extensive account of relevant political and institutional cold war history shows, Shahn, independent minded and never a party ideologue, was nevertheless repeatedly subjected to harassment and red baiting. Indeed, Pohl suggests, his selection for the quasi-official American pavilion at the 1954 Venice Biennial may have been intended to "[offer] reassurances that . . . deviations from the tradition of democracy were, in fact, being dealt with" (p. 161).

Although clearly sympathetic to her subject, Pohl keeps her well-written account balanced and neutral in tone. Her approach sometimes seems unnecessarily dry and detached, particularly when discussions of specific works of art turn out to rely primarily on quotations from contemporaneous reviews rather than offering the author's own readings. In part because Shahn's unflagging political engagement in hard times is inspirational today, an assessment of the man and his career in relation to current art history and theory would seem especially useful and important.

MAREN STANGE
Clark University

PAUL BUHLE. *C. L. R. James: The Artist as Revolutionary*. New York: Verso. 1988. Pp. 197. Cloth $35.00, paper $13.95.

Born of African descent in Trinidad in 1901, C. L. R. James claimed the world as his home at a time when Africa was colonized and blacks everywhere were oppressed. In the largeness of his commitment to changing the world, and in the quality of his published work, James universalized his own subjectivity. Although driven by a need to shatter class structures, he had about him an aura of aristocratism so perfectly suited to form that his preference for red snapper, fine wines, and beautiful women in no way caused one to question his devotion to his cause. Considering the austerity of his intellect and his somewhat distant bearing, it was no mean achievement that James, who died recently, was a hero to black militants in this country in the 1970s. On at least one occasion in their presence, he looked down the steep incline of the years he had lived into trenches in which he had struggled and described his role until his voice was lost in a storm of applause.

Paul Buhle has captured the spirit of this complex man in the body of his book and in its title. In doing so, he has written a biography of a black intellectual and political figure—James was a Trotskyite—that combines careful research, much reflection, and a sensitivity rare in the literature of the subject matter. It is a tribute to Buhle's scholarship that events involving James that are not discussed in this book take on richer meaning on reading it.

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Though relatively brief, the book is remarkably full, encompassing the wide range of interests that established James, who spent many years in exile in London and in the United States, among the most versatile men of his era. In fact, so much of interest is explored that at times one has the feeling that the author might have provided himself wider scope in which to cover the subject.

A crucial aspect of the book concerns how James's politics related to his aesthetics, a relationship in which one lent such resonance to the other that the two were often one. In fact, seldom does one encounter a figure so concerned with ideology without that concern hardening into a prison house of theory. But James's creative powers led to classics in three fields—to *The Black Jacobins* (1963), a study of the Haitian revolution; to *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways* (1953), a study of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*; and to *Beyond a Boundary* (1963), an exploration, through the game of cricket, of aspects of art and politics in the West Indies.

Some of James's writings were so much a mirror of the man that to misread them is to misread certain aspects of the life he led. That seldom occurs in this tightly constructed, well-written book, but one suspects it does in Buhle's belief that James was an important theorist of Pan-Africanism. It seems to me that James was too committed to European values to be deeply Pan-Africanist and that this had implications for how he saw class in relation to color and culture that are not considered in this valuable book.

STERLING STUCKEY
University of California, Riverside

A. MCGEHEE HARVEY and SUSAN L. ABRAMS. *"For the Welfare of Mankind": The Commonwealth Fund and American Medicine*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1986. Pp. xiii, 696. $32.50.

The Commonwealth Fund was established in 1918 by Mrs. Steven V. Harkness, a widow whose husband had had the good sense some forty years earlier to go into business with John D. Rockefeller. Its mandate—"to do something for the welfare of mankind"—strikes an oddly tentative, almost plaintive note, as though there might not have been much left to do for mankind after Rockefeller and Carnegie had staked their much larger philanthropic claims earlier in the century. As it happened, the Commonwealth Fund did find its own niche in the world of medical philanthropy. Although its programs have come and gone over the years, almost all of them have reflected an abiding interest in the role of the well-trained physician in society. By 1984, the "something" for the welfare of mankind was approaching $270 million.

From the beginning, however, the Commonwealth Fund has stood in the shadows of much larger foundations and, since World War II, federal agencies as well. A. McGehee Harvey and Susan L. Abrams argue that its size has been an asset in many ways, one that has enabled the Commonwealth Fund to remain flexible and innovative over the years, more responsive to rapidly changing circumstances than its gigantic, more hidebound, and bureaucratic counterparts. For example, throughout the middle decades of the century, the Commonwealth Fund sponsored a modest but successful program of fellowships in medical research, several of which eventually led to Nobel Prizes for their recipients. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, however, it was becoming increasingly clear to the officers of the Commonwealth Fund that the federal government's burgeoning support of medical research had rendered their program superfluous. The fellowships program was discontinued, and the Commonwealth Fund swiftly redirected its efforts toward the controversial areas of comprehensive medicine and alternative health care delivery systems. Carefully placed grants persuaded a few medical schools to tinker with their curricula with the intention of producing graduates more closely attuned to the broad-gauged health needs of the surrounding community. At the same time, the Commonwealth Fund began to encourage interdisciplinary experiments, centered in medical schools but engaging the energies of social scientists, engineers, lawyers, architects, and managers as well as trained medical personnel, in efforts to design less expensive, more comprehensive community health plans. To a very real extent, the health maintenance organizations and other prepaid group plans of the late twentieth century have evolved from these prototypes, underwritten by the Commonwealth Fund at a time when many in the medical establishment, the federal government, and the larger foundations were expressing skepticism or downright hostility to the idea.

Harvey and Abrams have traced in elaborate detail the shifting programs, policies, and personnel of the Commonwealth Fund since its creation. Members of the American Historical Association may be interested to learn that the first general director was Max Farrand, who took a two-year leave of absence from the Yale history department to help get the Commonwealth Fund off on the right foot. Historians of medicine and philanthropy will also welcome the seven hundred pages of solid, useful text and appendixes, in which one can find recorded virtually every grant and program funded since 1918. Although occasional references in the text indicate that the authors are aware of the exchanges among historians in recent years over the effect, good or bad, of foundations and their programs, they have chosen not to get directly involved in the debate.

JOHN ETTLING
University of Houston

DAVID SARASOHN. *The Party of Reform: Democrats in the Progressive Era*. (Twentieth-Century America Series.) Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1989. Pp. xvii, 265. $30.00.

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After having been savaged by scholars for a generation, the concept of political Progressivism may be on the mend, with party-driven reform programs figuring more coherently than before. In David Sarasohn's concise, accessible narrative, congressional Democrats emerge as the main force in promoting Progressive legislation between 1906 and 1916. His concentration on Democrats yields a rather partisan reading of that era's politics, recalling comparable treatments of party strife in other periods by Claude Bowers in the 1920s and the more sophisticated recent histories by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Sarasohn describes Democratic support for Theodore Roosevelt's initiatives as largely responsible for "whatever historical reputation Roosevelt retains as a legislative reformer" (p. 34). The celebrated Republican insurgency of the Taft years he finds to be less cohesive and radical in the fight for tariff and tax reform than efforts by congressional Democrats, who are also credited with helping to provoke William Howard Taft's antitrust activism. Meanwhile, Democratic resurgence in state legislatures made possible ratification of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments. The general party surge, cresting in 1912, was more crucial than the Bull Moose bolt in ensuring a Democratic presidential victory that year; Woodrow Wilson would probably have beaten either Taft or Roosevelt in a two-party race, Sarasohn believes. Cheerfully challenging what he calls the "job solidarity" (p. 155) of historians who stress Wilson's transforming impact on his party, the author argues that the party—William Jennings Bryan's party—accelerated Wilson's conversion to reform as he eyed the White House. Democratic mistrust of concentrated economic and political power enabled Wilson, in the teeth of scorn from the "foremost political intellectuals of the day" (by which Sarasohn means the founders of *New Republic*), to achieve his "New Freedom" legislation of 1913–14, thus completing rather than catalyzing a party program (p. 156). Similarly, Wilson's famous shift to the Left in 1916 was mostly, in Sarasohn's interpretation, a response to congressional party initiative. The election results in 1916 tempt Sarasohn to question the established view that Wilson's success marked an aberration in the era's electoral system. He ventures the rival view that the contest in 1916 had all the traits of a realigning election except re-alignment and attributes this quirk to the impact of World War I.

The research base for this study is somewhat uneven. Grass-roots voting behavior is examined much more intensely for 1916 than for preceding elections, leaving the reader with only the most impressionistic sense of shifts in the Democratic constituency over the whole span. And Democratic political maneuvering in Congress is, oddly enough, scrutinized more carefully for the Roosevelt and Taft years than for those of Wilson's presidency. Nevertheless, the book provides a very useful counterpoint to the view that Progressivism ought to be remembered mainly for its bipartisan backlash against party discipline or for the image of middle-class good citizens wobbling endlessly between conservative anxiety and feckless moral indignation. For Sarasohn there was a movement with momentum after all, and it left the Democratic party permanently changed.

GEOFFREY BLODGETT
Oberlin College

RICHARD M. VALELLY. *Radicalism in the States: The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and the American Political Economy*. Foreword by MARTIN SHEFTER. (American Politics and Political Economy Series.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 258. $29.95.

Historians should be grateful for that small band of political scientists who still write the English language. Richard M. Valelly is one of these. There is no jargon in this book. Valelly sets out on a quest to find out why and how radical third parties rose in some states at a certain time and then examines why they later failed. He uses as his model the Farmer-Labor party (FLP) of Minnesota, the most significant of them all.

The study begins with a basic point. Governments in capitalist democracies play one of two roles in the political economy. The first is "accumulationist." Accumulationist policies put emphasis on allowing capital great freedom in the belief that this practice will most efficiently promote growth and bring benefit to most sectors of society. Governments do not guard citizens, nor do they interfere in the economy other than to reduce taxes and spending in time of recession or depression. Contrasted to accumulationism is a "balanced" political economy that still sees "capital's command of the basic investment decisions" (p. 5) as its cornerstone but that also believes that the market can create problems that would destroy it. In a balanced system, then, the government intervenes to strengthen the system through regulation of such things as working conditions, wages, and securities fraud.

Valelly sees the United States largely as an accumulationist nation in the early twentieth century and especially so during the Harding-Coolidge era. He also believes that accumulationist policies brought on economic and social stresses that radical third parties sought to ameliorate on the state level because the national parties were not prepared to do so. Third parties, however, had little chance in the East or in the Midwest, because partisan machines had already filled the "organizational space" (p. 10), or in the South, because of its semifeudal social system. In the West, on the other hand, opportunities abounded, and thus there emerged the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota, the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota (and less successfully in other states), and, later, the Progressive party in Wisconsin.

During the 1920s, the FLP won a few U.S. Senate and House races but never the governorship, and its strength seemed in decline. Then Floyd Olson gained office in 1930 and not only instituted a series of broad social and economic reforms but also institutionalized

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the party through patronage before his tragic death in 1936. His successor, Elmer Benson, won a smashing victory. The FLP seemed set to maintain its dominance, but only two years later Benson received barely a third of the vote in losing to thirty-two-year-old Harold Stassen.

Part of the problem for the party was Benson. In spite of Valelly's kind words, it is clear that he was an inept politician. But the greater problem was that Franklin Roosevelt seized political power for the federal government in a way that no previous president had done and used it to temper accumulationism with reform. There no longer was room in the vastly changed political economy for a party confined to one state.

Every reviewer has a wish list. I wish the author had used the papers of Vince Day and Howard Y. Williams. I wish that he had not called the generally well organized bands of farmers who stopped foreclosures in the depth of the depression "mobs." I wish he had not perpetuated the nonsensical error of distinguishing between "penny" sales and "Sears Roebuck" sales. But these are minor points. It is a good book. The University of Chicago Press, however, should be ashamed of itself, in this computerized age, not to have used footnotes.

LOWELL DYSON
United States Department of Agriculture

GERALD MEYER. *Vito Marcantonio: Radical Politician, 1902–1954*. (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 303.

Vito Marcantonio was a fascinating anomaly in American politics. During his six terms in Congress, between 1934 and 1950, representing the working-class ghettos of East Harlem, he was the preeminent spokesman of the Left, an advocate of the most radical positions in both domestic and foreign affairs, closely associated in the public mind with the Communist party, and subject to repeated vilification in the halls of Congress and in the national media. No other national officeholder of similar persuasion ever remotely approached him in popular longevity. Yet the organizational apparatus responsible for his remarkable durability was in many essential respects indistinguishable from the conventional, service-oriented, deal-making machines of the two major parties. Moreover, as Gerald Meyer suggests in this very useful analysis of Marcantonio's career, for many of the congressman's constituents, especially his brethren in Italian Harlem, his ideological radicalism was beside the point so long as Marcantonio fought tenaciously to ease their material deprivations and defend their communities against the contempt of Anglo-America. For thousands of impoverished Italians and Puerto Ricans, Marcantonio functioned as a kind of political godfather, giving voice to their racial, ethnic, and class resentments, reproducing in the barrios of New York City the traditional personal relationships characteristic of their homelands. He was the quintessential ghetto populist of urban ethnic America.

Marcantonio depended on his own autonomous political organization and on the resources of the Left to secure his position. Meyer provides an excellent analysis of how the Marcantonio Political Association and the American Labor party (ALP) readily shed their ideological inhibitions when it came to concluding mutually advantageous deals with East Harlem apparatchiks from the Democratic and Republican parties. Republicans particularly retained a following among Italian voters, and, Meyer demonstrates, they were more than willing to trade tacit support for Marcantonio's congressional candidacy in return for ALP endorsement of Republican aspirants to patronage-rich state offices. Workers for the Marcantonio Political Association habitually maintained dual enrollments in one of the two major parties to assure Marcantonio at least one major party endorsement, something they successfully managed until the rigors of the cold war made that infeasible in 1948.

Meyer's detailed examination of street-level organizing by Marcantonio stalwarts is equally enlightening. It makes clear how the congressman's extraordinary popularity accreted through a thousand intimate struggles with municipal, state, and federal welfare, housing, and immigration bureaucracies. Every community, fraternal, social, and trade union organization was thereby thoroughly politicized. Moreover, the Marcantonio cadre worked overtime quelling incipient conflicts between Italian Harlem and El Barrio, channeling ethnic passions into the politics of antidiscrimination. But, as Meyer also rightly notes, the intensely personal style and substance of the Marcantonio phenomenon meant that, once the charismatic congressman died, so, too, did the grass-roots organization that sustained him. In the poisonous atmosphere of anticommunism lies much of the blame, but it is also true that the social-psychological dynamics of the Marcantonio Political Association reproduced, in an urban setting, the political culture of the *contadini* where matters of party and ideological affiliation were hardly significant. In El Barrio, however, left-wing ideological principles counted more heavily. Meyer points to the persistent socialist and anarchist traditions of the Puerto Rican community in New York, and especially to Marcantonio's anti-imperialist pronouncements and his championing of Puerto Rican nationalism, to account for the remarkable fact that for a time the ALP was the majority party in El Barrio.

The only major weakness in this otherwise insightful monograph is the scant attention paid to the class and trade unionist dimensions of the Marcantonio story. This neglect is particularly apparent at the organizational level of Meyer's analysis. Although the author makes due note of the community's poverty and of the symbolic significance of class in the cultural politics of Marcantonio's populism, he fails to weigh adequately the material and ideological contributions of the New

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York City trade union movement. Large numbers of Italians and growing numbers of Puerto Ricans belonged to the city's needle trades unions, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America particularly, as well as to some of the newer unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In turn, without the financial and human resources of those organizations, the ALP would never have become a formidable force in city politics. Moreover, the practical commitments of these unions to a left-wing variant of the New Deal and to antifascism might have made Marcantonio's ideological radicalism that much more congenial to his constituents. Despite these drawbacks, historians of the man and the period will find this book a valuable contribution to an all too sparse literature.

STEVE FRASER
New York, New York

JIMMIE LEWIS FRANKLIN. *Back to Birmingham: Richard Arrington, Jr., and His Times*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 363. $28.50.

In the 1960s the image of Birmingham, Alabama, was one of institutionalized racism enforced by police dogs and cattle prods. In 1979 the city elected Richard Arrington, Jr., a black man, mayor. Jimmie Lewis Franklin's biography of Arrington vividly describes one of the most dramatic political transformations in American history. Franklin also makes clear, however, that the fight for black political equality in Birmingham has not been easy and is not complete.

Franklin is unyielding in his admiration of Arrington; at times his work approaches hagiography. Although his book is not an authorized biography, it is based on extensive interviews and conversations with Arrington and with members of his family and close associates. Despite the author's proximity to his subject, however, the private Arrington remains rather enigmatic. Franklin is at his best when describing the tangle of racist realities that Arrington had to confront when pursuing political office and when serving on the city council and as mayor.

The brutality of the city's policemen toward its black citizens was a major factor in catapulting Arrington into city politics. The murder of Bonita Carter in 1979 by a white policeman galvanized the black community behind Arrington, an outspoken leader against police brutality. Franklin describes Arrington's electoral strategy as one that focused on "effective mobilization of his core black support" (p. 143). Although Franklin describes Arrington's election as Birmingham's first black mayor as "a crucial watershed in its long history" (p. 171), he makes clear in chapters discussing the new administration that racism still loomed large in the city's political landscape. Franklin describes how Arrington tackled problems common to all city mayors. He struggled to surround himself with a loyal and competent staff and agonized over the defeat of Block 60, his major effort to revitalize downtown. But Franklin's study also underscores that Arrington was more than another mayor of Alabama's largest city; he was also a leader of black Alabamians. His fight on behalf of an affirmative action program, his push for a black share in the city's cable television franchise, and his campaign against police brutality assured his position as a major black leader. Franklin's study indicates that overt focus on race did decline during Arrington's second administration as the economic struggle between retrenchment and development came to the fore. Issues did not always divide along racial lines. In a major defeat for Arrington over retention of the city's school superintendent, for example, his opponents on the board included several black members. Franklin points to Arrington's leadership in the New South, the leading black political organization in Alabama, as evidence that, despite some setbacks, Arrington remained a major black leader. The book ends with Arrington's third victory in 1987. It was an election with less emphasis on race than the previous two, although voting trends indicated that racial lines were still clearly drawn in the city.

This volume is an important addition to the literature on the struggle for black political equality. Arrington's participation in this struggle is not complete. The perspective of time will demand further study of his role as both symbol and activist. But Franklin's book will likely remain for many years the definitive study of this remarkable career.

BESS BEATTY
Oregon State University

SIDNEY FINE. *Violence in the Model City: The Cavanagh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Race Riot of 1967*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 648. $37.50.

On July 23, 1967, when the Detroit police raided a so-called blind pig, an illegal after-hours drinking establishment on the city's near northwest side, the most destructive urban riot of the 1960s erupted. It took the U.S. Army, the Michigan National Guard, the state police, and the Detroit police department (altogether about seventeen thousand men) more than a week to restore order. The riot claimed forty-three lives, mostly blacks, and resulted in nearly seven hundred injuries, over seven thousand arrests, property damage of over $75 million, and combined municipal, state, and federal riot-related costs of over $15 million. Yet, beginning with the accession of Jerome P. Cavanagh to the mayor's office in 1962, Detroit had enjoyed a national reputation as a "model city" (including its pattern of race relations) in the governance of a huge industrial metropolis. Sidney Fine's book offers a detailed study of what happened, why, and with what consequences.

More specifically, Fine addresses two large questions: Why was Detroit regarded as a model city? Was the

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reputation justified? Using a broad range of public and private city, state, and federal records, Fine carefully reconstructs the image of Detroit as a model city. Against the background of the Detroit race riot of 1943, the persistence of poor police-community relations through the 1950s and early 1960s, and the dearth of concerned citizen groups dedicated to the improvement of race relations, Fine convincingly argues that Detroit earned its reputation as a model city during the first five and one-half years of the Cavanagh mayoralty. Before the federal government declared its "war on poverty," Detroit had initiated its own war on poverty, laid much of the groundwork for subsequent federal programs, and enhanced the city's race relations image. Moreover, a variety of indicators—schools, jobs, housing, political representation (as of 1967, Detroit was the only city with two blacks in the U.S. Congress), and even police-community relations—placed blacks in Detroit ahead of their counterparts elsewhere in urban America. Indeed, "on a clear day," Cavanagh "could see the White House" (p. 34).

Fine, however, carefully charts the perceptions of blacks themselves, which are fundamental to understanding the events of 1967 and reflected in the growing militance of civil rights and black nationalist organizations such as the NAACP, the Detroit Urban League, and the Black Christian Nationalist Movement. From the vantage point of black leaders and especially from the perspective of the "blind pig," Detroit was a racially stratified city, blacks occupying its bottom rung. Throughout the Cavanagh years, African Americans complained about the segregated housing market, mistreatment by neighborhood merchants, meager recreational facilities, deteriorating schools, and, most of all, dead-end jobs and abusive law enforcement officials. Thus, according to Fine, the riot of 1967 had its genesis in the deep-seated grievances of blacks within the established social order; it also served to heighten those grievances and deepen the polarization of blacks and whites. Yet, consonant with Detroit's reputation as a model city, Fine suggests that it pursued a more aggressive program of amelioration in the riot's aftermath compared to other riot-torn cities of the period.

Yet the study falls short in important ways. First, although the causes of the riot are linked to the issues of jobs and police-community relations within the black community, Fine offers few insights into the shifting class structure of the city, including the changing attitudes and policies of the auto industry, organized labor, and rank-and-file white workers, as a broader context for understanding the events of July and August 1967. Second, although the study illuminates the role of civil rights leaders, nationalists, and, to a great degree, street-level participants through the use of survey data, Fine is less clear on how the riot took shape within the dynamics of the changing black community. The study leaves us unsure, for example, about the precise relationship between the eruption of racial violence and the unfolding patterns of black migration, ghettoization, and proletarianization in the industrial city.

In other words, it seems, only by situating the riot more systematically within the context of both African-American and working-class life will we be able to comprehend fully the "meaning of racial violence" (pp. 351–67). Perhaps then we will also have to change our terminology and perceptions, which view the events of 1967 as a "riot," essentially leaderless, spontaneous, and devoid of designs for "restructuring political power in the city" (p. 367). Thanks to the splendid scholarship of Fine, we are now in an excellent position to do just that.

JOE W. TROTTER
Carnegie Mellon University

JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS. *The American Experiment.* Volume 3, *The Crosswinds of Freedom.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1989. Pp. xi, 864. $35.00.

For three decades, James MacGregor Burns has influenced the teaching and writing of recent U.S. history. Of his many contributions, one of his first, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (1956), must be the most influential. But the second volume of his biography of the second Roosevelt, *The Soldier of Freedom* (1970), is especially good, and *The Deadlock of Democracy* (1963) had an impact in its time. Now, in the third volume of *The American Experiment*, Burns draws together his thinking on the half-century from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan.

Like the earlier books, this one is beautifully written. Also like them, it emphasizes politics. To be sure, other matters, including the economy during World War II, the automobile industry, intellectuals, artists, churches, schools, the media, and Hollywood are discussed, but Burns has not been influenced noticeably by the rise of the new social history. A political scientist who writes history, he continues to be fascinated by subjects that intrigued him in the 1950s, especially the American party system and leadership. He still assumes that political personalities can have a large impact on history—and deplores that too often they do not affect things as they should. If he has changed in any large ways, the most important change must be a greater interest in intellectual history than was present in his earlier work.

Although the new book has the look and feel of a textbook for an introductory course, that is not what it is. Burns appears to regard himself as obligated to discuss only the topics that most interest him. The book begins like a survey text and a somewhat old-fashioned one at that: it explores the Roosevelt presidency in great detail. But Burns does not devote similar space to later presidencies, and, increasingly, as the book moves along, it becomes, on one level, a series of essays, which are almost always interesting and insightful, often stimulating and even brilliant. They are not organized in conformity with the presidential synthesis or any

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newer scheme. What this author offers us is his personal way of looking at recent U.S. history, not another survey of it.

Burns is not quick to tell us what the book is all about. In fact, he does not clearly define the larger meanings of his volume until the very end. As I moved through the work, I often had difficulty determining why certain topics had been included and what the large themes are, but before I reached mid-point, I did begin to see that the author was returning frequently to certain subjects. The fragmented character of the American political system is obviously one of those. Burns makes much of the challenge that fragmentation has posed for those who have hoped to be leaders. Leadership is another central theme. Here a subtheme is decline. He sees people at and near the top today as clearly inferior to their counterparts of a generation and more ago and far below the leaders of the late eighteenth century. Would-be leaders today cannot bridge the gap between the general and the particular, between ends and means. They appear incapable of thinking boldly about the problems posed for us by our fragmented political system and incapable of giving us something comparable in size to what the founders gave to the nation.

The largest theme is suggested by the book's title. The "American Experiment," Burns proposes, was "a series of planned or unplanned experiments," and "the grand experiment that transcended all the others was . . . called Freedom, combining as it did liberty and equality" (p. 679). (His definition resembles Franklin Roosevelt's.) Here, too, there has been a falling off, for the Reaganites made the "vehicle for the ideology of freedom"—liberalism—a "hate object" and a clear target, and liberalism, already weakened by "overextension," was ready to collapse (p. 679).

Burns has spent nearly all of the half-century about which he writes at Williams College, first as a student and then as a faculty member, and he reports that one of his students there, Jeb Stuart Magruder, placed some of the blame for his contributions to Watergate on Burns. The political scientist, according to the former White House aide, had not taught enough morality in his courses. After reading this book, I suspect that during the time that Magruder attended those courses, he was distracted by other interests.

RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL
University of Washington

WILLIAM PENCAK. *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919–1941*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 411. $35.00.

The decline of communism offers historians an opportunity to reevaluate American anticommunism and consider its relevance to the future. Clearly flag-waving patriotism has an appeal in America, as George Bush's 1988 campaign demonstrated, but that appeal may decline as the cold war disintegrates. William Pencak's book is relevant to contemporary historians for these and additional reasons. The American Legion's vehement opposition to communists, socialists, Wobblies, and radical labor unions raises questions about the nature and limitations of free speech, the effectiveness of counterpropaganda, and the possible excesses of chauvinistic nationalism. One sometimes wonders whether the republic stands in more danger from its enemies or from its defenders.

On the one hand, the American Legion in the period between 1919 and 1941 was responsible for a proliferation of good works: baseball leagues, Boy Scout troops, Boys' State camps, high school essay contests, and disaster relief. It was an effective advocate for veterans' pensions and hospitals, largely responsible for the creation of the Veterans' Bureau in 1921 and the GI Bill in 1944. It cooperated with the American Historical Association to promote creation of the National Archives in 1926. Poppy sales and fund raising increased sympathy and provided resources for disabled veterans.

On the other hand, the Legion sought to stifle dissent in the name of law and order. It was sometimes excessively nationalistic: some of its opponents were patriots who simply were not flag-wavers, and some of its allies were bigots. For example, an Atlanta Legion post condemned Jeannette Rankin as a Communist, and Legion Americanism director Homer Chailleaux cooperated with such bigots as Elizabeth Dilling and Gerald L. K. Smith. The Legion opposed admission of Jewish refugees from Hitler, combated legitimate labor unions, and acted as an amateur antisubversive force during World War II. It helped create the Dies Committee in 1938 and pass the Smith Act to register aliens in 1940.

Investigating subversion and promoting patriotism have their place, but subversion is best left to professionals, and patriotism is destructive if excessive. In evaluating the Legion, one must weigh the good works of the Legion with its excesses. Pencak is fair and judicious in his appraisal, though not always accurate on specific cases. His conclusion that the Legion was beneficial on the whole is reasonable, but his statement that, "without the Legion as its principal vehicle, the Red Scare of 1919–20 might not have so effectively stopped American radicalism dead in its tracks" is dubious (p. 320). Radicalism was not stopped dead, nor did it deserve to be, and its relative decline was more the result of prosperity than of persecution.

Pencak also explores the question of whether the Legion made a difference. Much of what the Legion accomplished was marginal and would have occurred anyway, differing chiefly in degree and timing. Its influence on politics and public opinion, however, was one of many factors that created the state of mind of America that existed during the interwar period.

The author deals with organizational detail as well as ideology. Much of the narrative treats convention conviviality, election of officers, passage of resolutions, and sponsorship of charitable enterprises. A chapter is

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devoted to the founding and functioning of the Legion in 1919, its inaugural year. Pencak describes the major leaders, the composition of membership, and the geographical distribution of posts. He delineates the controversy over racial segregation on southern posts and junior baseball teams.

This study relates only one segment of the Legion's history. Its history after World War II is equally turbulent and constructive, and a book encompassing this period would be useful. The limitation of Pencak's work is partly the result of the circumstances under which he wrote; he took over the work of John Lax, a fellow graduate student killed in an automobile accident while researching a dissertation on the Legion between the wars. The joint research for the period covered is impeccable, the style graceful, the conclusions appropriate. Students and academics will find it useful, and legionnaires will read it with interest, although it is not uncritically flattering. It is the best history of the Legion to this date, and, although not definitive, it is welcome.

GLEN JEANSONNE
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BETTY MILLER UNTERBERGER. *The United States, Revolutionary Russia, and the Rise of Czechoslovakia.* (Supplementary Volumes to *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.*) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 463.

This book is a major contribution to scholarship on Woodrow Wilson's diplomacy. In it Betty Miller Unterberger focuses on the role of the United States in the rise of Czechoslovakia during World War I. She elucidates American involvement in the Russian revolution and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Her extensive knowledge of the primary sources as well as the historical literature on American relations with Europe and Asia informs the analysis of these wartime developments. This book reconfirms her status as one of the leading scholars of Wilson.

Unterberger emphasizes the president's moral commitment to the principle of national self-determination, which he equated with democracy and collective security. In the first chapters, she concentrates on Wilson's policy toward Austria-Hungary. Although indifferent toward the Habsburg Empire's potential disintegration, he initially favored only autonomy for subject nationalities in the empire. He showed minimal interest in Bohemian liberation. He moved toward a new policy only after failing to convince the Habsburg government to conclude a separate peace with the Allies. Leading the United States into war against Austria-Hungary in December 1917, Wilson proceeded more slowly than the Allies or Secretary of State Robert Lansing toward support of new states in Central and Eastern Europe. The Russian revolution, which Unterberger examines in considerable depth later in the book, further contributed to this change of policy. The collapse of the eastern front stranded the Czecho-Slovak legion and raised the prospect of Allied and American intervention in Russia. By July 1918, Wilson reluctantly acquiesced in the Allied request for American intervention in Siberia for the primary purpose of aiding the legion to escape from Russia. That decision, in turn, led to American recognition of Czechoslovakia's independence in September 1918.

Unterberger presents a convincing argument regarding American-Allied conflict over objectives in Siberia. While the British and French, seeking to restore the eastern front and to destroy revolutionary Bolshevism, hoped to use the Czecho-Slovak legion for those purposes, Wilson wanted to remove it as soon as possible after restoring the Trans-Siberian Railway. He faced another dilemma in that the legion's removal might leave the Japanese, whom he thoroughly distrusted, in control of Siberia and Manchuria. Unterberger emphasizes Wilson's "strong opposition to military intervention" (p. 262) and his commitment to "the principle of noninterference in Russia's internal affairs" (p. 263). Yet, contrary to his stated aims, Wilson's decision to send American troops to Siberia resulted in military interference. Although acknowledging that "despite its denials, the United States became an active participant in the Russian Civil War" (p. 324), Unterberger largely ignores contradictions between principle and practice in Wilson's diplomacy. Nevertheless, her book makes a substantial contribution to the history of American foreign relations.

LLOYD E. AMBROSIUS
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

E. I. MELAMED. *Russkie universitety Dzhordzha Kennana: Sud'ba pisatelia i ego knig* [Russian Universities of George Kennan: The Fate of a Writer and His Books]. Irkutsk: Vostochno-Sibirskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo. 1988. Pp. 336. 80 k.

Perhaps it is appropriate that a Siberian publishing house issues the first Soviet biography of the American explorer and journalist George Kennan (1845–1924). Kennan is best remembered for his two books about Siberia. The first one, *Tent Life in Siberia* (1870), is a fact-filled first impression narrative based on Kennan's two-and-one-half-year stay in Siberia as the leader of a telegraph survey party. (This project was abandoned when the trans-Atlantic cable was laid.) Kennan's magnum opus, *Siberia and the Exile System* (1891), was the result of a sixteen-month investigation of prisons, labor camps, and places of exile, primarily in eastern Siberia. This study was the first serious, sober look at the harsh inequities of the tsarist penal system. Kennan's unbiased description of the horrors that he encountered in Siberia earned him the animosity of the tsarist government, which initially viewed him as a friend, and the good will and gratitude of thousands of political pris-

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oners. Among his admirers was the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, who depicted Kennan in his novel *Resurrection*.

George Kennan, once when asked where he had received his formal education, replied, "Russia." This lifelong obsession with Russia serves as the primary thrust of E. I. Melamed's approach to Kennan. The bulk of Melamed's monograph concerns itself with Kennan's masterpiece, *Siberia and the Exile System*. There is no denying the fact that Kennan became famous because of this book; its impact was akin to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*. One wishes, however, for a more balanced biography. Far too much time is spent retelling Kennan's book and not enough time discussing its impact on the American public. It was because of Kennan's efforts that the American public's perception of Russian revolutionaries as wild, bomb-brandishing "nihilists" changed. Kennan portrayed them as sensitive, cultured, and idealistic crusaders for justice. Melamed's discussion is persuasive and strong when he backs his arguments with archival information; an example is his discussion of Kennan's involvement as a political propagandist among the numerous Russian prisoners of war during the Russo-Japanese War. The minimal use of primary materials in this pioneering study accounts for its unevenness and glaring gaps in the exposition of Kennan's life. For example, nothing is said of Kennan's negative reception of the October Revolution or of his support for the Provisional Government. Melamed, realizing the inadequacy of writing a biography of Kennan without access to his rich archives (divided between the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library), was prompted to use Frederick Travis's 1974 dissertation on Kennan to excess. Such a vicarious use of an archive is ultimately only a stopgap remedy and not the solution. Since the publication of this book, however, Melamed has spent two months in the United States investigating Kennan's archives. A revised and expanded biography is most likely in the works.

GEORGE CHERON
California Institute of Technology

JÜRG MARTIN GABRIEL. *The American Conception of Neutrality after 1941*. New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. x, 289. $45.00.

Historians should reject their first impulse! Although Jürg Martin Gabriel is a political scientist and a Swiss citizen, his concerns are neither narrow nor parochial. Gabriel is well versed in American diplomatic history and brings a fresh and valuable perspective to familiar historical developments.

In his introduction Gabriel expresses the hope that a book about neutrality will force "Americans to look at the world through different eyes, through the eyes of neither friend nor foe," and he goes on to suggest that this may be "a novel and salutary experience" (p. 2). I certainly found it salutary, also enlightening, and especially valuable at a time when the old alliance systems are cracking and neutrality is becoming for many a more interesting and viable alternative.

This book also fills a void in the historiography of United States foreign relations. This is the first study of the American conception of neutrality after 1941. As the author points out, American scholars, once much concerned with the topic of neutrality, simply lost interest when the United States no longer practiced neutrality. But the United States was once one of the most important neutral nations in the world. What happened? What caused the United States to jettison its traditions so completely, and did that process have anything to do with the increasingly interventionist foreign policy pursued by the United States in the years of the cold war? Those are the major questions that the author addresses.

In his first chapter, Gabriel surveys the American conception of neutrality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That succinct and incisive chapter should be mandatory reading for all historians of U.S. foreign relations who grew up in the post–World War II world. His basic argument is clear and simple. International organization was and is the enemy of neutrality; the League of Nations Covenant and especially the United Nations Charter made neutrality redundant. His categorization of types of neutrality is also very helpful, especially in illuminating the tensions in the American position in the 1930s when the type of neutrality the country would pursue was such a hot and divisive issue.

In the course of the congressional debates over the Neutrality Acts, three distinct types of neutrals emerged: the traditionalists, who were rooted in American precedents and emphasized extensive trading rights in time of war; the neo-isolationists, who aimed at a reduction of those rights and favored an embargo to avoid the kind of involvement that led to American entry into World War I; and the internationalists, who also favored embargoes but as sanctioning instruments against aggressors. As Gabriel points out, the neo-isolationists won in the short run, but the problem was that, as wars became more extensive in the twentieth-century, total impartiality became increasingly difficult to practice, particularly for a neutral power like the United States that was strong enough to affect the outcome.

In the course of World War II, Franklin Roosevelt and his Wilsonian coterie succeeded in systematically eliminating the neo-isolationists from their positions of power; as for the proponents of traditional neutrality, they simply disappeared. The United States, fighting for a new world order ruled by a universal collective security organization, which in the interest of security would force member states to assume unneutral positions, early began to act as a surrogate for the United Nations, deciding what pressures would be applied to traditional neutrals such as Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and Sweden so that they would in the end contribute to the demise of the Axis and the construc-

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tion of a new world order. A generation of Americans was taught that the voluntaristic philosophy of international law no longer sufficed and that henceforth international law would emanate from the United Nations. They were, in short, as Gabriel expresses it, "ready to match universalist values with universalist power" (p. 32). The road from there to Korea was very short. If the United Nations could not keep the peace, then the United States had to act in its stead. It was not just, in William Fulbright's phrase, "the arrogance of power" but "the arrogance of power" coupled with the arrogance of Wilsonian universalist values. As I said at the outset, the story is very familiar, but the author's perspective is illuminating and gives new voice to old views perhaps too eagerly dismissed as moribund.

WILLIAM C. WIDENOR
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BARRY M. KATZ. *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1942–1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 251. $27.50.

Much has been written about the derring-do efforts of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in espionage and secret political warfare in World War II. Less attention has been accorded the Research and Analysis Branch (R&A) of OSS. Barry M. Katz's work focuses on this group of nearly one thousand scholars from a diverse intellectual community who were mobilized to apply academic skills toward victory in war.

Katz finds it "astonishing that R&A has been overlooked by professional historians, some forty of whom served in it, including no less than seven future presidents of the American Historical Association" (p. xii). His book aims to give the first detailed analysis of the wartime experience and product of an extraordinarily talented group that attempted to apply knowledge to action in the European theater in World War II.

The author divides his study of the R&A into chapters organized around various academic fields. The chapter on the Frankfurt school gives an account of how a group of the most outstanding Marxist émigré scholars joined a "tactical alliance . . . with the United States government" (p. 29). Leaders in this group included Franz Neumann, Herbert Marcuse, and Otto Kirchheimer, who, with a varied assortment of academic colleagues, had limited influence on war strategy but who did contribute to an "indisputably brilliant episode in the history of ideas, of intellectuals, and of intelligence" (p. 29).

Another chapter details the work of such historians as William L. Langer (who headed R&A), Crane Brinton, Felix Gilbert, Gordon Craig, Hajo Holborn, Carl Schorske, and many other now famous names. Particular emphasis is given to their work on the "German problem" and the production of scores of handbooks and guides that were used in pursuit of victory and especially military occupation at war's end.

The work of economists is analyzed separately. This group included Edward S. Mason (deputy director of R&A), Walt W. Rostow, Charles Kindleberger, Carl Kaysen, Wassily Leontief, and many other later famous economists and had perhaps the greatest influence on war policies, particularly in estimates of German and later Russian economic viability and in strategic bombing targeting. Indeed, some analysts have characterized World War II as "the economists' war." The efforts by economists in bringing systematic analysis to war policy, writes Katz, "proved nearly as successful as the physicists in bringing their science to bear on the war" (p. 130).

Another important emphasis in R&A was policy on the Soviet Union. The professional scholars in the USSR division dealt with the "uneasy alliance," a problem that later became a major focus of the work of the Central Intelligence Agency, the OSS offspring. Perhaps the experience and influence of the USSR division were greater on the development of the postwar field of Sovietology than on the prosecution of the war. This group was led by Geroid T. Robinson, who confronted a severe shortage of American-trained scholars in Soviet studies. Consequently, the Soviet division of R&A became a training ground for leaders in the great postwar expansion in Soviet studies, including the creation of the various major university Russian research centers. But, during the early part of the war, ignorance about the Soviet Union was, according to Robinson, "the chief failure of American intelligence" (p. 145).

Using a wide variety of untapped archival sources, Katz has brilliantly filled a gap in our knowledge of the development of the social and humanistic sciences at mid-twentieth century. This book covers a profoundly significant episode in American intellectual history. More is to be learned here about social science epistemology than about the evolution of strategic intelligence process and doctrine. What difference did applied academic scholarship make to Allied victory? Katz offers "precious little evidence" that R&A's product "figured decisively in the determination of military or diplomatic policy." Too little government use of intelligence was to Katz "a tragic waste" (p. 196). This may be the chief lesson about the uneasy relationship between knowledge and government action, then as now.

HARRY HOWE RANSOM
Vanderbilt University

HOWARD B. SCHONBERGER. *Aftermath of War: Americans and the Remaking of Japan, 1945–1952*. (American Diplomatic History.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 347. Cloth $26.00, paper $16.50.

Forty-five years ago, the United States launched the occupation of Japan, one of the most significant foreign policy endeavors of the century. Today that effort provokes hot debate on both sides of the Pacific. One generation of Americans sees it as the enlightened

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transformation of enemy into ally; another regards it as folly, the creation of a formidable competitor and probable future foe. For older Japanese, the occupation stands as a monument to the triumph of endurance in adversity; many younger Nipponese regard the years between 1945 and 1952 as an era that left Japan crippled and overly dependent on the United States.

Howard B. Schonberger offers a different view of the American occupation of Japan. He presents it as an act of national self-interest, one shaped less by altruistic desires than by ruthless determination to guarantee the emergence of a Japan safe for particular American interests. The seven-year occupation was a moment of lost opportunity, a time when, had it not been for shrewdly resistant politicians in Tokyo and conservative Washington bureaucrats, progressive reformers (American liberals, Japanese social democrats, intellectuals, and workers) might have made basic changes in Japan's political economy and social structure. Instead, the occupation altered all too little, leaving in power the forebears of those Japanese conservatives who today seem so deaf to American suggestions for change.

Schonberger develops his argument by focusing on the careers of eight men. Five (Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew, General Douglas MacArthur, Assistant Secretary of the Army William H. Draper, Jr., economic advisor Joseph M. Dodge, and Special Ambassador John Foster Dulles) were senior executors of occupation policy. By analyzing the previous life experiences and personal goals of each, Schonberger suggests that a mosaic of motives, rather than simple anticommunism, shaped occupation policies. His arguments to the effect that MacArthur worried more about occupying the White House than changing Japan and that Draper feared Congress more than communism are particularly provocative. Of the three lesser figures—T. A. Bisson, the missionary-intellectual turned *zaibatsu*-buster; James S. Killen, the stolid American Federation of Labor trade union organizer; and Harry F. Kern, *Newsweek* foreign affairs editor—Schonberger attributes the greatest influence to the last. The first two could not succeed in MacArthur's Japan, but Kern, aided by prewar diplomats and postwar bureaucrats, helped bring about a reverse course from reform to restoration in occupation policy.

The foregoing summary cannot do justice to Schonberger's deeply researched and subtly nuanced portraits. His lucid and compellingly interesting manner of presentation helps make the book useful for the undergraduate or general reader as a guide through the thickets of policy development. His approach in and of itself serves to remind the expert reader that policy is the product of individual as well as organizational interactions. His provocative interpretation (once New, now decidedly older middle-aged, Left) will certainly stir vigorous and useful debate in the seminar or classroom.

For all of its strengths, however, this book by no means offers the last word on the American occupation of Japan. Its narrow focus on policy executors will leave unsatisfied historians anxious to understand the wider *mentalité* of occupiers and occupied alike. Although Schonberger's descriptions of individuals in policy debates are superb, they are not informed by much theoretical insight. One might also wish that the author had considered with greater care the multiplicity and complexity of motives that drove the Japanese officials with whom his American policy executors dealt. Finally, given the fact that the American occupation of Japan was an intersection of two societies and cultures no less than a forced togetherness of polities and economies, the absence of an educator or cultural figure from Schonberger's gallery is to be regretted.

Such criticisms, paradoxically, point to his achievement: this is the best English-language portrait of American policy making for occupied Japan yet to appear.

ROGER DINGMAN
University of Southern California

GERALD K. HAINES. *The Americanization of Brazil: A Study of U.S. Cold War Diplomacy in the Third World, 1945–1954*. (America in the Modern World, number 3.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1989. Pp. xiv, 227. $35.00.

Picking up where Frank D. McCann's *Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937–1945*, left off, Gerald K. Haines's book surveys U.S.-Brazilian relations during the first decade of the cold war. Haines's central thesis is that the Truman and Eisenhower administrations' policy toward Brazil was consistently hegemonic: both administrations sought to mold Brazil into a stable, anticommunist ally and neocolonial trading partner firmly positioned within the U.S. sphere of influence. In pursuing these aims, U.S. officials relentlessly encouraged Brazil to conform to North American models of political, economic, and cultural development. Far from neglecting Brazil, the United States energetically tried to make the country over in the U.S. image—to "Americanize" Brazil.

Politically, U.S. policy evolved from a "confident, almost messianic" (p. 18) early postwar promotion of democratic institutions in Brazil toward a cold war–induced U.S. acquiescence in undemocratic governmental measures that repressed Brazil's communists and preserved internal stability. Economically, U.S. officials used public loans and other forms of assistance as levers to pressure the Brazilians to abandon their nationalistic, state-capitalist development models in favor of liberal, free enterprise strategies that would assure U.S. private capital open access to the country's markets and natural resources. U.S. technical assistance programs in a wide range of fields—industrial planning, transportation, energy, agriculture—urged the Brazilians to rely on U.S. technical expertise, U.S. private capital, U.S. equipment, and U.S. practices in modernizing their infrastructure. To combat Soviet propaganda as well as wean the Brazilians away from

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French and other European cultural influences, U.S. public information, cultural exchange, and educational assistance programs actively promoted U.S. cultural values, ideas, standards, and way of life in Brazil.

By and large, Haines concludes, those policies succeeded. Brazil remained a stable, anticommunist, cold war ally and economic client of the United States. Viewing international alignment with Washington as the requisite price to be paid for U.S. development aid, the Brazilian governments of the period loyally supported U.S. foreign policy and voted solidly with the United States in international organizations. Except for a notable failure to prevent a statist Brazilian approach to petroleum development, U.S. economic pressure effectively steered Brazil toward liberal development policies—as in 1953, for example, when the Getúlio Vargas regime was forced to back away from nationalistic curbs on the profit remittances of foreign-based multinational corporations. Throughout the period, U.S. products dominated Brazilian markets, and U.S. private capital poured into the country. By the mid-1950s, U.S. popular culture and North American consumer tastes were more widely accepted in Brazil than ever before.

There is little in Haines's general depiction of hegemonic, ethnocentric U.S. policy that diverges markedly from the prevailing orthodoxies of recent archive-based scholarship on U.S.–Latin American relations in the early cold war. Readers may occasionally wish that Haines had probed the central topics in greater depth—analyzing more fully, for example, how Juan Perón's Argentina influenced the calculus of foreign-policy formulation both in Washington and in Rio de Janeiro. Some readers may also be frustrated by Haines's occasional tendency to assert sweeping analytical conclusions on the basis of rather thin documentation—as, for example, when he charges that U.S. officials confused nationalism with communism in Brazil (p. 25). Absent too are the annual U.S.-Brazilian trade and investment figures that presumably would have provided persuasive evidence of U.S. economic expansionism.

Haines has produced a well-written survey that paints its picture in broad interpretive brush strokes. It serves as a useful introduction to a significant topic.

MICHAEL GROW
Ohio University

T. G. FRASER. *The USA and the Middle East since World War II*. New York: St. Martin's. 1989. Pp. xii, 221. $39.95.

Nowhere after World War II did the shift of power from Great Britain to the United States occur more decisively than in the Middle East. Eager to extend the arenas of new-found internationalism, determined to expand economic and national security interests, and not a little smitten with the hubris of newly flexed power, American policy makers took on the managerial role that the British found themselves forced to cede. As T. G. Fraser demonstrates in this brief but remarkably lucid survey, the Americans no more than the British could escape the dilemma created by Zionist determination to have a homeland and Arab opposition to an independent Jewish state.

It is both the strength and weakness of this book to treat the future of Palestine as "the central issue in the Middle East" (p. x). Because Fraser relies most heavily on published sources, those already familiar with the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict will find little new about Harry Truman's decision to recognize Israel, the causes of the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982, Henry Kissinger's frenetic shuttling, Jimmy Carter's heroic, though not altogether successful, efforts to create a framework for peace, and Ronald Reagan's often bumbling efforts to find any policy at all. And I suspect that Israel's partisans will be disturbed that the book makes no special case for Israeli policy.

But Fraser's purpose is to clarify, not advocate. No author I know has so effectively traced the American commitment to Israel or seen so clearly the problems that commitment has created for every administration since Franklin Roosevelt's. Fraser is especially good at showing how American diplomats have tried to balance the need for Arab goodwill with their sympathy for Israel and respect for its military power. He makes a persuasive case that most diplomats who opposed recognition in 1948 acted not from anti-Semitism but from their sense of the national interest and concern for Arab rights. Such tensions have made it nearly impossible to frame a strategic consensus that balances foreign policy objectives against the realities of domestic politics.

Fraser is not always precise about what constitutes the "Jewish community" in America, but, in his treatment of the critical period around the 1967 war, he makes effective use of social history to explain the Jewish reaction. As Israel's prestige soared, American Jews found their influence weakening. Once cohesive urban bonds eroded with migration to the suburbs. Radical blacks blamed Jews for urban ills and forced them out of many civil rights groups. Jews were prominent among opponents of the Vietnam War and in the New Left, which associated Israel with American imperialism. To reduce the possibility of a backlash harmful to Israel, the Jewish community turned the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) into what Fraser describes as "the most powerful ethnic lobby in Washington" (p. 88). AIPAC's skillful politicking has virtually guaranteed that each subsequent administration would commit American resources to Israel's defense whether or not Israeli leaders cooperated in the peace process.

This preoccupation with the Arab-Israeli conflict inevitably produces some distortion. Although that conflict may be central to American Middle East policy, it is not the whole story. Fraser never actually defines what American policy makers treat as the Middle East. Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, and other states have at

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times preoccupied Washington. Oil politics has played a more critical role than he is able to acknowledge. Recognizing that those issues are beyond the scope of this study, he might have given the book a more appropriate title. But why quibble about such a fine survey? Since the days of Tocqueville, Americans have had much to learn from Europeans who have taken an interest in the United States and its affairs. So we should be grateful to Fraser for using his outsider's perspective to illuminate the intractable issues that have prevented the United States from bringing peace to the Middle East.

MARK H. LYTLE
Bard College

JOHN P. BURKE and FRED I. GREENSTEIN. *How Presidents Test Reality: Decisions on Vietnam, 1954 and 1965*. Assisted by LARRY BERMAN and RICHARD IMMERMAN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1989. Pp. vii, 331. $29.95.

It is a peculiarity of academic discourse that, until recently, few American diplomatic historians and political scientists specializing in United States foreign policy read each other's work. Historians felt that political scientists rejected archival research in favor of theoretical modeling that had little to do with the stuff of history. Political scientists thought that historians wrote plodding narratives, talked glibly about such concepts as the international system, and failed to look closely at policy making itself.

Historians and political scientists are talking to each other now, thanks to those, such as John Lewis Gaddis and Alexander George, who have combined the strengths of both disciplines to produce work of distinction. This book, by political scientists John P. Burke and Fred I. Greenstein with the collaboration of Richard Immerman and Larry Berman, ranks with the best of this new synthesis. Burke and Greenstein examine the process of foreign policy making under Dwight Eisenhower and Lyndon Johnson in order to understand why Eisenhower resisted U.S. intervention in Indochina whereas Johnson committed the nation to war.

Presidential reality testing and decision making, argue Burke and Greenstein, are conditioned by variables in three categories: the role of the advisory system, the impact of the president, and the effect of the political environment. The authors contend that Eisenhower's decision-making process allowed for expression of a full range of views, as the president and his advisers debated the wisdom of military intervention to rescue the French at Dien Bien Phu. At frequent, formal meetings, especially with the National Security Council (NSC), Eisenhower took it all in. In the end, the circumspect president made U.S. intervention conditional on various kinds of support from Congress, the British, and the French; when this support failed to materialize, Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles chose instead to create a multilateral alliance to deter the communists by threat of intervention. By contrast to Eisenhower's efficient advisory system, Johnson's was chaos itself. Meetings were scheduled sporadically—the NSC met six times in two and one-half weeks during February 1965, then only four more times through July—and conducted informally, leaving important questions unanswered. Surrounded by a small coterie of influential advisers, Johnson was insulated from dissent. Those who objected to the policy of military escalation were ignored or domesticated. Johnson sought to build consensus around decisions that he had already made rather than to discuss fundamental issues in any serious way. In the end, poorly served by the advisory system that he himself had fashioned, Johnson found himself conducting the wider war he had vehemently disclaimed.

No political scientist can please all historians all the time, and there are ways in which Burke and Greenstein leave me dissatisfied. If the advising process was so important, it is not clear why Eisenhower and Johnson seemed so little constrained by it. Indeed, the authors are refreshingly candid about presidential power: "In presidential reality testing," they conclude, "the buck stops in the Oval Office" (p. 289). The analytic category "political environment" is too narrowly drawn. Although it is reasonable to assume that presidential decisions are constrained by congressional and public opinion, historians are also interested in the boundaries imposed by ideology and perceptions of racial and cultural difference. I am most perplexed about the authors' resolve to study "the quality of decision *making*" without examining "the intrinsic quality of the decisions themselves" (p. 3). It is impossible to separate decisions from the process by which they are made. The authors' obvious admiration for the "multiple advocacy" process permitted by Eisenhower cannot possibly be an aesthetic judgment: it must reflect their admiration for the cautious policy that emerged from it. Moreover, even if it were logically possible fully to distinguish ends from means, it would not be desirable to do so. The "intrinsic quality of the decisions themselves" is the critical issue. To reduce the focus to the decision-making process alone is to indulge in a kind of Peewee Hermeneutics.

Nevertheless, Burke and Greenstein have written a very important book that tells us much about policy making and U.S. policy toward Vietnam in the watershed years 1954 and 1965. Their research is prodigious, and their reading of the evidence is balanced and shrewd. This study is precisely the sort of book that historians and political scientists, and their students, ought to read.

ANDREW J. ROTTER
Colgate University

MARK CLODFELTER. *The Limits of Air Power: The American Bombing of North Vietnam*. New York: Free Press of Macmillan. 1989. Pp. xv, 297. $22.95.

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Mark Clodfelter has written a chronology of the Rolling Thunder bombing campaign directed against North Vietnam from April 1965 to the spring of 1968, followed by a second chronology about the Linebacker bombing campaigns from April to October 1972 and in December 1973. Clodfelter occasionally interrupts his narrative with evaluations of the effectiveness of different bombing strategies.

He criticizes military and civilian leaders involved in designing the Rolling Thunder air war for presuming that North Vietnam had a complex infrastructure vulnerable to attack. For example, the attacks against North Vietnam's petroleum-oil-lubricant facilities in 1966 assumed that destroying large storage facilities would seriously hamper efforts to send supplies south. North Vietnam, however, only needed sixteen hundred tons of oil per year to support the Vietcong. Destroying the large tank farms could not stop this effort. Similarly, the strikes against North Vietnam's limited industrial plants and electrical generating facilities could not stop them from meeting the South's needs. A relatively modest truck force could carry the required twelve to thirty-four tons per day.

None of Clodfelter's findings are new. The *Pentagon Papers* contained memoranda and studies indicating the failure of the industrial approach to bombing, and my book, *The Perfect War: Technowar in Vietnam*, published in 1986 but not cited, systematically analyzed the air war's conceptual and operational structures and why the system failed.

As a narrative about the sequence of decisions, Clodfelter's story keeps the air war sounding highly rational. Whenever his sources unravel the system's rationality and reveal contradictory social processes, he stops and goes to the next "event." For example, in late 1966 the Seventh Air Force received a message asking why a "missile propellent storage area" near Hanoi had not been bombed. Intelligence officers replied that they did not know of such a facility. The commander of the Pacific Air Forces subsequently ordered an air strike against that target, a long storage building in a village that had no roads, railroads, or waterways leading to it. The fighter pilots could not determine which hamlet they were supposed to hit, but they bombed one anyway, and a subsequent photoanalysis of bomb damage later identified the "right" village. A second air strike destroyed the building. There were no secondary explosions (pp. 122–23).

This event took place in 1966. Yet three years and four pages later, Clodfelter uncritically quotes the reflections of General Earl Wheeler (chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) on how all of the air war leaders had been "sensible men," highly sensitive about civilian casualties. Thus, the pieces of the air war never get put together into a coherent structure. Clodfelter never sees that the industrial approach to bombing, with its constant emphasis on using "air assets" to increase the air force and navy "sortie rates" and keep planes flying missions against "renumerative" targets, led to constant bombing attacks against anything that vaguely resembled an "industrial" target.

Instead, the author moves on to the Linebacker I and II campaigns that used B-52 bombers. He quotes the former Vietcong minister of justice Trong Nuh Tang on what it felt like to be near a B-52 strike: "The terror was complete. One lost control of bodily functions as the mind screamed incomprehensible orders to get out" (p. 183). Several other examples are provided to show the terror that these bombers inspired and how the Vietnamese delegation at the Paris peace talks "did not comport itself like a victorious outfit which had just defeated the U.S. Strategic Air Force" (William Sulivan, p. 198).

Indeed, Clodfelter thinks that "the havoc created by Linebacker II prevented Hanoi from achieving an eleventh-hour victory over the United States" (p. 196). He does not investigate whether the treaty signed in January 1973 differed significantly from the draft prepared in the fall of 1972, nor does he broach the question of Richard Nixon's promised reparations to North Vietnam.

In conclusion, air war against a nonindustrialized country fails, while saturation attacks against troop concentrations and cities can succeed if done for limited political purposes. These are "the limits" of this book.

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CANADA

ERIC W. SAGER. *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820–1914*. Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University. 1989. Pp. xviii, 321. $34.95.

Eric W. Sager's book is a carefully articulated, firmly researched study of the transition to industrial capitalism in the shipping trades in the late nineteenth-century Atlantic provinces of Canada. This transition included displacement of wooden sailing vessels by steel-hull boats, the introduction of industrial discipline and authoritarian command in place of custom, and increased use of Canadian sailors rather than the floating proletariat of the eighteenth century. The author sensibly argues that the nautical world was both separate from and a part of the process of industrialization occurring on land. Maritime history is "the study of historical conjunctures in which landward society interacts with the sea and its resources" (p. 10). Although largely economic history, this work complements Marcus Rediker's recent social history of Anglo-American sailors.

Very few scholars have studied Canadian maritime history. Most have concentrated on military or labor history or on specialized studies of exploration, whaling, and sealing. The one applicable study, Judith

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Fingard's *Jack in Port* (1982), is too quickly dismissed as "largely descriptive" (p. 4) despite its close similarity to this study. Sager borrows more from nonuniversity historians who write about the technology of the sea and from popular historians and novelists interested in "achieving verisimilitude" (p. 5). The author discusses each of these influences in a well-designed introduction.

Chapter 1 ably portrays the preindustrial seaworld. Lengthy descriptions of the myriad boats using the harbors of Atlantic Canada are included. Sager charts the weather and ocean currents on heavily traveled routes. He argues convincingly that mariners' labor was as productive as landed industrial workers and that their experiences anticipated the initiation of industrial discipline on shore. Chapter 2 describes the paternalist work relationship between captain and sailors. A finely nuanced portrait of the shipmaster shows many occupations and levels of wealth. Common to all captains was control over the means of production and hiring of wage labor. Paternalism imbued every aspect of the relationship between captain and sailors, many of whom were farm boys from towns near the ports. Masters hired mariners by customary terms derived from the fisheries. A mariner did not perform specific tasks but "committed himself to the needs of the entire seasonal enterprise" (p. 47). Payment was in shares and board with liquor supplied on holidays; fines were levied for misconduct. Sager offers excellent proof of sailors' skills in the treacherous currents of the North Atlantic.

Customary relationships changed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Chapter 3 shows the onset of professionalism among shipmasters, the introduction of wages, and the influence of military design and philosophy. Detailed regulations replaced custom, and the generic skills of preindustrial sailors gave way to an extraordinary ranking system and exact assignments. None of this was accomplished overnight, as seafaring experienced uneven development similar to what labor historians Sean Wilentz and Tom Dublin have found in nineteenth-century factories. Sager succinctly explains these transitions.

The second half of the book shows the effect of the transition to capitalism at sea. Sager examines conflicts over customary rights and work conditions, showing that worker resistance and the growing power of the master made conflict endemic. Evidence of such tension is clearly and strongly documented. Sager answers the reader's needs for "verisimilitude" by including an independent chapter on worker culture in the new age, making good use of sailors' diaries in order to show sailors' ingenuity with tasteless food and offering interpretation of yarns and secret brotherhoods. Particularly interesting is the section on women at sea. Primarily a male community, Canadian seafaring included women, especially captains' wives and daughters. A concluding chapter describes how the introduction of steel-plated ships, military discipline, and reductions of skills completed the transition of the mariner into industrial laborers by the early twentieth century. Sager's tight organization, superb command of data, and interpretation make his work most impressive and useful to labor historians on land or sea.

GRAHAM HODGES
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JOHN A. EAGLE. *The Canadian Pacific Railway and the Development of Western Canada, 1896–1914*. Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 325. $34.95.

This book is a gathering of diverse published materials and some of the correspondence of Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), construction superintendents, and land department heads, all directly or indirectly associated with the Canadian Pacific Railway's expansionist policies in western Canada between 1896 and 1914. John A. Eagle also includes both federal and provincial political material in his elongated discussion of the politics of subsidy and of rivalry with the Great Northern, Grand Trunk Pacific, Northern Pacific, and Canadian Northern railways and their subsidiaries.

Eagle glances in other directions, to be sure, but his vantage point, because of the nature of his sources, is the executive suite of the Canadian Pacific. The eyes he sees through are those of William C. Van Horne (president, 1888–99, and chairman, 1899–1910) and, especially, Thomas G. Shaughnessy (president, 1899–1918, and chairman, 1918–23). Therefore, Eagle focuses on the practice of sale of land for immediate income, one part of the corporate dichotomy faced by all land-grant railroads. James B. Hedges, still the authority on Canadian Pacific land policies, focused on the other part of the same dichotomy: the practice of sale for the long-term income to be derived from the freighting of the products to be raised on or "mined" from the lands sold. Someday someone will write a balanced account of the functioning of the corporate schizophrenia engendered by this problem and thus of the policies of this and other subsidized railroads. This book, however, is not such an account.

But there is much else to recommend the book. Eagle has a gift for getting to the core of a published account and extracting the material he needs. He has an equally effective capacity for weaving these facts into a summary account. Thus, he handles the Canadian Pacific's hotel and tourist promotions well and concisely. He does equally well with the complex branch line rivalry in the border district of British Columbia and in Alberta. He also does well with the company's city development policies, particularly with regard to Vancouver, Calgary, and, of course, Winnipeg. The reader only wishes that he would tell us more about the development of the lesser towns.

In sum, the reader is left wishing to be told more about the influence on the railway on the settlers of western Canada and less about the influence of railroad

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executives and politicians on the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

LESLIE E. DECKER
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LATIN AMERICA

MARCELLO CARMAGNANI. *El regreso de los dioses: El proceso de reconstitución de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca, siglos XVII y XVIII*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1988. Pp. 263.

This volume has an ambitious goal: the elucidation of a process of "ethnic reconstitution" in the entire Mexican cultural area of Oaxaca (roughly coterminous with the modern state) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Marcello Carmagnani grapples with the problem of how Oaxaca's diverse Indian groups—primarily the Zapotec- and Mixtec-speaking ones—adapted to colonial circumstances without sacrificing a firm sense of ethnic identity.

At the core of the book is a theory of ethnicity that revolves around sacred spaces: ethnic identity is divinely inspired and embodied in "Indian territories," which differed significantly from colonial politico-administrative units. Carmagnani challenges the conventional wisdom that colonialism fragmented Indian territories into a congeries of separate communities, arguing instead for continuity of "Indian territories" to about 1850.

Prior to the eleventh century, Indian territories were associated with populations as wholes. In later years, however, they came under the sway of new "terrestrial gods," that is, the native rulers. With the Spanish conquest, these rulers, called *caciques*, were coopted by the colonial state, and sacred rights in land were gradually reappropriated by the territorial community. To account for this development, the author invokes a "historical memory" that permitted people to use pre-eleventh-century cultural forms to curtail the power of their colonial *caciques* and in the process ethnically "reconstitute" themselves.

Separate chapters deal with the economics and politics of reconstitution. *Cofradías* and *hermandades* are seen as redistributive mechanisms that internally integrated Indian territories, while indigenous trade served to meet subsistence needs on an interterritorial basis. *Cabildo* (town council) composition and elections are used to show growth in territorially based political hierarchies, founded on a distinction between higher offices located in head towns and lower ones in the subject hamlets. Hierarchy was ever present, but it became increasingly open in the eighteenth century as electoral principles overtook hereditary status as a means to political power. This lengthy process of reconstitution came to an abrupt end during the Juárez reforms of 1847–53, a "second conquest" that shattered the colonial Indian territories.

Does the argument succeed? Not entirely. The book is provocative, but Carmagnani uses what is largely circumstantial evidence to oversimplify a very complex topic. There are two main problems. First, it is far from clear how ethnic units were defined and expressed territorially in the preconquest period. But, if it was on the basis of city-state membership, the conventional wisdom that Carmagnani attacks may not be far off the mark. Second, the delineation of colonial "Indian territories," the cornerstone of the argument, is unconvincing. The evidence is sketchy, and after a while these territories begin to look suspiciously like the organization of *pueblos* and their subject hamlets that Mesoamericanists have been writing about for decades. In the end, ethnic identity is more assumed than demonstrated in this study. Some elements of the larger picture also go unaddressed: is it legitimate to generalize for all of Oaxaca, especially since recent research has uncovered a surprising amount of diversity? Is ethnic reconstitution a process unique to Oaxaca, or can it be applied to colonial societies elsewhere as well? This is a book that gives us much to ponder.

JOHN K. CHANCE
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LOLITA GUTIERREZ BROCKINGTON. *The Leverage of Labor: Managing the Cortés Haciendas in Tehuantepec, 1588–1688*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1989. Pp. xxv, 245. $42.00.

The legacy of Fernando Cortés, as the intrepid conqueror of the mighty Aztec empire, is well known. His role as an economic entrepreneur who transferred European livestock, mining, silviculture, ship building, and other commercial activities to New Spain has also been recognized. His innovation of administrative and managerial practices, however, has not received adequate historical attention. In addressing the managerial aspects of the conquistador's livestock estates in the Tehuantepec area of southern Mexico, Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington has taken an important step in providing detail and analysis not only of the economic impact of Cortés but also of the shape and direction of colonial rural commercial practice.

This excellent case study, on the interplay between labor and administration in a little-examined corner of colonial Mexico, includes a perspective that encompasses the entire colonial period of New Spain; it is more than merely another hacienda study. Gutiérrez Brockington takes seriously works published by other scholars, which allows her to place her findings within the context of existing knowledge about colonial Mexican haciendas. The result is a confirmation that these colonial agrarian enterprises were carefully planned, systematically managed, profit-oriented endeavors. The model of the colonial hacienda of François Chevalier (*La formación de los grandes latifundios en México* [1956]), seen as a self-sufficient feudal institution following European patterns, is once more convincingly refuted. Also revised, and herein lies the major contribution of this book, is the view that clerical institutions

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and owners of the great estates of the colonial landed aristocracy (such as the Jesuits) took until the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to develop the managerial systems required to operate their rural properties profitably. Thus, Cortés's administrative and managerial contributions, in retrospect, may well have surpassed his more spectacular military exploits.

The book is divided into two parts. The first details the early evolution of livestock production, and the second examines the nature and manipulation of the labor force. The first section provides a new vision of the way in which livestock raising became established in the hot tropical lowlands of Tehuantepec and its linkages with regional (Oaxaca) and important colonial centers (Cuernavaca, Mexico City, Toluca); the second section tells us a great deal about societal dynamics. Gutiérrez Brockington's examination of simultaneous employment of labor systems classified as "slave, free, *repartimiento*, debt and their respective variations" (p. 92) clearly exposes the existing colonial legislative edicts as unreliable guides for the study of the evolution of colonial labor systems. Also confirmed, as other historians have insisted, is that the existence of debts on worker accounts—long interpreted as indications of entrenchment of a coercive debt peonage—tell us more about accounting systems than about labor conditions. The early integration of African slaves as livestock caretakers, their ability to take advantage of the relative freedoms intrinsic in range-land activities, and the resultant succeeding generations of free mulatto offspring underscore the key role played by ethnic Africans in the introduction of livestock to New Spain and the context of the ranch lands as a crucible for miscegenation.

Although a study of an isolated corner of New Spain, this book provides a strategic window through which the author successfully examines the nature and dynamics of colonial strategy. Gutiérrez Brockington makes excellent use of primary sources and successfully integrates important contemporary scholarship, and her synthesis provides a comprehensive survey of the current status of colonial hacienda scholarship. This book is worth reading by both specialists and general readers interested in agrarian institutions and their evolution in colonial Mexico.

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DAVID G. LAFRANCE. *The Mexican Revolution in Puebla, 1908–1913: The Maderista Movement and the Failure of Liberal Reform*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1989. Pp. xxxix, 272. $35.00.

Over the past thirty years, the traditional view of Francisco I. Madero as the "apostle of democracy" in the Mexican revolution of 1910 has been gradually replaced by a perspective that characterizes him as the reluctant revolutionary. David LaFrance subscribes to this revisionist interpretation by contending that Madero was ill-equipped to lead a genuine revolutionary movement with his outmoded nineteenth-century liberal views of a limited political democracy, which could not come to grips with fundamental socioeconomic inequalities existing in Mexico.

This monograph is a fine political history of the rise of an urban-based revolutionary movement in the industrially important state of Puebla, which then spills over into the countryside. LaFrance has spent years combing diplomatic archives, Mexican national archives, and Puebla archives as well as an impressive number of personal archives to write the most exhaustive study to date of the Madero period on the regional level. This concise narrative study is essentially written from the perspective of the center, that is, it concentrates on the efforts of Maderista leaders in Mexico City to impose moderates in Puebla City and on the failure of these *poblano* officials to control more radical middle-class and urban and agrarian lower-class elements at the local level.

Maderismo emerged in the city of Puebla beginning in 1909, primarily within the urban working-class and student populations, under the inspired leadership of the cobbler Aquiles Serdán. Serdán's radical views toward the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz forced Madero, a northern landowner seeking to work within the political system, to search for more moderate *poblano* allies. Thus, a two-headed movement was born in Puebla; the radical faction was essentially composed of members of the urban lower class, later to be taken over by agrarian elements, while the moderate faction was dominated by urban, professional, elitist, middle- and upper-class Puebla City residents. The outbreak of the Maderista revolution in November 1910 brought the radicals to the forefront; textile workers, students, peasants, some disenchanted members of the middle class, and rural political strongmen, who controlled the balance of power in the countryside, took up arms. Yet the urban-based moderate Maderistas of Puebla City seized the initiative after the fall of Díaz and took possession of the key state offices. What is more, Madero saw fit to intervene personally in the political affairs of Puebla to impose moderate provisional governors who shared his vision of an elitist political system. Much like Madero himself, the *poblano* governors spent most of their energies trying valiantly to restore order, while ignoring the increasingly strident demands of organized labor and the peasantry. Dire financial conditions, unimaginative leadership, and the lack of an effective military force made their task impossible. For LaFrance, Madero's task and that of his *poblano* governors became little more than an exercise in crisis management, as the Maderista movement disintegrated because of contradictory ideologies, the absence of strong leadership, and a divisive rank and file.

Probably the most revealing part of this study is the key role played by the textile workers in the Maderista movement. The striking workers caused dozens of factories to close in 1912, disrupting production

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throughout the state, but, unfortunately, they found the Maderista state unresponsive to their economic demands. LaFrance is at his best in his description of labor unrest, while, on the other hand, he essentially glosses over the rural discontent. If the rancheros of the northern sierra contributed to the overthrow of the dictatorship, we need to know more about their role. Although LaFrance contends that rural insurrection in 1911 and 1912 provoked major changes in land tenure, which is probably quite correct, he is hard pressed to present evidence to support his assertion.

LaFrance's monograph adds immeasurably to our knowledge of Maderismo on the state and national levels. Some minor weaknesses in his study, a rather pedestrian introduction and a bibliography that combines primary sources and secondary works, do not detract from a solid analysis of regional Maderismo, which will assist scholars in their efforts to comprehend more clearly the complexities of the Mexican revolution.

HEATHER FOWLER SALAMINI
Bradley University

HILARY MCD. BECKLES. *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627–1715*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 218. $34.95.

In *Capitalism and Slavery*, his classic study of the origins of African slavery among the British colonies of the Caribbean, Eric Williams argued that, just as sugar replaced tobacco by the mid-seventeenth century, so, too, black slaves necessarily replaced white laborers. Planters could buy them more cheaply and in plentiful numbers, and, unlike white indentured servants, blacks did not expect to become owners of small farms, a pattern of land use wholly incompatible, according to Williams, with plantation agriculture on islands where appropriable land was at a premium. Adopting the scaffolding of Williams's argument, Hilary McD. Beckles nevertheless departs from and extends that argument. Here the focus is on the origins and alterations in numbers and occupations of white immigrants—English, Irish, Scotch—who lived and labored in Barbados over the span of the seventeenth century. Rather than seeing indentured labor as merely antecedent to the subsequent and massive influx of African slaves, Beckles identifies white servitude as a precursor, a "form of 'proto-slavery'" (p. 78) that not only set the pattern for the use and treatment of blacks as in the Williams's version but also persisted so that the experiences of white servants paralleled and overlapped those of black slaves.

Beckles wants us to understand that on Barbados the two labor systems, despite their differences, were neither as neatly sequential nor as distinct as we have supposed. He characterizes the trade in servants, for example, as a trade in property in which white cargo was recorded as "freight" or "half-freight," depending on age (equivalent to the Portuguese *peça* or *meia-peça* for figuring the prices of African slaves). Merchants sold their cargo—technically the contracts for labor owed, but in effect the men and women themselves—for tobacco or sugar. As many as 14 percent of those transported (often forcibly as convicts or by abduction) died during the six- to ten-week journey, mortality figures that rival or exceed those for the terrible and more familiar middle-passage (p. 63). Once sold, whites could not even expect the lighter work assigned to blacks as they became "seasoned," and their contracts could be extended as legal punishment for minor wrongs. Furthermore, Beckles argues, whites whose free time as well as labor was regulated by contract did not have much reason to hope for the practices of "protective paternalism" that planters extended to their black slaves. As property (on whom planters paid a property tax), indentured servants cost less than slaves, even taking into account the longevity of their labor (five to ten years), a fact planters clearly understood. Consistency of supply, not relative cost, made Africans preferable. All of this does not deny the stubborn and distinctive fact that servants became free persons again on the completion of their contracts and did not pass the legal condition of servitude on to their children. But it does instructively place indentured servitude and slavery in an altered comparative perspective.

In the end, however, we can regret that Beckles did not tell us more about the actual and changing connections between white and black laborers briefly glimpsed when we learn that whites, who refused to labor alongside blacks, on occasion allied with them, giving or receiving assistance in mutual attempts to flee their masters (pp. 108–09). In addition to the treatment of white servants, we want to know about the responses constructed over the century by whites who found that their places as artisans, domestic laborers, or members of the militia were giving way to increasing numbers of skilled slaves. We remain curious about the origins of the "distinct way of life" that "by the mid-eighteenth century . . . had emerged in Barbados creole slave society" among former servants and their descendants, provocatively alluded to in the conclusion (p. 174).

SANDRA LAUDERDALE GRAHAM
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A. MEREDITH JOHN. *The Plantation Slaves of Trinidad, 1783–1816: A Mathematical and Demographic Enquiry*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 259. $39.50.

As the subtitle declares, this book is a demographic and mathematical study. Using the Trinidad Slave Registers of 1813, 1815, and 1816, A. Meredith John attempts to determine upper and lower limits on mortality and fertility among the island's slaves. The book provides no important analysis of change over time. Issues of general interest to Caribbean and imperial

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historians—for example, the political initiative that launched the first British slave registration—are given cursory treatment.

Not surprisingly, John concludes that mortality was exceptionally high among Trinidad's plantation slaves. Life expectancy was seventeen years. Infant mortality for both males and females was around three hundred sixty-five per one thousand live births. Fewer than half of the newborns survived to age five; only about a third reached adulthood. Contrary to popular belief, slave fertility in Trinidad in the registration period was not exceptionally low. Slave women who survived to menopause bore about five children. As elsewhere in the West Indies, labor on sugar estates was more inimical to reproduction than labor on other types of staple-producing plantations. Cotton and coffee properties permitted higher rates of survival than either cocoa plantations or provision farms.

In general, mortality and fertility rates for Creoles were slightly less unfavorable than for female slaves of African birth. Slave mortality was greater when the master was Protestant and British rather than Catholic and French or Spanish. John associates this condition with higher levels of British absenteeism, although the concentration of British interest in sugar growing clearly influenced the finding. The Trinidad slave population had no long-term potential for reproducing itself. Without infusions from abroad, the slave population, declining by 1.25 percent per annum in the registration years, would have fallen from 17,087 in 1813 to about 9,000 by 1863.

John acknowledges the frailty of much of his data—the misstated, mismeasured, and purely erroneous records of slave masters in the years after 1813—and he admits that, despite the weight of registration records, a clear image of plantation slavery in Trinidad is not possible. His conclusions generally affirm those reached by B. W. Higman in his larger, more encompassing, and more ambitiously approached *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (1984). Thanks to John's succinct compilation of his findings in a final chapter, readers who are disinclined to battle through technical and methodological chapters can derive the essential substance of the study from a few concluding pages.

WILLIAM A. GREEN
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PHILIPPE I. BOURGOIS. *Ethnicity at Work: Divided Labor on a Central American Banana Plantation.* (Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 311. $35.00.

The images we have of the banana industry contain tropical vegetation, sweating and half-naked workmen, narrow-gauge banana trains, and spick-and-span quarters for U.S. personnel. I will never forget my first jeep treks through miles and miles of plantations in Guatemala, Panama, and Ecuador in the 1960s nor the stories about Bocas del Toro in the good old days from a former Costa Rican manager. Add to these the images of El Pulpo from Miguel Angel Asturias's novels and the role of United Fruit in the U.S.-sponsored invasion of Guatemala in 1954, and the picture becomes kaleidoscopic. The banana industry is perhaps the least studied of the tropical plantation economies.

Philippe I. Bourgois's study brings considerable order to this confusing picture, or at least to that portion located around Bocas del Toro Bay on the Panamanian–Costa Rican border. His book, based on a year's field work in 1983, concerns changes in the labor force over time, as revealed in interviews, company records, and direct observation. As the title indicates, Bourgois stresses ethnicity as a determinant of labor-management relations on the plantations. He begins with a survey of the production regime and a history of the industry since the late 1800s. He goes on to describe the several waves of immigrant workers, roughly in order of their appearance, who performed the bulk of the heavy labor: West Indian blacks, Hispanics (mostly Central Americans), and Amerindians. Each ethnic group is described in depth, including such topics as propensity to unionize and to take political action. Bourgois found that workers sorted into hierarchies based on ethnic criteria and that a number of influences changed the rankings over time. These chapters, combining description and analysis, contain rich historical and personal detail in the best ethnographic tradition. Some of the quotations are priceless, worth pages of narrative. My favorites are a description of a banana plantation as "a poor place to live unless you're a banana" (p. 3); "it is considered ungentlemanly to chop bush" (p. 80); and a manager's statement, "You see, what you need to make a good worker is lots of underdevelopment" (p. 198).

Bourgois achieves theoretical generalization in the introduction and conclusion, the latter titled "How Important is Ethnicity?" Admitting that ethnicity does not fully explain worker behavior, he argues that it plays a major role in the class struggle, alongside material factors. The theoretical clarity often suffers from jargon and poorly defined terms, though, such as in these sentences: "This can result in what I call conjugated oppression, whereby economic (class) exploitation conflates with ideological (ethnic) domination into an experience of oppression transcending the sum of the parts" (p. 224); and "the local population have 'essentially' the 'objective' characteristics of the various cohorts of workers in a racial idiom" (p. x). Other examples are "half-peasant, or semiproletarian" (p. 70), "middle-level local elite" (p. 78), "miniature 'labor aristocracy'" (p. 103), "working-class and *lumpen-proletarian* blacks" (p. 70), and the use of the term "monopoly" instead of "oligopoly" throughout. Finally, the long parenthetical source references in the text distract and could better be placed in notes.

This study picks up where Charles Kepner's classic

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Social Aspects of the Banana Industry (1936) left off, and it advances our understanding of ethnicity in the Americas considerably. The book should be valued for its historical view and for examining the human effects of the ebbs and flows of labor migration in the Caribbean basin.

MICHAEL L. CONNIFF
Auburn University

ERICK D. LANGER. *Economic Change and Rural Resistance in Southern Bolivia, 1880–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 269. $42.50.

This book is an important addition to the growing number of studies on peasant resistance in Latin America during the age of economic liberalism, modern state formation, and export booms. Erick D. Langer focuses his study of peasant responses to agrarian change on the department of Chuquisaca in southern Bolivia. Given the crucial important of Chuquisaca as the center of power and the locus of the traditional landed and mining aristocracy of Bolivia during the colonial period, a history of the Chuquisaca is overdue. Langer, however, examines the region long after its colonial heyday, during its brief resurgence, and then in its steep decline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book's first two chapters provide a fine survey of the collapse of the old colonial mining-hacienda complex of the Bolivian south and trace the adaptive strategies of the silver aristocracy, as power and wealth shifted northward to the new capital of La Paz after the turn of the century.

But the heart of the book beats in the subsequent four chapters on rural society and peasant resistance in the provinces of Chuquisaca. In these chapters, Langer leaves behind the overarching analysis of regional change in order to plunge into the minutiae of local agrarian life and conflict in the four provinces of Chuquisaca: Yamparaez, Cinti, Azero, and Tomina. The perspective shifts from regional change over time (1880–1930) to social patterns of peasant resistance across geopolitical space. Langer devotes a chapter to each province in order to show the contrasting variety of peasant strategies of survival and resistance: from the hacienda-village conflicts of Yamparaez to the labor strikes of rural workers in the vineyards and breweries of Cinti; from the banditry among Tomina's mestizo smallholders to the flight of Chiriguano tribesmen from the tropical lowlands of Azero. These chapters sparkle in rich detail of local conflict and compromise among the heterogeneous social groups, and Langer uses local hacienda records in particularly creative ways to show how Andean peasants manipulated traditional norms to protest against landlord efforts to modernize their own estates at the expense of their tenants' well-being.

These chronicles of "rural resistance" are fascinating glimpses of local history. Langer, however, does not step back from the busy canvas to see the broader picture. We are left to wonder about the cumulative political and economic impact of rural resistance on regional change or power relations in the Chuquisaca area at the end of the period of study. Instead, Langer concludes the study by comparing the forms that peasant and worker resistance took in the different provinces. In a brief synthesis of his case studies, Langer isolates several variables that seem to explain when and how the rural poor expressed their discontent. But the book is less satisfying as a theoretical contribution to the study of peasant resistance. Langer's uncritical use of the term "resistance" feeds into the continuing debates in social science literature about the forms, motivations, and consequences of peasant social action that may (or may not) be construed as resistance. Furthermore, although Langer does discuss a selection of the literature on peasant rebellion, resistance, and passivity, he does not engage the most recent work of James Scott and others on everyday forms of resistance.

Notwithstanding its theoretical pretensions, Langer's book is an important work in social history. By granting the integrity of agency to subaltern rural classes, he shows vividly how village peasants, hacienda tenants, smallholders, workers, and tribal peoples experienced and coped with economic change that threatened or challenged all of them in diverse ways.

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RENE DE LA PEDRAJA. *Energy Politics in Colombia*. (Westview Special Studies on Latin America and the Caribbean.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1989. Pp. xi, 244. $27.50.

This sharply focused book studies an area of Colombian public policy making that has received little scholarly scrutiny, except from historians such as Stephen J. Randall who deal primarily with the oil sector. René de la Pedraja, however, examines here the broad range of Colombian energy policy and politics from the 1920s to the 1980s, analyzing, in turn, petroleum, electricity, and coal. The author's major thesis is that local elites had a vested interest in slowing down economic development because they believed it would have a destabilizing effect on their entrenched power position. They thus acquiesced, for example, in the export by foreign oil companies of crude oil rather than having it used to fuel local industries and households. Similar arguments are made for other energy sectors.

The longest section of the book is on oil policy, where the author studies in detail the politics surrounding two controversial concessions: Exxon's lucrative Barrancabermeja concession and Gulf Oil's Barco concession. Although the author is slightly naive about the forces that determine the actions of multinational oil companies, he makes a strong case that from beginning to end they pressed relentlessly to gain every conceivable

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favor from the national government. Indeed, these companies emerge in this account as shameless foes of Colombian energy development. De la Pedraja, using U.S. State Department records as well as other primary sources, argues persuasively that Exxon, in particular, resorted frequently to chicanery, bribery, fraud, and intimidation to maintain its extremely profitable export operations at the expense of domestic energy development.

The section on electricity argues that the myopia and greed of local elites, or what de la Pedraja refers to as "merchant-brokers," prevented the efficient development of a national electric power network designed to facilitate economic growth. These elites, mostly unnamed, emerge as villains in the political struggle over the harnessing of energy resources. In contrast, one of the few heroes in this critical study is the American and Foreign Power Company, which, the author asserts, consistently provided dependable electric service for decades while reaping only modest profits.

In the last and briefest section, on coal policy, de la Pedraja again contends that avaricious elites put their lucrative contracts and brokering ahead of national development interests. Unfortunately, he states that he cannot comment (presumably for political reasons) on the huge Cerrejón coal project that has brought Exxon back as a major and controversial participant in the Colombian energy industry.

De la Pedraja is a strong proponent of state intervention in and control over the energy sector, but recent history suggests that the results of state management of energy resources are, at best, mixed. In addition, his narrative is sometimes repetitious and confusing to follow. Nevertheless, this well-researched monograph combined with de la Pedraja's previous work make him the leading historian of Colombian energy development today.

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JULIO FAUNDEZ. *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: From 1932 to the Fall of Allende*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 305. $25.00.

Julio Faúndez has written an account of Chilean politics from 1932 to 1973 in which he focuses on Socialist and Communist parties. He writes clearly, draws ably from vast secondary literature, and provides eminently plausible assessments and explanations of major decisions and developments during the period. His treatment of the 1930s and 1940s makes clear each party's longstanding ambivalence with respect to the country's bourgeois democratic institutions and thereby helps to place the 1973 coup in broader and more meaningful perspective. His treatment of the ill-fated Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende, many of whose troubles he attributes to the failure of either party to root its ideological vision in an analysis of broader political trends and forces, is similarly well argued and compelling.

While clearly sympathetic to the ideals and social bases of these parties, Faúndez offers an even-handed and recurrently critical analysis that (as do most other post-coup studies) focuses on crucial political relationships within and beyond the Left itself. His book is a frustrating one, however. On the one hand, it relies almost exclusively on secondary works and breaks no new ground in terms of either argument or evidence. On the other hand, because it attempts to analyze two distinct parties over a forty-year period, it is precluded from giving any single period or episode the in-depth treatment it warrants.

As a result, some of Faúndez's most important theses, for example, that the Socialists were not mere "populists" during the 1930s and 1940s and that both parties were preoccupied with short term political (and largely electoral) considerations for virtually the entire period, are not adequately supported with either extended argument or material evidence (such as documentary or interview material).

In my opinion, both Paul W. Drake (1978) and Ignacio Walker (1986) offer more substantial and persuasive analyses of the Socialists, while Tomas Moulian and Manuel A. Garreton (1977) and Genaro Arriagada and Claudio Orrego (1976) provide better coverage of the Communists. Faúndez is the only scholar to date, however, who has attempted to look at each of these parties in relation to the other. The result is an eminently useful single-volume account by an author who, I suspect, is capable of more were he not the prisoner of strictly secondary works.

MICHAEL FLEET
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ROBERT A. HAYES. *The Armed Nation: The Brazilian Corporate Mystique*. Tempe: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University. 1989. Pp. xi, 282.

Robert A. Hayes has written neither an institutional history of the Brazilian military nor a history of the military's recurrent interventions in Brazilian politics. Instead, he has attempted to explain, "on a comprehensive basis," the "military corporate mystique," which he believes has been used to justify officers' repeated intrusions into national politics (pp. 1–2). The approach is chronological, surveying Brazilian political history from the "colonial legacy" to the mid-1980s with emphasis on the military's role.

The result could hardly be more disappointing. The narrative rests primarily on printed sources with limited use of U.S. and Brazilian archival collections for scattered periods in the twentieth century. Unfortunately, this use yields little new. In his text Hayes quotes frequently and at length from other secondary accounts, often failing to give the reader his own interpretation. The result in those cases resembles a research assistant's report, awaiting proper use.

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The author expends most of his ink retelling a political history that is more ably told elsewhere. Yet he gives less than a page each to such crucial events as the Paraguayan War, the Communist revolt of 1935, the Expeditionary Force to Italy of 1944–45, and the coup against Getúlio Vargas in 1954. An in-depth analysis of the rhetoric and reality surrounding these events is surely essential for understanding "the roots" of the mystique.

Most disappointing, the author fails to appreciate the historical context in which the "mystique" has necessarily operated. Indeed, the entire class basis of political and, by extension, military conflict seems to have eluded Hayes. And he does not mention the ugly repression with which the Brazilian military stained Brazilian history. The infamous internment camps of the Estado Novo (1937–45) and the Second Army's torture chambers of the 1970s are nowhere to be found. We are thus left unable to appreciate how stark terror could reinforce the persuasive power of the "military mystique."

The truth is that no single rationale guided officers and their apologists over the past century and a half. Often they diverged sharply among themselves. In the coup of 1889 that overthrew the monarchy, for example, Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca sought to protect the army as an institution, while Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Constant wanted a positivist dictatorship, as Hayes notes. By struggling to fit these divergences into ever more refined subcategories, he ends up with a rigid and mechanistic analysis.

Even taken on his own terms, the author seldom analyzes closely the protagonists' language. The rationale for Vargas's ouster in 1945 and the momentous hardliner-softliner clash in the post-1964 military governments, for example, merit only perfunctory treatment.

Finally, the bibliography includes few titles published after the 1970s. Conspicuously missing are the works of Rene Dreyfuss and Stanley Hilton. And the misleading use of a book by José Honório Rodrigues first published in 1963 would bring a stinging riposte if that distinguished historian were still among us.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

TIMOTHY J. RUNYAN, editor. *Ships, Seafaring, and Society: Essays in Maritime History*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1987. Pp. xiv, 366. $22.50.

J. RICHARD STEFFY, The Reconstruction of the Eleventh-Century Serçe Liman Vessel: A Preliminary Report. TIMOTHY J. RUNYAN, The Organization of Royal Fleets in Medieval England. EDWIN DORAN, JR., The Laguna Madre Scow Sloop. ERIC J. RUFF, Specifications of a Barque. VIRGINIA STEELE WOOD, Live Oaking for Ships' Timber. TYRONE G. MARTIN, Underway Replenishment, 1799–1800. PHILIP K. LUNDEBERG, Marine Salvage and Sea Mine Technology in the 1840s: The Taylor Connection. DEAN C. ALLARD, Science, Diplomacy, and Rum: The Halifax Fisheries Commission of 1877. BARRY M. GOUGH, Canada and China: Early Trading Links by Sea. HUGH F. BELL, "I Don't Think Much of a Life on the Ocean Wave": Homeward Bound from China, 1855. MARY EMILY MILLER, Naval Stores and Anglo-Russian Encounters in the Baltic: The English Expedition of 1715. LAWRENCE C. ALLIN, The Lime Coast: A Maritime Nexus of Community. LINDA M. MALONEY, Doxies at Dockside: Prostitution and American Maritime Society, 1800–1900. ALLAN A. ARNOLD, "All Hands Drunk and Rioting": Disobedience in the Old Merchant Marine. FRED HOPKINS, America's First Floating School. WALTER E. MINCHINTON and DAVID J. STARKEY, Characteristics of Privateers Operating from the British Isles Against America, 1777–1783. JAMES C. BRADFORD, John Paul Jones: New Perspectives Revealed by His Papers. IRA DYE, American Maritime Prisoners of War, 1812–1815. GADDIS SMITH, Black Seamen and the Federal Courts, 1789–1860. PAOLO E. COLETTA, The United States Navy in the Adriatic in World War I.

PHILIP P. BOUCHER and SERGE COURVILLE, editors. *Proceedings of the Twelfth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society Ste. Geneviève, May 1986/Actes du Douzième Colloque de la French Colonial Historical Society Ste-Geneviève, mai 1986*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, for French Colonial Historical Society. 1988. Pp. 162. $23.75.

MATHE ALLAIN, Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose: Premier Acte, Cadillac and Duclos. CLAUDE BOUDREAU, La Représentation cartographique du monde rural québécois au XIX^{e} siècle: L'Exemple de l'île d'Orléans. CARL A. BRASSEAUX, Plus ça change: Acte Second; The Aubry-Foucault Clash and the New Orleans Rebellion of 1768. DAVID R. FARRELL, Reluctant Imperialism: Ponchartrain, Vauban, and the Expansion of New France, 1699–1702. GEORGE KREN and GEORGE CHRISTAKES, The Microcomputer and the Gallic Clio. RENALD LESSARD, JACQUES MATHIEU and LINA GOUGER, Peuplement colonisateur au pays des Illinois. PETER N. MOOGK, When Money Talks: Coinage in New France. WILLIAM I. SHORROCK, The Italian Connection in the Foreign/Colonial Policy of Pierre Laval, 1934–1936: A Reassessment. J. DEAN O'DONNELL, Théodore Roustan: French Consul in the Levant During the Franco-Prussian War. JOE WILKINS, Outpost of Empire: The Founding of Fort Tombecbe' and De Bienville's Chickasaw Expedition of 1736. JACK A. YEAGER, More en fraude de Jean Hougron: Roman colonial du Viêt-Nam.

JOHN EDDY and DERYCK SCHREUDER, editors. *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa First Assert Their Nationalities, 1880–1914*. Boston: Allen and Unwin. 1988. Pp. vii, 258. $19.95.

JOHN EDDY and DERYCK SCHREUDER, The Edwardian Empire. DERYCK SCHREUDER, The Making of the Idea of Colonial Nationalism. OLIVER MACDONAGH, Ireland as Precursor. KEITH SINCLAIR, New Zealand. JOHN EDDY, Australia. JACQUES MONET, Canada. DERYCK SCHREUDER, South Africa. AVNER OFFNER, "Pacific Rim" Societies.

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ARINA ANGERMAN *et al.*, editors. *Current Issues in Women's History*. (Proceedings of the International Conference on Women's History, 1986.) New York: Routledge. 1989. Pp. 340. Cloth $45.00, paper $14.95.

SELMA LEYDESDORFF, Politics, Identification and the Writing of Women's History. LONDA SCHIEBINGER, Maria Winkelmann: The Clash between Guild Traditions and Professional Science. LUCIA BERGAMASCO, Female Education and Spiritual Life: The Case of Ministers' Daughters. PÄIVI SETÄLÄ, Brick Stamps and Women's Economic Opportunities in Imperial Rome. MARIJKE GIJSWIJT-HOFSTRA, Witchcraft in the Northern Netherlands. LYDIA SKLEVICKY, Emancipated Integration or Integrated Emancipation: The Case of Post-Revolutionary Yugoslavia. AMY SWERDLOW, Female Culture, Pacifism and Feminism: Women Strike for Peace. MINEKE BOSCH, Gossipy letters in the Context of International Feminism. MARGOT BADRAN, The Origins of Feminism in Egypt. JO ANNE PRESTON, Female Aspiration and Male Ideology: School-Teaching in Nineteenth-Century New England. ALISON ORAM, "Embittered, sexless or homosexual": Attacks on Spinster Teachers, 1918–39. ANNE LAURENCE, Women's Psychological Disorders in Seventeenth-Century Britain. ANNELIES VAN GIJSEN, Pygmalion, or the Image of Women in Medieval Literature. ANNA CLARK, Whores and Gossips: Sexual Reputation in London, 1770–1825. MARIA GREVER, On the Origins of Dutch Women's Historiography: Three Portraits (1840–1970). HELGA GRUBITZSCH, A Paradigm of Androcentric Historiography: Michelet's *Les femmes de la Révolution*. WILLY JANSEN, Ethnocentrism in the Study of Algerian Women.

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GHERARDO ORTALLI, Dal convegno al volume: Una presentazione. ERIC J. HOBSBAWM, Introduction. CLAUDIO POVOLO, Nella spirale della violenza: Cronologia, intensità e diffusione del banditismo nella Terraferma veneta (1550–1610). MARCO CATTINI and MARZIO A. ROMANI, Tra faida familiare e rivolta politica: Banditi e banditismo nella montagna estense (sec. XVII). IRENE POLVERINI FOSI, Il banditismo nello Stato pontificio nella seconda metà del Cinquecento. MARIA D. FLORIS, La repressione della criminalità organizzata nella Repubblica di Genova tra Cinque e Seicento: Aspetti e cronologia della prassi legislativa. NICOLE CASTAN, Du Banditisme à la révolte populaire: L'Exemple du Vivarais à la fin de l'Ancien Régime. JAMES A. SHARPE, Criminal Organisation in Rural England, 1550–1750. JAN SUNDIN, Bandits and Guerrilla Soldiers: Armed Bands on the Border between Sweden and Denmark in Early Modern Times. FLORIKE EGMOND, The Heyday of Banditry in Western Europe: The Case of the Great Dutch Band, 1790–1799. HENK DRIESSEN, Heroes and Villains: Images of Bandits and Banditry in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Andalusia. ANDRE ZYSBERG, Bandits et banditisme en France du XVII^{e} au XVIII^{e}: Essai de typologie. RAFFAELLA COMASCHI, Strategie familiari, potere locale e banditi in una comunità del contado bolognese del XVI secolo. OSVALDO RAGGIO, Parentele, fazioni e banditi: La Val Fontanabuona tra Cinque e Seicento. WOLF-

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

TO THE EDITOR:

Some foreign participants in the international conference of historians held in Moscow in April 1990 met with Semen Vilenskii, compiler and editor of a historically important 1989 collection of camp memoirs by one-time female prisoners in Stalinist concentration camps, *Dodnes' tiagoteet* (*Still Heavy Weighs the Past*). This book will soon appear in other foreign languages. A second volume, consisting of memoirs of one-time inmates in camps at Kolyma in the Arctic, where Vilenskii himself was imprisoned in the later 1940s, will be published in the near future, and more are planned.

To gather and preserve these unique testimonies and publish the most outstanding of them, and also to ensure that their surviving authors and custodians can live their remaining days in dignity, Vilenskii and some of the authors have formed and registered a historical-literary and charitable society called Vozvrashchenie (Return). It welcomes moral support and material help in any form, from individuals and organizations. Its address is: c/o Semen Vilenskii, Marshala Biriuzova 34, kv. 58, 123436 Moscow, USSR.

The present writer has made a contribution by check of $500 and would be happy to convey to Mr. Vilenskii any other contributions, large or small, from historian colleagues. Because of present mail problems, checks made out to Vozvrashchenie may be sent to me (Department of Politics, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08540), and I will personally transmit them to Mr. Vilenskii on my arrival in Moscow at the close of March 1991 for a three-month research stay under the U.S.–Soviet senior scholar exchange.

ROBERT C. TUCKER,
EMERITUS
Princeton University

TO THE EDITOR:

Every now and then, the Lincoln priests issue lists of "errors" that I am supposed to have made in my book, *Lincoln* [1984], a narrative that follows with perhaps uncomfortable closeness the progress of the "actual" Lincoln, so unlike their protean deity whose shape they must keep altering, to accommodate changes in our political weather.

Today's list of "errors" is the work of a very high priest indeed, Don E. Fehrenbacher, professor emeritus at Stanford. As layman, he is a pretty good historian (*The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics* [1978]), but when he dons canonicals, he is transfigured (*Prelude to Greatness*, or "Mormon Tabernacle Choir, here I come.") Because Fehrenbacher published his sermon not in a journal but in a book (*The Historian's* [sic] *Lincoln*, edited by Gabor S. Boritt), I am most indebted to the editors of these innocent pages for allowing me to set the record straight. This time, the "errors" are actually kind of fun, on the order of, "Vidal claims that George Washington, not John Hancock, was the first American president." Herewith Fehrenbacher's "errors" in sequence.

First: "Vidal has Lincoln say 'I was in New Orleans once' (instead of twice)." Several years ago, when this "error" was first announced at Gettysburg, a number of historians present (names will be provided during pre-trial deposition) laughed on the ground that "if that's all he can find wrong . . ." In conversation, Lincoln says that he was in New Orleans once, the way that I might say that I was in New York City once and witnessed a mugging. I would not feel obliged to list all other visits to that exciting city, nor would Lincoln when the subject of his remarks was not the Crescent City and himself as tourist but slavery.

For the record, *Lincoln* is identified on the title page as *A Novel*. The story is told in the third person from the points of view of six individuals: Hay, Seward, Chase, Washburne, Mary Lincoln, and David Herold. The author tells nothing from Lincoln's point of view, nor does he give his opinion of events. This scheme is easily grasped, and an advanced degree in English is not necessary for an understanding of the book.

Second: Again, Fehrenbacher quibbles, Vidal "declares that the Tyler administration offered Lincoln no

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government appointment other than the secretaryship of the Oregon territory (ignoring the governorship of Oregon also offered)." If Fehrenbacher were an attentive reader, he would note that *I* do not "declare" anything. I am inside the mind of John Hay. He is meditating—not declaring—on Lincoln's career at the time of their arrival in Washington in 1861. Fehrenbacher seems not to realize that every known bit of information on every subject mentioned cannot be used in a narrative meant to be read as opposed to taught. Happily, every good historian or biographer knows this. Unhappily, they are scarce in freedom's land.

Third: I am in "error" (actually it is not I but Seward) when I noted that Douglas won re-election "'decisively' (instead of narrowly) in 1858." For Lincoln, this election looked to be a decisive end to his political career. I do not know whether or not Fehrenbacher has ever been a candidate in a state-wide senatorial contest, but I was (1982) and so was Lincoln (1858), and I can tell you, firsthand, that no matter how many votes you get, the adverb that springs to mind, in defeat, is "decisively."

Fourth: I am supposedly in error when I put "a statue of Jefferson in Lafayette Park." I did not put a statue there. I "put" the statue where it was—on the north lawn of the White House (according to the White House curator, telephone interview, May 1990), where it dominated the view of Lafayette Park from John Nicolay's bedroom, which was my context. Although Fehrenbacher is not alone in being unaware that such a statue existed and was where I said it was from 1847 to 1873, he is again in error.

Fifth: I am supposedly in error when I refer to Robert E. Lee as "the rebel commander" as of June 1861. But he was made commanding general of Virginia's forces in April 1861, and as I am describing a scene at Lee's Arlington, Virginia house, surely he would be "the rebel commander" for those present, McDowell and staff.

Fehrenbacher suggests it might be "fair" to assume that I have simply been making the sort of errors (having made none) that any sloppy nonacademic might make. He now brings out bell, book, and candle because he fears that I may have gone beyond mere error to "literary invention" in order to . . . He dares not say what. Examples of possible "literary inventions":

Sixth: Apparently, it is a literary invention for me to say that Elihu B. Washburne was one of "Lincoln's frequent companions on the judicial circuit." This is sloppy reading. I do not use the word "frequent" or "companion." I do write, from the point of view of Washburne, that "many times" he heard Lincoln tell his stories among lawyers on the circuit. From Gaillard Hunt's *Israel, Elihu and Cadwallader Washburn* (New York, 1925), 228: "Elihu Washburne knew Abraham Lincoln from the time that he first went to Illinois but he was not thrown with him intimately until both were attending the session of the Supreme Court of Illinois at Springfield in the winter of 1843–44. In the library of the court in the evenings the lawyers were wont to gather for social purposes and there Washburne heard Lincoln tell his amusing stories surrounded by congenial friends." This is the authority for my absolutely inconsequential and *non*-invented point that, before 1861, Washburne had known Lincoln as a fellow lawyer in Illinois, and he had heard him tell his stories. Neither Fehrenbacher nor I have any idea when or where, on circuit or in Springfield, Washburne first met Lincoln.

Seventh: Fehrenbacher is appalled when I cause Lincoln as president-elect to carry "an elaborate file of papers in his hat." Fehrenbacher has again misread my text. On a visit to Springfield, years earlier, S. P. Chase (I am writing from *his* point of view) noticed that Lincoln ("the president-to-be," not "elect") carried papers in his top hat. This is a standard Lincoln story of the Herndon-Sandburg (not to mention John Ford!) sort and perfectly apposite where I place it, which is long before Lincoln was elected president. Fehrenbacher misread the phrase "president-to-be" as "president-elect."

Eighth: Fehrenbacher objects when I picture "Mary Lincoln as having been in love with Lyman Trumbull." Again, I am not writing in the person of an anxious academic seeking promotion but from the point of view of someone *not* myself. I have entered Mrs. Lincoln's mind and am trying to re-create the nature of her well-documented madness. For the record, Trumbull was indeed a member of her pre-marriage social circle (several biographies of Mary Todd Lincoln, including *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters*, by Justin G. Turner and Linda Levitt Turner [New York, 1973, p. 73], place Trumbull as one of the members of Mary Todd's "coterie"), and if she had not at least flirted with him, she would have been out of character.

Ninth: I "retail dubious testimony (such as Herndon's maggoty speculation that Lincoln contracted syphilis . . .)." This is a pretty maggoty twisting of the facts. It was not Herndon's "speculation" that Lincoln might have had syphilis. It was Lincoln's own word to Herndon that he had indeed contracted syphilis; Lincoln gave Herndon the time, the place, a doctor's name, all recorded by Herndon in a letter to Jesse W. Weik of January 1891. Although Herndon's researches into Lincoln's past (Ann Rutledge, etc.) are a mess, it is a very foolhardy scholar indeed who rejects anything that Herndon says Lincoln himself told him. Incidentally, can one imagine a European historian ignoring the syphilis of, say, Lincoln's great contemporary and closest equivalent, Bismarck?

Tenth: Finally, Fehrenbacher thinks that I incline to the "outmoded interpretation" that Lincoln "deliberately adopted [a] strategy calculated to lose the senatorial contest with Douglas in order to win the presidency two years later." Since I am as aware of the "in" and the "out" of Lincoln modes as Fehrenbacher, I give to the ancient Francis Blair the "outmoded" notion that Lincoln had tricked Douglas into the fatal Freeport re-

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sponse. When Blair confronts *my* Lincoln with this, he responds, "Do you really think I plan so far ahead?" Despite some ambiguity, my Lincoln is, here, very much à la mode.

There we have my "errors" or tendentious literary inventions. The errors are either clumsy quibbles or nonexistent. There are no literary inventions. I have not set out to prove that Stanton murdered Lincoln or any of the usual bees-in-the-bonnet amateur speculations or illuminations. I suspect that most of my teacherly critics either did not read the book but gave to others that onerous task or, worse, cannot read a complex book at all. Proof? I should have thought it plain that for all the pleasure I take in the Lincoln persona, I regard that stateman's blood-and-iron response to the withdrawal of the Southern states as a very great evil; hence, his tragedy; ours, too. But no academic turf-defender has so far confronted my truly unacceptable heresy.

In order to protect the latest Lincoln model, Fehrenbacher, *et al.*, want to create the illusion that I cannot read sources as well as they can. This is . . . "Hubristic" hovers on my portable's rim but, modestly, I pull back and murmur that any fool, Fehrenbacher or I, can master the facts of any case.

What is done with the facts is what matters.

As a novelist (and, yes, historian), I am now in the odd position of sticking to the known facts of Lincoln's career while academic historians are constantly revising the national icon in order, currently, to persuade blacks that Lincoln never really and truly favored colonizing the ex-slaves. To do this, Ben Butler must be declared a liar and John Hay ignored. The first is fun to do; the second impossible; the whole enterprise specious.

Of course, there is a problem with historical fictions or fictionalized histories, and I tend to be on the side, if not of the paid propagandists for our corporate way of life, of those historians whose teeth are set on edge by the fantasies of the talented E. L. Doctorow or the wistful musings of the author of *Roots*. For a people as poorly educated as Americans (take a bow, teachers), it is a mistake to play any sort of game with agreed-upon facts. Certainly, it is hardly wise, in what looks to be a factual account, to have Harry Houdini chat with Walt Whitman aboard the *Titanic*, or whatever. Fantasy, as such, must be clearly labeled, even for our few remaining voluntary readers. I trust I am, in this, as reactionary as any turf-protecting bureaucrat of academe.

I set my fictions within history. Imagined characters intersect with historical ones. The history is plainly history. Fiction fiction. Admittedly, I am not well disposed toward the National Security State that pays for academe's icon-dusters, and one cannot blame them for hurt feelings. Even so, the surrender of academe to the imperial paymaster is an ongoing scandal in our affairs, while the lack of any sort of independent intellectual life in the country explains why there is no American Gibbon or Macaulay (forget Thucydides) and why, to come to the point, after more than a century of incontinent publishing, there is no halfway decent biography of Abraham Lincoln.

GORE VIDAL
Ravello (Salerno), Italy

DON FEHRENBACHER REPLIES:

The supercilious tone of Gore Vidal's letter only partly conceals the desperateness with which he seeks to absolve himself from the slightest taint of error. His target, it should be understood, is one paragraph among eight in a critique that explored the problem of evaluating the historical soundness of fictionalized biography. The offending passage was offered not as a catalog of the mistakes in Vidal's *Lincoln* but as a set of illustrations making a specific point—namely, that error compounds the difficulty of separating fact from fiction in works of this kind. Vidal's letter misrepresents the structure and purpose of the paragraph but serves beautifully as further validation of its argument.

The paragraph cites five examples of apparent error and then three examples of matter that seemed classifiable either as error or fiction. It concludes with a pair of questions about the use of dubious sources and dubious interpretations. Let us consider each of these items, remembering that in exemplification, aptness rather than weightiness is the thing most desired.

1. On page 11 of the novel, Lincoln and Seward are talking about secession and its relation to the latter's expansionist yearnings (not about slavery, as Vidal mistakenly asserts in his letter). Seward probes Lincoln's personal experience by asking, "Have you ever *seen* the South?" And Lincoln replies, "I was in New Orleans once." Surely, the real Lincoln would have contrived to give an answer not inaccurate on its face. Vidal's labored explanation fails to dispel the impression that he wrote the passage in ignorance of the fact that Lincoln made two flat-boat trips to New Orleans.

2. On page 28, one reads that the Taylor administration (not the Tyler administration, as Vidal mistakenly says in his letter) offered Lincoln "no government appointment other than the secretaryship of Oregon territory." The fact that Lincoln was also offered the more important post of territorial governor makes this statement untrue. Vidal nevertheless does his best to evade the imputation of error. First, he cries "quibble." Then he points out that the statement in question is not his own declaration but part of a meditation by John Hay. As argument, this can only mean that Vidal disclaims responsibility for anything erroneous he may have put into the minds of his characters. And since the whole novel is written, as he says, "from the points of view of six individuals," virtually every statement in the book thus becomes inadmissible as evidence of authorial inaccuracy. Finally, Vidal adds a little homily on the art of historical writing. Good historians and biographers know, he says, that every known bit of information cannot be included in a narrative. True enough, but irrelevant. The problem here is misinformation,

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which, all good historians and biographers will agree, ought not to stand uncorrected.

3. We learn on page 9 that Lincoln was "decisively defeated" by Douglas in 1858. This bit of intelligence comes to us filtered through the mind of Washburne (not from Seward, as Vidal mistakenly asserts in his letter). The real Washburne knew better, of course, and could have informed anyone that the senatorial race had been extremely close. Vidal nevertheless insists that, for Lincoln, "this election looked to be a decisive end to his political career." Nothing could be further from the truth. It was immediately apparent that the contest had opened wide the gates of political opportunity for Lincoln. "He has achieved a national reputation . . . There is a future for him," wrote one of the real Washburne's correspondents. As for Vidal's frail closing argument that, to losers, all defeats are decisive, let us, as Mark Twain says in *Tom Sawyer*, draw the curtain of charity over the scene.

4. Next, the confusing matter of the statue. Vidal states in his letter that he placed Jefferson on the north lawn of the White House. That may be what he had in mind, but it is not the implication of what he wrote. On page 69, we are told that the bedroom assigned to Nicolay and Hay "had a fine view of Lafayette Square." On page 72, Lincoln enters that room and says, "You've got almost as much space as I do." Nicolay replies, "But no view of Lafayette Square." And Lincoln says, "Or that peculiar statue of Mr. Jefferson." Note, first of all, that Nicolay and Hay have somehow lost the view that they had just three pages earlier. Note also that there is mention of Lafayette Square only in connection with the statue of Jefferson. Nothing is said about the White House lawn. Perhaps Vidal should have telephoned the curator *before* he wrote this part of the novel.

5. Reference to Robert E. Lee as "a commander of the rebel army" in April 1861 (p. 126) and as "the rebel commander" in June 1861 (p. 186) nourishes, if it does not reflect, a fairly common misapprehension of his role during the first year of the war. Lee did not become the Confederate commander in the eastern theater until June 1862. As for his being commanding general of Virginia's forces, that lost much of its meaning when those forces were transferred to Confederate control in early June 1861. His biographer, Douglas Southall Freeman, says that he was left with "an empty title and a non-existent command." With Pierre Beauregard commanding the Confederate army concentrated at nearby Manassas, there was no reason for McDowell or anyone else to think of Lee as "the rebel commander."

6. Neither of us, says Vidal, knows when or where Washburne first met Lincoln. The matter at issue, however, is not their first meeting but the portrayal of Washburne as one of Lincoln's frequent companions on the judicial circuit. Vidal's protest that he did not use the words "frequent" and "companion" is exposed as merely distractive when one reads the passage in question: "Many times Washburne had sat at the stove of some backwoods Illinois tavern when the lawyers on the circuit would compete in story-telling and it was always Lincoln who won." Indeed, so frequently were they companions that Washburne had heard one Lincoln story "a dozen times" (p. 10). The relation between the real Lincoln and the real Washburne was largely political, however. They lived and practiced law in communities two hundred miles apart. Vidal's quotation from Gaillard Hunt is about the few occasions when Washburne made the four-day trip from Galena to Springfield for a session of the Illinois Supreme Court. That was not the judicial circuit. There is no evidence that Lincoln and Washburne ever spent a single day together as lawyers on the circuit.

7. We are now among the three items offered to exemplify the border area between error and fiction. On page 37, Chase recalls his trip to Springfield in January 1861 for a visit with the president-elect, who proved to have weighty matter on his head as well as on his mind: "Lincoln was courteous but tentative; and Chase, who had never thought him strong, came away convinced that the President-to-be was dangerously weak. 'I look for a balanced Cabinet, naturally,' he said, automatically raising his tall hat to a passing lady. It was then that Chase noticed that Lincoln kept an elaborate file of papers *inside* the hat." Vidal's explanation of this passage is a psychological puzzle. Every word on the page is about Chase's visit in 1861. There is no mention anywhere of an earlier visit. The distinction between president-to-be and president-elect is humbug. It is hard to believe that Vidal would make such a transparent attempt to misrepresent his own text, but the only other explanation is that he wrote the letter without having access to a copy of the book.

8. Vidal argues in his letter that since Mary Todd and Lyman Trumbull were members of the same social circle, she probably flirted with him. That is all the historical foundation he can provide for the statement in the book that Trumbull was the "only man that she had ever loved in youth" (p. 199). Mary, however, is one of the six point-of-view characters, and Vidal explains that he has entered her mind, trying to "re-create the nature of her well-documented madness." But how shall we classify the product of this delicate enterprise? Not as fiction; Vidal says that there is no literary invention in any of the ten items under discussion. No, what we have here is history—that is, an accurate historical account of what Gore Vidal imagined might have been in Mary Lincoln's mind *if* she had been insane in July 1861.

9. Next, Vidal on evidence: "It is a very foolhardy scholar indeed who rejects anything that Herndon says Lincoln himself told him." Perhaps outright rejection would be imprudent in the absence of proof to the contrary, but doubt is very much in order. The question raised in my critique was whether it is more appropriate for a novelist than for a historian to make use of dubious testimony. As an example, I cited Herndon's assertion (mislabeling it a "speculation," as Vidal rightly complains) that Lincoln had once told him

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of having contracted syphilis (p. 290). There are several reasons for regarding the story with suspicion. First, the unreliability of long-range memory in general, and especially that of a sick man within two months of death, whose recall of certain other conversations is open to serious question. Second, the absence of any corroborative evidence, medical or otherwise. Third, the fact that there are holes in the Herndon story, such as a five-year gap between Lincoln's alleged infection and his alleged letter to a doctor about it. Fourth, the incompatibility of the story with Lincoln's well-known reticence. It is curious, to say the least, that Herndon, who repeatedly and emphatically described his partner as the most secretive man that ever lived, nevertheless claimed to have been Lincoln's confidant about such things as his mother's illegitimacy, the frequency of his bowel movements, and his sexual contamination.

10. One of the discredited Lincoln myths is the notion that in 1858 he was already aiming at the presidency and directed his strategy primarily toward that goal rather than toward the defeat of Douglas for the Senate. Vidal's Lincoln endorses the myth by acknowledging that he did have the "taste" of the presidential nomination in his mouth during the campaign of 1858. (Actually, it was on April 29, 1860, that the real Lincoln wrote to Lyman Trumbull, "The taste *is* in my mouth a little.") Vidal's Lincoln lends further credence to the myth by failing to disavow the absurd story that he asked his famous question at Freeport with the expectation that it would cost him the senatorial election but clear his path to the presidency (p. 100).

Our ten items have little to do, of course, with the quality of Vidal's *Lincoln* as fiction, but they bear expressively on its quality as history, and Vidal claims to be both novelist and historian. Getting the facts straight is only the first step in any reconstruction of the past, but it is a necessary step and by no means an easy one. Vidal, who cavalierly declares that "any fool" can master the facts, reveals himself in the same letter as chronically inaccurate even in the rendition of what he himself has written. In my critique, I spoke only of a "certain amount" of error and acknowledged that there was "much good history" in Vidal's *Lincoln*. Having read through the novel again, I understand why one Lincoln scholar described it as "riddled with the sorts of errors that no serious historian could afford to make." The lesser blunders (for instance, giving the wrong dimensions for the District of Columbia, pp. 15–16) are numerous enough to be cumulatively significant, and there are a good many major errors and distortions (describing the Seward wing of the Republican party in 1860 as "free-the-slaves-at-any-cost abolitionists," for example, p. 8).

Errors aside, it seems to me that Vidal has set an unattainable goal for himself. Historical writing and creative writing have different imperatives, different standards of value. I do not doubt that fiction of the highest quality and history of the highest quality can be written by the same person, but I question whether both can be incorporated in the same book.

DON E. FEHRENBACHER
Stanford University

FILM REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

This is to add my protest to others you must be receiving after the gratuitous addition of a movie section in a scholarly journal. With each movie given approximately twice the space allotted per book review, the bias against scholarship could not be more clear, even without the pretentious obscurantism of the reviews themselves.

Gene Shalit does a much better job and without the pomposity.

THOMAS SOWELL
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace

TO THE EDITOR:

Gerald Horne's review of *Glory* (*AHR*, 95 [October 1990]: 1141–43) pays deserved tribute to a movie that is a breakthrough, that gives credit to the contribution of African-American soldiers toward Union victory in the Civil War. Yet the review does not provide classroom teachers with the information they need in order to discuss this film to full effect with their students.

Horne criticizes the inadequacy of *Glory*'s focus on Robert Gould Shaw, the 54th Regiment's commander. Although the characterization is thin, he says, nonetheless "the spirit and meaning of history may not have been mangled." It is to be feared that history has indeed been mangled. Shaw was not the callow, inexperienced, and brutal officer that *Glory* depicts: he was a passionate abolitionist and a battle-hardened veteran. The fictionalizing of Shaw's character is no minor defect; rather, a truthful depiction of Shaw is central to understanding the regiment itself.

Shaw was commissioned a lieutenant in the Second Regiment of the Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry in 1861 and then saw action in Virginia and Maryland. During the summer of 1862, he was stationed at Charles Town, Virginia, where John Brown had been tried and condemned to death in 1859. Shaw made good use of this chance to study the trial record. He reached the same conclusion as Brown had: African-Americans ought to be armed and organized to fight for their freedom and their country's survival. Shaw voiced his opinion in letters to his father, Francis Gould Shaw, well-known Massachusetts abolitionist and close friend of Governor John Andrew.

When, in January 1863, Governor Andrew decided to raise a regiment of free black soldiers, he wrote to

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Francis Shaw. "I am looking for young men of military experience," he said, "of firm antislavery principles, ambitious, superior to a vulgar contempt for color, and having faith in the capacity of colored men for military service. It occurs to me to offer the colonelcy to your son."

Robert Shaw made a difficult choice and accepted the governor's invitation. He cast his lot with the black fighters of the 54th; he will be remembered as long as they are. "July 18, 1863," as a journalist wrote, "made Fort Wagner such a name to the colored race as Bunker Hill has been for ninety years to the Yankees." Young white people in today's classrooms have, perhaps, something to learn from this story.

Glory's trivialization of Shaw's character and struggle is linked with its equally deceptive treatment of Frederick Douglass. In 1863, Douglass was in the prime of life and at the height of fame. The movie presents him as a senile, inarticulate cypher. This fiction suppresses the history of the 54th Regiment itself. Next to John Andrew, Douglass was its principal architect. His speeches and writings provided the war aim and the inspiration that led Northern blacks to volunteer.

Following his escape from slavery, Douglass had become a nonviolent Garrisonian abolitionist. In 1847, he met with John Brown, and his convictions began to change: he became an advocate of armed struggle to end slavery. Douglass did not go with Brown to Harpers Ferry, but he was well informed about this project from the start. After the raid, he fled to Canada to avoid prosecution in Virginia as an accessory to murder. Time did not dim Douglass's love for Brown or his admiration for the grandeur of the man and his dream. "His zeal in the cause of my race," he told Storer College students in 1881, "was far greater than mine . . . I could live for the slave but he could die for him."

Frederick Douglass and Robert Gould Shaw, as builders of the 54th, were following in the footsteps of John Brown. The 54th was an expression of the objectives of the American abolitionist movement as it existed in 1863. These objectives included the abolition of slavery and of all its badges, of violence and discrimination in any form perpetrated against people of color on account of race. This is what black soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts died for at Fort Wagner, and their commander with them.

Virulent racism remains a reality today; abolitionism's legacy, in this context, has to be of concern to us. It ought not to be trivialized, it ought to be made known and carried on.

JOHN ANTHONY SCOTT
Rutgers University

GERALD HORNE REPLIES:

John Anthony Scott makes many solid points about a film characterized as both "a breakthrough" and "trivialized." Given this journal's welcome maiden voyage into the arcane art of film criticism, it might be useful to examine briefly some of the issues presented by historical drama (perusing Gyorgy Lukacs and reexamining the Senegalese film *Ceddo* or the Brazilian film *Quilombo* would be pertinent here).

This is all the more crucial for us since literary critics have not done their job and followed up on the lessons presented by Serge Guilbaut's *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (1983) or my work on the cold war, e.g. *Communist Front? The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956* (1988). I judged *Glory* in the context of an industry that produced *Gone with the Wind* and *Birth of a Nation*, in which traitors who sought to overthrow the government and preserve slavery were presented as heroes. But *Glory* was not a documentary. It did not purport to present the facts as they happened. A question to be posed in such a situation is, does the film follow the spirit of the times? Does it dovetail with the trajectory of justice? *Mississippi Burning*, for instance, was justly criticized for presenting FBI agents as heroes in the struggle when the historical record reveals the exact opposite.

Robert Gould Shaw in the film was presented as a character with weaknesses, to be sure. Unfortunately, many of us also have defects of one sort or another; arguably, this presentation helps to "humanize" the character for the audience. One should at least consider the response of the mass U.S. audience to forms of historical drama before making a definitive judgment. Douglass, too, should not be above criticism in a historical drama, although I hinted in my original review that his role could have been altered to the benefit of the film. Again, the question should be considered in the context of what the U.S. film industry has produced to date, whether the film is inconsistent with the spirit of the times, and the needs of the mass audience.

Those new to film criticism should also know that these issues are not new. The *National Law Journal* (December 31, 1990) reported on the film *Reversal of Fortune*, the tale of the von Bulows and law professor Alan Dershowitz. In this film, Dershowitz is shown as simultaneously handling the death-row defense of indigent black defendants whose pictures he kept on his wall while he organized an all-out effort for Claus von Bulow. This subplot was totally fictional. "'It's a lie, and there's no way around it being a lie,' says Alabama Asst. Attorney General Ed Carnes." This plot device was apparently designed to "humanize" Dershowitz, perhaps to rationalize his selling his skills to the "unsympathetic" character of von Bulow. Is it possible to say that this was a disservice to history? I think so, but others may differ.

We should recognize that the Civil War may be the deepest of the psychic wounds this nation has left unhealed; it reverberates, but it is ignored. The PBS series *The Civil War*, though an actual documentary, should be juxtaposed with *Glory*. My own considered opinion is that the paeans of praise offered in this TV series to unsavory characters like Nathan Bedford Forrest and all the toxic impact that signifies ultimately

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make *Glory* the more useful vehicle for the classroom. *The Civil War* tells us something about the nature of making films on this war in the United States that should color our evaluation of *Glory*.

Although film and literary critics have made some contributions, the "gaze," for example, not enough of them have sought to weave into their aesthetic critiques a consideration of "real time" trends: the political economy of the film industry, etc. The untoward attacks on "deconstruction" have not helped to disentangle this skein; the effect instead has been to circle the wagons and not take into account the apparent demise of the cold war or the lessons presented by Serge Guilbaut. This conflict deeply influenced artistic patterns in this country at the same time that Eastern Europe was being told that the artistic sector was somehow "free" virtually to the point of autarky. Many of the same forces that carped unfairly about the New World Information Order as presented in UNESCO and suggested that U.S.-dominated or distributed news and films posed no threat to the sovereignty of, particularly, "Third World" nations now are raising alarms about impact on content as Matsushita buys Universal and SONY buys Columbia. The cold war severely hampered honest discourse in such areas.

In this context, we should consider that Britons like Alan Parker (director for both *Mississippi Burning* and the appreciably better *Come See the Paradise*, which tackles the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II) and some of the key principals of *Glory* are not originally from the United States. Blacks have noted for some time that their plaints—and their artistic contributions—often receive a fairer hearing abroad than at home. They may look on this development ironically, as many of them looked on the American Revolution in the first place. Especially in film, we should not lose sight of the origins of capital investment, and this too holds true for *Glory*. Film presents a different language and calls for different conceptions. The evolution of "virtual reality" and other multidimensional forms heightens these issues even more.

Scott's concern for the classroom debate is on point. I would hope that the exhibition of a film such as *Glory* or any other in the classroom would be accompanied by a full discussion. Unfortunately, when films such as *Gone with the Wind* are screened (and I understand that it is now being shown regularly in Moscow), this discussion does not happen, inside or outside the classroom. As the cold war apparently ends, and it is recognized that civilian economic production might be as important as military, we may begin to acknowledge that filmmaking does not take place in a vacuum, that various elites can have disproportionate impacts on content—especially racial content—and that, in such contexts, *Glory* was a step forward.

GERALD HORNE
University of California, Santa Barbara

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

I should like to reply to Albert Lindemann's review of my book *Gramsci and the History of Dialectical Thought* (*AHR*, 95 [October 1990]: 1159).

Lindemann begins by characterizing my book as "not a work of history" but rather an "effort to present in a systematic way Gramsci's" thought. He then criticizes it with considerations relating to matters of style, linguistic expression, order of exposition (whether one defines one's terms sooner or later), and success in captivating readers' interest (warning them of the difficulty of the topic).

Lindemann's characterization strikes me as incoherent, for the interpreation of the thought of past thinkers is obviously part of historical inquiry; or perhaps he is limiting history to political, diplomatic, and military history, which is not a tenable assumption. Moreover, he fails to mention that my "systemization" is partly historical in the sense that it involves in a crucial way Gramsci's critical dialogue with other thinkers, such as Benedetto Croce, Nikolai Bukharin, Machiavelli, Marx, and Hegel, who constitute the dialectical tradition mentioned in my book's title.

His criticism is essentially aesthetic and rhetorical, and so it is misdirected and largely irrelevant (even if it were accurate). To engage in it to the exclusion of any serious or intelligent historical considerations betrays another questionable historiographical assumption. That is, he proceeds as if historical inquiry were largely equivalent to literary criticism and rhetorical analysis.

It is ironic that, in the process, Lindemann manages to be careless about some elementary canons of historical scholarship, involving manipulation of quotations taken out of context, inaccurate transcribing of quoted material, and incorrect referencing of these quotations. For example, he reports my interpretation "that Gramsci's 'Marxianizing [of science]' was 'not a crass eliminative deduction' (p. 235)." However, one will not find these words on page 235; actually, the phrase as quoted appears nowhere in my book. What does appear elsewhere is my claim that "such Marxianizing is not a crass eliminative reduction" (p. 93). Now, "reduction may rhyme with "deduction," but its meaning is very different; moreover, the Marxianizing in question is a Marxian interpretation of not just science but also of religion and Croce. That is, while Gramsci is giving a Marxian interpretation of science, religion, and Croce, his approach is not crudely reductionist because, in the process, he is also reinterpreting Marxism in ways that reflect his serious concern to derive valuable lessons from science, religion, and Croce. In short, Lindemann's quotation *is* nonsensical, but it reflects on his carelessness rather than on my book.

Another irony involves Lindemann's assertion that "the author speaks of an 'elucidatory systemization,' or of an effort to interpret things 'immanentistically'

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(p. 150)." The minor but revealing difficulty here is that, on this page, one will find neither the phrase "elucidatory systematization" nor the adverbial construction "immanentistically" but only the noun "immanence" and the adjective "immanentistic." An examination of page 150, and of the different passage elsewhere where I do speak of "elucidatory systematization," reveals Lindemann's failure to distinguish between what I am doing and what Gramsci is doing. "Elucidatory systematization" is indeed something I do throughout the book, as I try to systematize Gramsci's notes and do so in ways that stay close enough to them to leave no doubt that I am elucidating his thinking rather than constructing my own theories. However, "immanentistic" interpretation is primarily something Gramsci talks about, and beginning on page 150 I try to elucidate *his* meaning. This turns out to be a long story but a very relevant one. In fact, first, "immanence" has to be connected with the "dialectic," then, ultimately, the latter turns out to be the manner of thinking described when Gramsci says that "the most delicate, misunderstood, and yet essential skill of the critic of ideas and historian of developments is to find the real identity under the apparent differentiation and contradiction and to find the substantial diversity under the apparent diversity" (quoted in my book, p. 157). There is obviously no space here to further elucidate, illustrate, or justify this idea. Equally obvious is its historical significance; this can be missed only by someone like Lindemann, for whom the historian's task seems to be to engage in literary or rhetorical criticism.

MAURICE A. FINOCCHIARO
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

ALBERT LINDEMANN REPLIES:

In some regards, Maurice Finocchiaro's complaints about my review are as oddly and carelessly presented—and difficult to understand—as is his book. I found myself reading and rereading parts of his letter, as I did parts of his book, in an increasingly impatient attempt to make sense of them. In both cases, I finally gave up in puzzlement and frustration. It is obvious that, in an effort to discredit a negative review, he has misrepresented what is in it.

His basic complaint is that I have put too much emphasis on how poorly written the book is, as if poor writing were an unimportant issue in a work that advertises itself as explaining and clarifying the work of a notoriously obscure writer (Gramsci). I cannot accept his implicit assertion that primary attention to clarity of style and elegance of presentation is some sort of hidebound crotchet on my part. It has long been my firm belief that obscurity, carelessness, and inelegance of style ultimately reflect obscurity, inelegance, and carelessness of mind.

Finocchiaro writes that I characterize his book as not being a work of history. That is odd, for it is rather he, in his introduction, who emphasizes that point. Here is what I wrote in my review: "Maurice A. Finocchiaro begins by stating what his work is not: it is not a work of history (in spite of the title); historical studies of Antonio Gramsci, in his opinion, are already too numerous. He quite explicitly, consistently, and rather defensively eschews considerations of historical context in attempting to understand Gramsci's thought."

It is true that his treatment of Gramsci is "partly historical," as was certainly implicit in the remarks I made in the rest of the review. But his methodology is primarily that of a philosopher, one interested in analyzing concepts as such rather than the way they are a product of historical context.

I can sympathize with Finocchiaro's disappointment that I did not evaluate to any extent the philosophical merit of his treatment of Gramsci. However, a short review imposes stringencies and priorities. I could not usefully or realistically devote many lines to an evaluation of such inherently abstruse material. I did provide a few examples of how crabbed and unclear were Finocchiaro's remarks about the influence of Croce and Marx on Gramsci. I noted as well that the work might be considered "a book by a philosopher, for philosophers, using the approach and diction of philosophers."

Numerous passages in Finocchiaro's letter should provide readers with some sense of the difficulty of the material in question—and of his talents in presenting it. I will leave it to the readers' judgment whether the errors mentioned constitute a violation of the "canons of historical scholarship" rather than trivial slips of transcription, linked to the dilemmas of condensation for a short review. It would be an exercise in pedantry to pursue these matters in detail, but it should be noted that if the page number were corrected, or "reduction" changed to "deduction," or "immanistically" changed to "immanistic," the fundamental criticisms of the book would not be altered in the slightest. The charge that I have provided quotations out of context is not justified, for the issue was not substantive, connected argument but merely random examples of poor style and questionable, inelegant wording. I wrote that "the author speaks of an 'elucidatory systematization'" to provide an example of an inelegant term. I did not attribute the term to either Gramsci or Finocchiaro, and the charge that I missed the point about who was saying what must be rejected as another example of how Finocchiaro has tendentiously twisted what I wrote.

I find it revealing that Finocchiaro makes no attempt in his letter to defend his talents as a writer, or to explain why no editor appears to have prevailed on him to remedy the remarkable clumsiness of his prose, the tortuousness and opacity of his reasoning, his tendency to play word games rather than being concerned to present ideas with clarity.

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN
University of California, Santa Barbara

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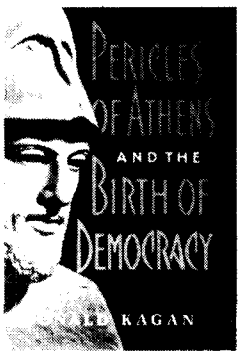
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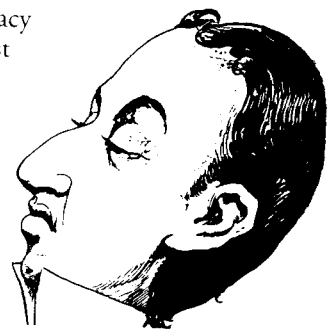
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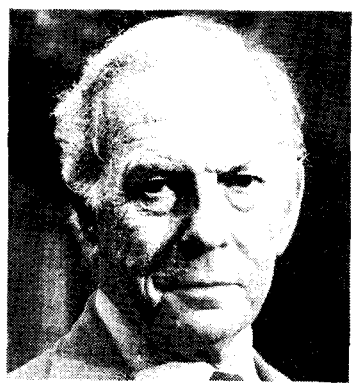


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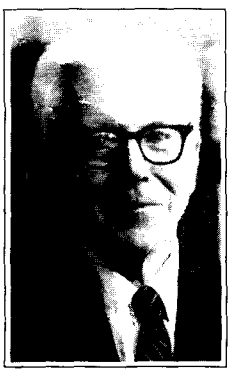
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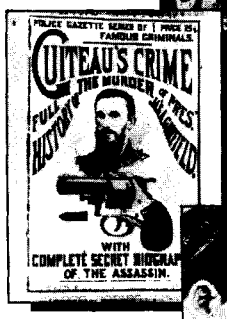
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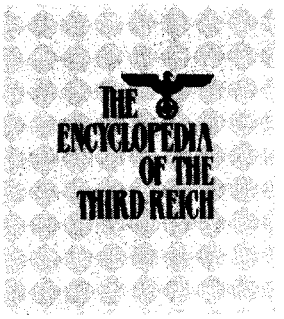
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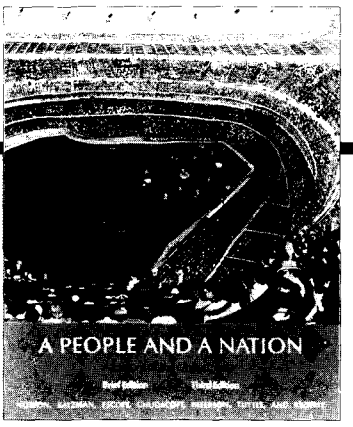
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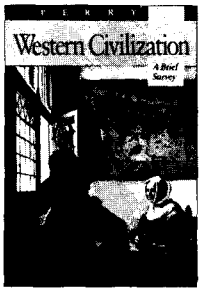
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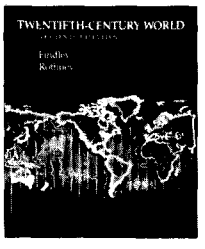
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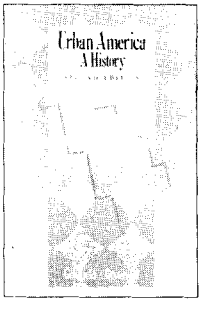
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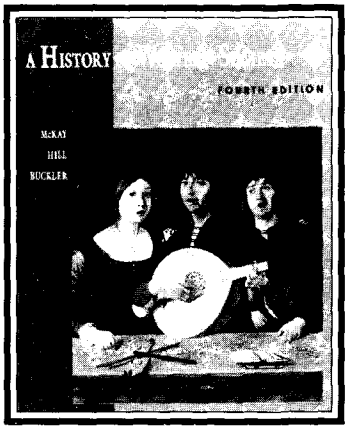
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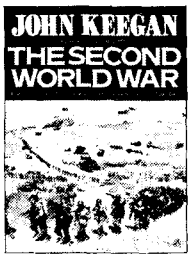
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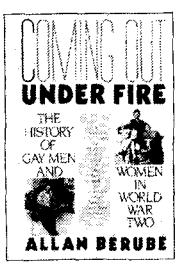
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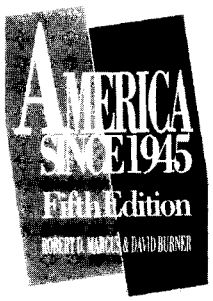
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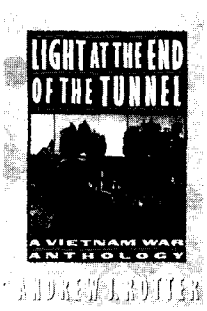
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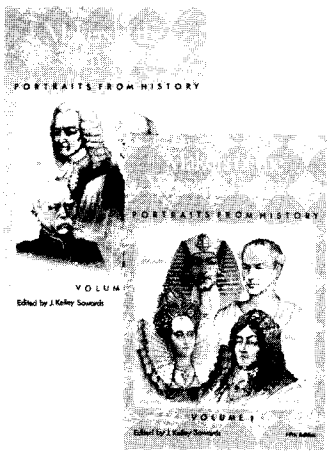
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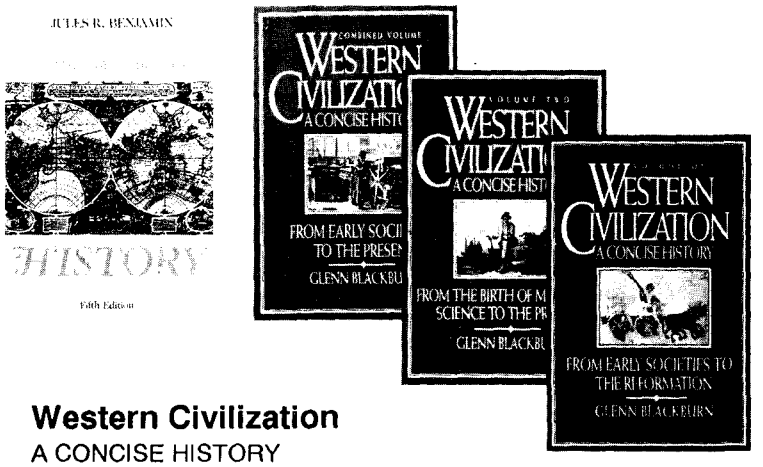
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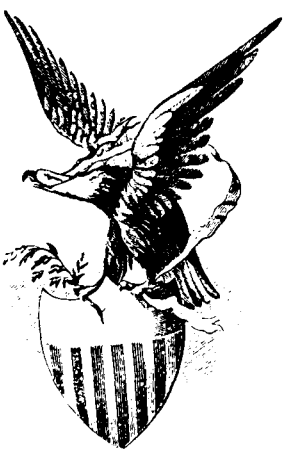
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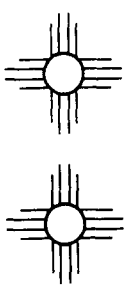
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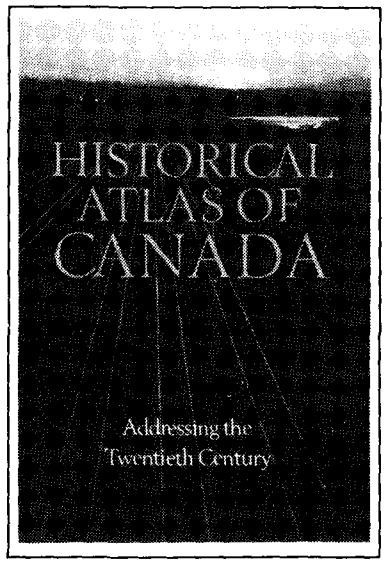
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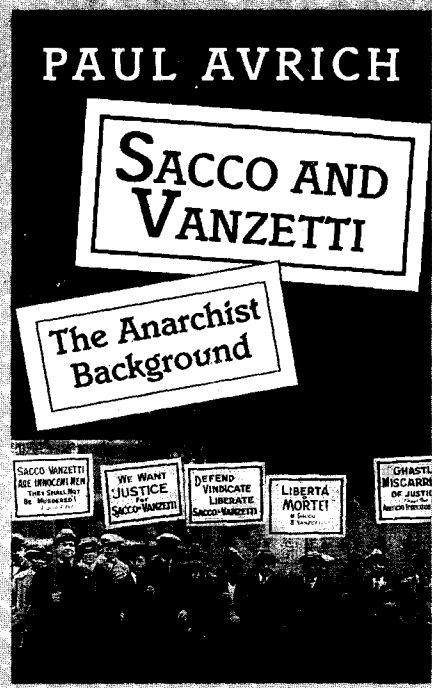
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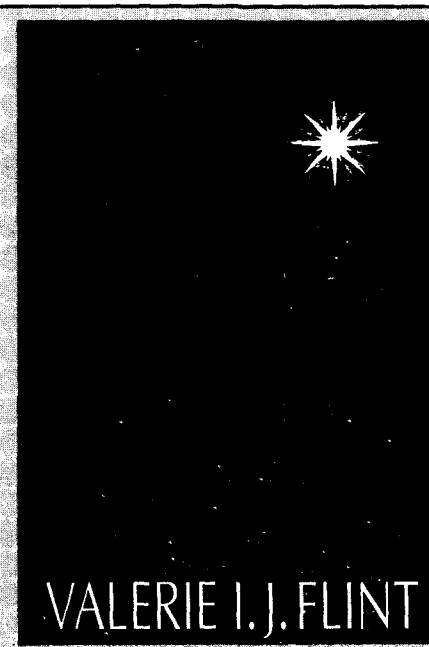
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